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THE JOURNAL
OF
GEORGE FOX

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME ONE

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George Fox aged 30

From Holmes's engraving of Honthorst's picture painted in 1654

THE JOURNAL
OF
GEORGE FOX

EDITED FROM THE MSS

BY

NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR WEST LEEDS

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PREFACE

THIS edition of *The Journal of George Fox* differs from all its predecessors in that it is printed, *verbatim et literatim*, from the original manuscripts, whilst the first edition, which has been followed in all subsequent ones, was much edited and altered, though based upon the same manuscripts.

Permission to print the manuscripts was readily granted by the owner, Robert Spence, of London and North Shields, and students of history are under great obligation to him for making possible the publication of this Quaker classic in its original form.

The manuscripts were transcribed for the press by J. Guthlac Birch, of London. The printers' proofs have been checked by me with the originals and a few textual notes have been added. It is hoped, therefore, that an accurate representation is now before the reader.

The notes to be found at the close of each volume are the result of a considerable amount of research into many obscure and hitherto unpublished sources. I am greatly indebted to William Charles Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B., of

Banbury, Joseph J. Green, of Hastings, William I. Hull, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and others in various parts of the British Islands and the United States, for valuable help. I should heartily welcome further information bearing on the persons referred to in *The Journal*.

NORMAN PENNEY

Friends' Reference Library
Devonshire House
Bishopsgate
London, E.C.

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George Fox . . . . . *frontispiece*

From a photograph of a painting by Sir Peter Lely now at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

[The painting was purchased in England in 1858. Upon removing the ancient frame, the words "Geo. Fox" were found written on the canvas. There is no external evidence that Fox ever sat for his portrait, and it does not seem probable that a court painter of renown would devote time and skill to a subject so far removed as was Fox from the outward position occupied by many other persons painted by Lely.]

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INTRODUCTION

When George Fox breathed his last in the house of Henry Gouldney, the good Gracechurch Street merchant, the Quaker Society which had started on its voyage amidst the storm of persecution was already passing into quieter waters: the penalties of the old penal laws had disappeared with the Act of Toleration, and the new peace was welcome to men who had grown grey in constant imprisonments. Old critics remained active and new ones joined them: Faldo, Leslie and Bugg were writing fierce diatribes to prove convincingly that the Quakers were no Christians, but it would seem that this was no longer the generally received opinion. The mantle of respectability that has so often stifled the spirit of prophecy was already beginning to be wrapped around the Society of Friends.

Partly to guard against the danger of enthusiasm unchecked by any other than an individual sense of responsibility, partly to express the collective relationship of the Quaker Community to its preachers or "Public Friends," the practice had grown up that all printed literature of a religious character issued by Quaker writers should be first submitted to the judgment of their fellows for counsel and, if need be, for correction, by being brought before a meeting consisting of the Quaker ministers and elders able to attend it. This was held at regular intervals on the second day of the week and was known as "the Second day morning meeting" or "the morning meeting."

This body, whose minutes from its origin are still extant at Devonshire House, though possessing only a moral authority, came to exercise before long a very careful censorship over Quaker literature, and not infrequently tracts offered to it for printing (in many cases doubtless at the general expense) were returned to their authors for correction, or after perusal by a committee were judged unsuited for publication and laid aside.

To this Meeting naturally fell the important task of editing for the press the numerous papers which George Fox left behind him, many of which he had expressly desired should be published, and chief among them the "Great Jornall" which he had prepared with the object of giving a faithful record of his public ministry and religious experience.

There can be little doubt that the quiet years from 1675 to 1677 which he spent at Swarthmore Hall were largely utilised for gathering together scattered manuscripts, and for completing up to date this unique religious autobiography, which is supposed to have been begun during his last long imprisonment in Worcester jail in 1673—74, when his son-in-law and fellow prisoner Thomas Lower acted as his scribe. The fact that full notes of Fox's two trials at Lancaster, based on verbatim reports, occur in *The Journal*, corroborates the view that it was compiled in its present form at Swarthmore Hall.

The tradition that *The Journal* was originally dictated in Worcester jail is supported by the large number of documents relative to George Fox's trial and imprisonment there which are included in the original manuscript[a].

The Journal proper ceases shortly afterwards, leaving Fox at Swarthmore Hall, and in one of the papers which follow occurs the phrase, "and still the Lord's truth is over

[a] It may also be noted that the *Short Journal* closes in 1664, when Fox had been about a year in Lancaster jail.

all and His seed reigns and His truth exceedingly spreads, unto this year 1676." There were doubtless a number of short notes and letters which Fox's editor afterwards made use of, in preparing *The Journal* for the press, which have not been preserved, but it is to be regretted that for the sake of uniformity he considered it desirable to throw the record of Fox's later years into the form of narrative written in the first person, as he had done in the case of the documents from which the part of *The Journal* dealing with Fox's visit to America is compiled. Readers of the printed *Journal* must almost always have observed the marked falling off of interest in the last part of the second volume; and have felt the absence of the little vivid touches which light up the earlier pages. We now see that this later portion is not Fox's own work in the sense that the earlier pages are, though it gives a useful summary of the activities of his later life: *The Journal* proper closes in 1675. It is matter for great regret that the manuscript as we now have it lacks the opening pages, giving the account of George Fox's earlier years, and it is not too much to hope that some day these may yet be recovered; but in spite of this loss the new material provided by the portions of the manuscript omitted in previous editions is of great interest.

It must not be supposed that *The Journal* as we know it from previous printed editions was prepared without much forethought, and extant records show how great was the care taken in its first publication.

It was needful that the material which George Fox had provided should be carefully edited, for the various MSS. contained a certain amount of repetitions, while here and there persons were referred to, the mention of whose names might cause offence to living people. In 1685 Fox himself[a] had made careful provision for the editing of his papers and

[a] See ii. 348 *seq.*

for the putting together of his "Great Jornall" and other works, noting that there were "many errors and mistakes in the printing and writing," which might be amended. By subsequent dispositions he made further provision for carrying out this intention, bequeathing his books and papers to his stepchildren William and Sarah Mead and Thomas Lower[a].

The Morning Meeting had been charged by a posthumous letter of George Fox with the duty of carrying on his correspondence on religious matters with Friends in different parts of the world, and this doubtless gave it additional influence in other ways. Soon after his death the Meeting began to prepare a collection of letters and testimonies concerning Fox and to collect his letters and MSS. from different parts of the country. On the 14th of 1 mo. 1691/2 a memorandum is entered on the minutes of the Meeting, "That it be considered and enquired into what is done and is to be done relateing unto G. ffox's books and Papers." The Meeting had evidently already arranged for the editing of these, as at the next sitting (4. ii. 1692) occurs the minute: "Steven Crisp is desired to write unto Thomas Ellwood to have an Answer from him agst. ye next Meeting how ye Case of G. F.'s papers stand. And Whether a part may not be sent up for ffriends here to peruse and put to print while ye other is doeing." The following week appears the entry: "Two Letters from Tho. Ellwood to Steven Crisp relateing to dear G. ffox's Journall giving an Account he hath Transcribed about 200 sheets and hath spent more time in perusall and comparing then writing, by reason whereof he hath gott no further then 1666, And desires to know whether he shall bring up what is done now or at ye Yearly Meeting. Ye latter is agreed to because he cannot goe forward if he send ym up. S. Crisp is desired to answer him and request him to be here some

[a] ii. 350, 356.

dayes before the Yearly Meeting and bring up with him by Coach or otherwise the writtings."

Thus we learn that the main work of transcribing and preparing for the press the various MSS. of which the printed *Journal* is composed had already been entrusted to Thomas Ellwood, doubtless with the concurrence of George Fox's literary legatees. The choice was a wise one; Milton's old pupil and friend was a man of considerable learning, and at his country home at Hungerhill, near Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire, he was able to give his time uninterruptedly to his task. It was no light work, involving as it did the perusal of a mass of papers and the piecing together of the disjointed documents out of which the later part of *The Journal* is composed. The Morning Meeting decided on the title of the work on the 6th of 4 mo. 1692, when it was entered in full upon the minutes, the entry being as follows:

"The History of G. F.'s Journall and Progress in y^{e} Lord's Work—Entituled The Everlasting Gospell Preacht Againe And Truth's Progress in these latter dayes Powerfully Witnessed—In The great Labours Travells Tryalls and Sufferings, of The Antient ffaithfull Servant and Minister of Christ *George ffox* the Elder who departed this Life in Peace, y^{e} 13th day of the $\frac{11}{mo}$ 1690/1."

Then follow the Scripture texts quoted on the printed title-page and the entry concludes, "Agreed to be put to the Press as soon as Conveniently may be."

The year 1693 came and still the work was not ready for the printer; the Meeting minutes its concern at the delay, and Friends are deputed to communicate with William Mead to urge the need of greater expedition; Mead was apparently unwilling to have the sheets read by the Meeting until his brother-in-law, Thomas Lower, should be in London; possibly wishing Lower, as Fox's

original amanuensis, to have the last word in deciding the final form of the transcript[a]. At length the work was ready for perusal, and on 12th of 4 mo. 1693 we find the entry:

"The ffriends desired by G. ff. to View his Journall are desired to meet this Afternoon at this place about fourth hour to prepare it for the view of this 2^{d} dayes meeting."

Then follows:

26th of 4 mo. 1693—"The Reading of G. ffox's Journall to be begun about 8th hour in the forenoon next 5th day and this Meeting Adjourns till then for the said Service."

Details of the revision are not recorded but doubtless many changes in the text were made by or after consulting the Morning Meeting or its committee, as is shown by the care subsequently taken by the Meeting to omit the inaccurate passage relating a narrative of Ellen Fretwell's which was printed in the earlier issues of the first edition, and for which another leaf omitting the incident was substituted in all copies which the Meeting was able to control.

On the 8th of 11 mo. 1693/4 George Whitehead reports to the Meeting that the perusal of *The Journal* for the press is complete. William Mead, who conducts the negotiations with the printer, advancing the necessary money to commence the work, is however dissatisfied with William Penn's preface, and a special meeting has to be summoned to which he and Thomas Lower are invited, to read the preface and decide whether it is to be printed with *The Journal*, or with a subsequent volume of Fox's works. After several attempts at conference however the committee had to

[a] The numerous MS. corrections in Lower's handwriting show the care and interest with which he revised the MSS. of *The Journal*.

report: "W^m^ Meade Refuses to hear it Read being Resolved it shall not be printed with the Journall If he can help it. It's therefore agreed to deliver it to the Author and Informe him it may be printed w^ch^ was the Agreem^t^ of this meeting formerly."

William Mead continued to be somewhat difficult to deal with, for when in a month or two's time difficulty arose as to the inaccuracy of the narrative of Ellen Fretwell and it seemed desirable to reprint the page containing it, he said he did not consider it his duty to do any more and would leave it to Friends to do as they saw meet.

It is probably due to his objection to the printing of Penn's preface with *The Journal* that a number of printed copies lack that noble introduction, which gives us perhaps the most striking and attractive picture of Fox left us by any of his contemporaries.

It will be seen from these records that a series of editorial committees were concerned in the issue of *The Journal*, but the later minutes of the Morning Meeting show much more elaborate provision for the collection and revision of George Fox's doctrinal works and epistles which were later issued as two volumes supplementary to *The Journal*. In their case the responsibility is apparently much more widely shared, the main editorial work of *The Journal* having clearly lain with Ellwood alone. In comparing, as we are now able to do, the largest section of the original MS. with the first printed edition, it is possible for us to realise how difficult and responsible the task was that fell to Ellwood's pen. Compression and abbreviation were a necessary part of that task, and on the whole well carried out: the portrait which the manuscript *Journal* gives us is essentially the same as that of the printed edition, yet, in comparing the two, one is sensible that here and there the cautious care of the editor has removed some rough vigorous touch: the whole is quieter, a shade less naif, a shade nearer

the conventional. Sometimes some picturesque detail which Fox had recorded disappears as unnecessary, sometimes some incident or saying which contemporaries might misunderstand is omitted: occasionally some obvious slip is corrected, and in other cases fear of political or theological misunderstanding has led to longer passages being omitted. Ellwood was evidently anxious to avoid giving occasion of attack to opponents and accordingly omits various details which might be taken to be proofs of fanaticism; instances of this are the mention of James Nayler being "under a fast fourteen days" (i. 51), Richard Hubberthorne's great fast (i. 105), Fox's "Sounding the day of the Lord" alone on the top of Pendle Hill (i. 40), and on another occasion lying out in the fields all night (i. 114), and again Solomon Eccles fasting for seven days on the voyage to America (ii. 184).

Probably a like desire to avoid offence led to the omission of such a passage as Fox's severe comment on the contrast between the conduct of the Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians at their first rise and after they came into a position of authority during the Commonwealth (ii. 1).

Ellwood's Quaker caution showed itself in frequently omitting references to the continued faith of converts which it might not have been easy to verify: such phrases as "and they died in the truth," "was convinced and stands to this day," "who remains a Friend to this day," accordingly were removed by him from his printed version, and for similar reasons he omits the report of the manner of the death of John Love at Rome at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities (i. 183). A similar prudent judgment probably is accountable for the omission of several records of "Judgments" upon opponents, such as the persecuting Lord Mayor of whom George Fox wrote "and his name became a stink and the Lord cut him off" (ii. 162), or his occasional severe comments on the Puritans' abuse

of their opportunities "in that which they called their gospel times" (i. 237), and his belief that they would renew their persecutions if they had the power, though he gleefully adds, "But old Cain's sword and arms were taken out of his hand and Judas had lost his bag" (i. 390).

Ellwood was, it may be, too cautious in omitting more than one interesting passage which might be thought to savour of superstition, some of which may be considered evidence of an abnormal imagination, but one or two of which are surely instances of the remarkable psychic powers of spiritual insight and sympathy which we find elsewhere at work in George Fox's life. The most striking of all these passages is perhaps that which follows his outburst of indignation, when a prisoner in Derby jail in 1651, at the way in which men were put to death for thefts of cattle and money: "and two men suffered for small things: and I was moved to admonish them for their theft, to encourage them concerning their suffering, it being contrary to the law of God; and a little after they had suffered their spirits appeared to me as I was walking and I saw the men was well."

It is interesting to note that as *The Journal* was first written the words "to admonish them for their theft" were not part of the narrative; they were doubtless added later to avoid a misunderstanding of the encouragement Fox had given to these poor victims of the law. Sometimes the insight given to George Fox was more painful in character, as when he "saw a dog like nature" in the Scottish clergyman near Staithes (i. 24), or when, as he was returning across the channel from Ireland where he had narrowly escaped arrest, he says, "but I felt the power of darkness 20 miles afterwards, as I was at sea" (ii. 147). It was more cheering when, on his American journeyings, as he spied from his coasting vessel a strange sail which filled the sailors with alarm, he was able to say, "I felt from the Lord she was not an enemy and would do us no hurt" (ii. 247), and so

too on the voyage home was cheered by a vision and intimation of like purport (ii. 254).

At another time the premonition was a warning of coming danger, as when he records upon a journey in 1656: "I then felt and saw I was a prisoner about 10 miles before I came to Ives where we was taken" (i. 208). Sometimes the premonition concerned the public good rather than his own, as when he notes that in the year 1657 he "saw General Monk that he was as a man that bowed under O: P: and had a covering over him; and take away that covering and then he was the man as he was before: as he did fulfil it in a few years after" (i. 302, 303).

If Ellwood felt it wisest to omit such passages we cannot be surprised that he should have done the same with one or two curious dreams or visions recorded by Fox; his vision of the spiritual nature of the New Jerusalem during his long illness in 1671, with his warning vision during the same illness: "So in my deep misery I saw things beyond words to utter, and I saw a black coffin, but I passed over it" (ii. 169), and the still more curious dream or vision about the same period, of the woman buried in a vault with treasure beside her (ii. 175). We note that several cases of healing following Fox's ministrations are omitted by Ellwood, amongst them two cases of mad women brought back to sanity (i. 140), and another of a child "grown almost double" restored to normal life (i. 140, 141). One curious popular belief which Fox records, his editor also omitted: "and it was a noted thing generally amongst people that when I came still I brought rain, and it had been so for many years,"..."and the like observation and expectation they have beyond the seas: when there is a drought they generally look for the Quakers' general meetings for then they know they shall have rain: and as they receive the truth and become fruitful unto God they receive from Him their fruitful seasons also" (i. 273).

Several of the most interesting passages in the manuscript *Journal* omitted in the printed editions have been made known by the remarkable series of etchings to illustrate them made by Mr Robert Spence, the present owner of the manuscript.

In a number of cases somewhat naif records of the effect produced by Fox upon his hearers are suppressed by his editor: instances of this are such an exclamation as "this man is a pearl" (i. 340), or the trooper's statement, "here is more people flock after him than are about my Lord Protector's Court" (i. 355), or the outcry of the people as Fox is arrested in Gracechurch Street: "have a care of him, he is a princely man" (ii. 156); the statement of the old Justice in Barbados that "George Fox was a very famous man" (ii. 233); the woman who called out "he is a worthy man and worthy to be heard" (ii. 238), and Elizabeth Trelauney who said with a loud voice, "George is over all" (i. 204). Beside these passages we may also place the outcry of the crowd of hostile undergraduates at Cambridge as Fox rode unhurt through them: "O said they, he shines, he glisters" (i. 190).

At an earlier page Fox had noted: "and as I was walking I heard old people and work people to say: he is such a man as never was, he knows people's thoughts" (i. 50); as later he records of the progress of Quakerism in Monmouthshire: "the very Justices said never such a man came into their country, that had reconciled neighbour to neighbour and husband to wife, and turned many people from their loose lives" (ii. 120).

Possibly Ellwood may have felt that in passages like these an opponent would see something of egotism, and it may have been a like feeling which made him omit Fox's description of the book confiscated by the authorities while in the printer's hands: "It was such a teaching book as hardly was ever given forth" (ii. 7), or his record of

Edward Burrough having said upon his death bed: "If he had been but an hour with me he should have been well" (ii. 9).

Elsewhere Ellwood's hand has smoothed away some trait of what looked like hardness, as when Fox had written "my natural father" (i. 157) or "my father in the flesh," which Ellwood simply prints as "my father" in both cases.

Opponents had scoffed at Fox's leathern dress, and probably on this account Ellwood omitted such passages as that in which a captain asked Fox in jest where his leathern breeches were: "and I let the man run on awhile, and at last I held up my coat and said here is my leather breeches which frightens all priests and professors" (i. 52), or where again he says: "sometimes they would turn up my coat and see for my leather breeches and then they would be in a rage" (i. 170).

The account given by Fox of the reason for his marriage to Margaret Fell (ii. 154), and of the "jumble in some minds about it," may well have been omitted out of respect for her feelings, and possibly some thought of avoiding misunderstanding led the good editor also to omit the reference to Margaret Fell and her daughters joining Fox on his journey for a short time in 1663 (ii. 34), and her daughters Sarah and Susanna meeting him on another journey in 1669 (ii. 135).

For many omissions there appears to have been no other reason than the desire of abbreviation, though this sometimes involved the loss of a picturesque touch, as when the jailer at Carlisle beats Friends "as if he had been beating a pack of wool" (i. 126), or where the informer in 1670 would not tell his name when challenged, "but began to gnaw his fingers ends" (ii. 157), or again the outcry of opponents of silent Quaker meetings: "look how these people sets mumming and dumming" (ii. 28).

On the other hand Ellwood had necessarily to omit many letters, some of which though of much interest were neither written by or to Fox, but to Margaret Fell by various hands, thus incidentally providing further evidence of *The Journal* having been compiled at Swarthmore Hall. Of the omitted letters by Fox the chief interest attaches to those written to Cromwell, which were probably passed over by Ellwood on political grounds; indeed the reader would probably have been content had the editor sacrificed many of the letters which he actually printed, and given us in exchange such brief incidents as that in which George Fox, who did not take tobacco, showed his "unity with the creation" by putting to his mouth the young smoker's pipe (i. 44); or where the bailiff's son at Scarborough came to dispute and spoke Hebrew to him whereat, nothing daunted, Fox "spoke in Welsh to him and bid him fear God," adding for us the information "who after became a pretty Friend." Or again such a curious incident as the omen of the owl, preceding the death of the Droitwich informer (ii. 168), or the story of the encounter between the Quaker youth and the drunken Sir Geoffrey Shakerley (ii. 135, 136).

There remain to be dealt with certain passages which were probably omitted by Ellwood to avoid political or theological misunderstandings and controversies.

Amongst the former may perhaps be included the interview between Fox and Sir Harry Vane at Raby Castle in 1657 (i. 312—316), which shows that Fox recognised that Vane's views at an earlier date had been more in harmony with his own (i. 313). But the most interesting are undoubtedly the series of references to Oliver Cromwell which Ellwood felt it best to omit. These passages make it quite clear that George Fox looked to Cromwell in the Protector's early years with trust and sympathy, as sent in the Providence of God for the good of the nation, and that this

earlier trust was replaced by a feeling of disappointment and estrangement.

Possibly the letter immediately following that addressed "to the heads and general of the army from G. F. 1652," which begins, "Friend of the truth of God and owner and lover of it, whom God hath enlightened," was addressed to Cromwell: it is without endorsement, but its contents and the context both point to this destination.

In 1654 we find Fox sending Cromwell a brief note warning him of danger from seeming friends (i. 160): followed by the remarkable "testimony" against carnal weapons which to orthodox readers both in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries seemed proof of a disordered mind or of a claim which they deemed blasphemous (i. 161, 162). The confidence which Fox at this time set in Cromwell is shown by another letter of the same year in which he addresses him as "Dear Friend," giving him spiritual counsel and holding forth the prospect that the Protector shall "have to throw down the rubbish and quell all the bad spirits under" his "dominion," while Cromwell is promised the abiding blessing of the peace of God if he will obey the Divine guidance (i. 163—165). A little later came the interview with the Protector which Ellwood printed almost without abridgement, though he omitted the subsequent comment of Captain Drury to Fox, "and my Lord says, he says, you are not a fool; and said he never saw such a paper in his life as I had sent him before by him."

When George Fox writes again to Cromwell in 1656, "concerning doffing hats," the changed feeling is evident: he still speaks with reverence of Cromwell's position, as he bids him "come down to the witness of God in thee," but he is now addressed not as "Dear Friend" but simply as "Friend" (i. 217—219). Fox's subsequent letter "to Oliver Cromwell and the Parliament" of 1656 contains no suggestion that their power did not rest upon a just foundation,

but is a prolonged appeal to them to judge aright and to avoid persecution (i. 263—266). The tone of the letter however is one of warning, and Fox records before he inserts it "and then O: P: began to harden and several friends was turned out of their offices of Justices and turned out of the army."

The original *Journal* gives in fuller detail than Ellwood's edition does the account of Fox's warning to Cromwell not to accept the offer of the crown ("and I met him in the park and told him that they that would put him on a crown would take away his life: and he asked me, what did I say: and I said again that they that sought to put him on a crown would take away his life, and bid him mind the crown that was immortal: and he thanked me and bid me go to his house," i. 267).

One further reference to Cromwell of a sadder nature is the passage in which Fox tells how, after the Restoration, he stood by the dishonoured corpse of the great Protector at Tyburn and recalled the words of a vow of Oliver's at the time of Dunbar fight, of which we appear as yet to have no other record, that if the Lord gave him the victory he would take away tithes, "or else let him be rolled into his grave with infamy." There is little trace of George Fox's earlier feelings towards Cromwell in his grim record of the barbarous revenge of the Cavaliers: "But when the King came in they took him up and hanged him: and buried him under Tyburn where he was rolled into his grave with infamy. And when I saw him hanging there I saw his word justly come upon him" (i. 385). It is a sad close to the hopes of earlier days and one cannot help feeling that the bitter memories of continual imprisonments and of the hardships suffered in a hundred jails by Quaker prisoners for conscience sake made Fox somewhat too severe on the failure of Cromwell and the Puritan leaders, though one is glad to read his words in another passage: "For we did

not seek any of their places, gifts nor honors but their salvation and eternal good, both in this nation and elsewhere."

There remain to be dealt with the passages which were omitted by Ellwood to avoid theological controversy: amongst these should be also included perhaps the testimony to Cromwell already referred to, in which Fox speaks of himself as he "whom the world calls George Fox, who is the son of God, who is sent to stand a witness against all violence..." (i. 161).

Two years earlier than this remarkable testimony of 1654 is the account of Fox's examination before Judge Fell and the Justices of Lancaster Quarter Sessions, now first published. The account was taken as Fox tells us from "an old torn book" (i. 62), which possibly may have belonged to Judge Fell himself: it was unfortunately imperfect when Fox incorporated it among the manuscripts of *The Journal* and has since then been still more injured, but in spite of this, it forms, with the document which follows it, a contribution of the highest importance to our knowledge of early Quakerism. It is clearly a transcript of verbatim shorthand notes of the examination of Fox on the charge of blasphemy, giving us a vivid picture of the bench of justices divided amongst themselves, Judge Fell and Colonel West friendly disposed to Fox and examining critically into the inconsistencies of the witnesses, or criticising the legality of the charges brought against him, Sawrey and Dr Marshall eager to secure his conviction (i. 63—68). The importance of the whole document in casting light on the religious views of Fox during this formative period of Quaker history is the greater in that it represents a contemporary transcript of his words and not merely his recollection of what happened twenty-three years before, written down when his views had matured and the theological position of the Quakers generally had

become more clearly defined. The leaf which immediately follows (i. 68—70) is in Fox's own hand throughout and appears to be a contemporary answer to the charges of blasphemy brought against him.

It is interesting to note that James Nayler, who takes part in the dialogue in Court, appears to be endeavouring to insist on the reality of the Divine communion with the believer in a way which foreshadows those later developments which caused such bitter trouble to himself and his friends. The danger which showed itself in James Nayler's sad story had as yet clearly not been perceived by Fox, and although he does not tell us in his *Journal* of his own attitude having been altered by seeing the unhappy error of his friend, it is evident that he must have been profoundly affected by it. It is hardly possible to imagine him in later years using the language of the "Testimony" of 1652, or of this examination. It is no easy task to examine to-day in the dry light of scientific theology the rude and artless utterances of an intense spiritual conviction, which strove to give expression to a deep inward experience. Fox was no theologian trained to analyse, to explain in scientific terms these great realities of which he was conscious. He was not primarily concerned in the intellectual expression of truth, but in its realisation in practical life. His words must not be taken as an accurate intelligible symbol of his thought, but rather as flashes revealing imperfectly depths that the theologian may describe but cannot fathom. We may well imagine the horror felt by the orthodox divines of George Fox's day at this new theology, which was in fact no theology at all, but the imperfect attempt to express the untranslatable spiritual truths which had taken hold of his life. Some theologians may venture to step in and boldly ascend those spiritual heights where the human and Divine meet together: others will rather fence about the slopes of

Sinai, and take off their shoes from their feet, knowing that they are very near to holy ground.

It remains for the future historian of the Quaker movement to take note of these landmarks in George Fox's life, reading them in connection with the large mass of contemporary correspondence preserved in the Swarthmore MSS. now at Devonshire House[a]. From these documents it is clear that many of the early Quakers, amongst them Margaret Fell and her family, thought and wrote of Fox at this time in a way which would hardly have been possible to themselves or other members of the Society of Friends at a somewhat later date, when the painful experience of James Nayler had taught them the danger of forgetting that the vessel in which the Heavenly Light shone was an earthen one, and fragile. "Friends keep low" became an injunction that rightly and needfully accompanied the exhortation to "dwell in the Light."

Before turning from this subject one other passage of importance should also be noticed in the account of Fox's trial at Lancaster in 1664. After the words, which Ellwood prints, "before I came to the bar I was moved to pray that the Lord would confound their wickedness and envy and set His truth over all and exalt His seed," Fox continues, "The thundering Voice said: I have glorified thee and will glorify thee again: and I was so filled full of glory that my head and ears was filled full of glory: and then when the trumpets and judges came up again they all appeared as dead men under me" (ii. 76). Evidently this was an experience which meant much more to Fox than the mere recollection of the words in the Fourth Gospel (John xii. 28, 29) applied to his own circumstances.

[a] The letter of Humphrey Norton to Fox in 1656 printed in this volume (i. 245), is an instance less strong than many in the papers here referred to of the intense and almost idolising affection of his friends for Fox.

The last passage of this category is perhaps one which occurs in the account of the homeward voyage from America in 1673: Fox had noticed the sailors' dread of strange ships and prayed that they might see no more till they came to England, and adds: "and the Lord God said into thy hand and power I have given thee the ship, and Paul's words came into my mind, and all that is in it, that it should come safe: and I told the company that I believed in God; and when we came near home the Lord God said unto me, after he had given the ship into my hand 'canst thou give up thyself, ship and all that is in it now to be taken by the pirates, so that all the ships that are behind in Virginia and Maryland might come safe to England?' and I freely did it: and in the twinkling of an eye it was given again and the blessed God brought us well and safe home" (ii. 254). To be captured by Algerine pirates was the fate which only too frequently befell the seventeenth century voyager: it was characteristic of the width of heart of Fox that he was ready to meet this himself, if thereby he might save from the dreaded disaster the company of unknown travellers and seamen upon the ships behind him.

The manuscript now reproduced for the first time in its entirety through the action of the authorities of the Cambridge University Press was doubtless regarded by George Fox rather as the rough material than the final form of the work to be printed after his death, but we cannot but be grateful that through the liberality of the Syndics and the loving care of its present editor it is possible for the reader to possess an exact transcript of the original work, with all its errors uncorrected. We are able thus to form an estimate of the character of George Fox and of the history of the Society of Friends during his lifetime which no incomplete edition would give us.

Especial importance attaches to the light thrown on

the earlier years of the Quaker movement by the new material now published for the first time. It has been already remarked that the deep spiritual experience through which the early Quaker preachers passed was one to which they were unable to give an adequate intellectual expression. The opposition which they encountered from the scandalised orthodoxy, which knew of no direct revelation to the individual, but could only speak of the experience of the saints in the past, was indeed inevitable, yet it was rendered stronger by the rough and imperfect language of Fox and his friends, which their opponents failed to understand.

An unprejudiced mind like that of Judge Fell might be able to discern the essential sanity of Fox, where a clerical opponent like Dr Marshall might only see madness or blasphemy; but we cannot wonder that there was misunderstanding. Indeed the early Quakers seem sometimes almost to have delighted, when engaged in controversy, in putting intellectual obstacles in the path of their adversaries. In the earlier years of his ministry Fox on at least two occasions asserted the Divine sonship of the believer in a way which must have given offence when left unexplained. At a later period when confronted with the danger of misconceptions as to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as held by Friends he was willing to explain with elaborate care his theological position, as his letter to the Governor of Barbados demonstrates.

Yet there is no sign that he disapproved of his earlier position when he came to compile his *Journal*, and had he done so we can scarcely imagine that he would have incorporated in it his "testimony" to Cromwell and the account of his trial before the Lancaster Justices without adding some word of explanation.

In conclusion we may ask ourselves how far *The Journal* as we now possess it enables us to form an accurate portrait

of Fox as a man. We gain many little details which hitherto were lacking; here and there we may regret a certain note of seeming harshness, or what appears to be too great an insistence on Fox's personal part in the story. But this is more than counterbalanced by the intense reality of all the narrative: it is instinct with a sense of truthfulness. Fox was not one of those great souls who do not realise their strength; he was too sincere to hide what he saw and did in any cloak of mock humility, and there is no trace of this in his *Journal*. But that he was truly humble of heart when face to face with the eternal realities we can realise as we read Penn's memorable words: "Above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words have often struck, even strangers, with admiration....The most awfull, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer[a]." Nor was this inward attitude without its reflection in the ordinary intercourse of George Fox with his fellows, of which Penn wrote: "He was of an innocent life, no busie body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical....So meek, contented, modest, easie, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company[b]."

In one other most important respect the portrait of George Fox given us in his *Journal* is incomplete and must be supplemented by contemporary correspondence and the evidence of those who knew him. We realise, as we read his narrative, something of the magnetic power which attracted his hearers, but only here and there have we a glimpse of that tenderer side of his nature of which we read elsewhere. "Dear George" he was to a wide circle of friends, both before and after his death, and even the cold minutes of the Morning Meeting use the words "dear George Fox" to express the feeling which

[a] Preface to first edition of *The Journal*. [b] ib.

instinctively came to men's minds at the thought of their departed elder. Hardly more than a hint is given in *The Journal* of his strong family affection. His mother, to whose sickbed he was journeying in 1673 when he was arrested and thrown into Worcester jail, was so closely bound to her son that she did not survive the shock of the news (a fact which we now learn for the first time); his stepdaughters and their husbands all loved and revered him, habitually writing of him as their father: his wife's deep affection for him is well known, while *The Journal* scarcely alludes to their married life, and we have to turn to private letters and papers which still survive amongst the Swarthmore manuscripts and elsewhere, for a record of the warm love which united husband and wife. We may regret that Ellwood only quotes a few of the letters written by Fox to his "Dear Heart," as he called her, and that he could find no place for any other record of their happy family life. But this was indeed inevitable from the nature of *The Journal*, which was never intended to be an autobiography in the full sense of the word. Yet if the picture which *The Journal* gives is necessarily incomplete, it is more living and convincing than many a fuller portrait of themselves which other writers have left. As we read its pages there stands out clearly before us the great, strong personality of its writer, with all his shrewdness and simplicity, his untiring devotion to his message and his power of passing it on to others. The prophet's fire, the wise man's counsel, stirring record of hardships bravely borne, quaint and homely touches of human kindness, all are here.

T. EDMUND HARVEY

HAMMERSMITH
IX MO. 1911

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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3. Time and Place of Writing
4. Authenticity
5. Preparation for the Press
6. Printed Editions
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1. History.

The various documents reduced to print in the following pages originally formed part of the collection of manuscript accumulated and preserved at Swarthmoor Hall, in Furness, North Lancashire, the home of the Fell family and also of George Fox after his marriage with Margaret Fell.

From the beginning of her connection with the Quaker movement, Margaret Fell carried on an extensive correspondence with the travelling ministers and others who needed advice or who desired to inform her of the progress of their work, and, fortunately for the historian, large numbers of these letters and of other documents were carefully laid by in the muniment room at the Hall. At the death of Margaret Fox (formerly Fell), these Swarthmoor Papers were safeguarded by the youngest daughter, Rachel, and her husband, Daniel Abraham, who resided at Swarthmoor, and, later, they came into the possession of John Abraham, their only surviving child.

At the sale of the Swarthmoor estate in 1759, the Papers were dispersed among various members of the family; portions of the collection are still in the possession of John Abraham's descendants, while, from time to time,

the major part has found its way by gift and purchase into the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House, London.

We are concerned with one portion only of these Papers—that which includes the recital of George Fox's labours and travels. Of this, we read "the Journal and the documents which accompanied it passed from his [John Abraham's] widow, Sarah Abraham, to Dodgshon Foster, the son of her eldest brother, and from him, at his death in 1782, to his son, Robert Foster, of Hebblethwaite (afterwards of Newcastle-upon-Tyne), descending in 1827 to his son, James Foster. After the death of James Foster in 1861, the 'Swarthmore MSS.,' as they were then called, were given by Rachel Foster, his widow, to his nephew, Robert Spence, of North Shields, from whom they descended in 1890 to his son [Charles James Spence, of North Shields]," ("A Brief Account of the Manuscript Journal of George Fox," by Charles J. Spence, in *The Essayist and Friends' Review*, First Month, 1893). On the death of C. J. Spence in 1905, the MSS. came into possession of his son, Robert Spence, artist, of London and North Shields, who placed them on loan at Devonshire House in 1906 and by whose permission they have been transcribed and printed.

2. Contents.

In order to preserve them carefully, the manuscripts containing *The Journal*, and the various illustrative documents inserted here and there among them, were entrusted by Robert Spence, the elder, to the care of Thomas W. Waters, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who had each leaf separately inlaid (*i.e.* framed in paper), and the whole bound in two volumes in red russia, richly gilt tooled. The paper used bears date

1878. Errors in binding are noted in i. 170. 2, 323. 1, 363. 1, 372. 3, 373. 4; ii. 43. 1, 48. 1, 52. 2, 65. 1, 310. 3, 324. 2, 344. 1. These volumes are now known as Spence MSS. i. and ii. There are indications that the papers were bound in one volume at an earlier period—fragments of rough millboard covers are still in existence, and tradition ascribes the attachment of a pair of clasps (*Jnl. F. H. S.* viii. 50). The general condition of the MSS. is excellent and betokens great care on the part of the various owners.

Each volume, as now bound, contains 230 leaves, the MSS. measuring about twelve inches by seven and a half. The narrative portion (which can be traced through the two printed volumes by means of footnotes, see i. 4, 9, etc.) occupies 270 leaves, most of which are paged consecutively to 411, the remainder being additions in the same handwriting, unnumbered, and often with devotional endings (see i. 138. 1; ii. 8. 1). The first sixteen of the numbered pages are, unfortunately, missing, and also two of the later leaves, perhaps those mentioned ii. 105. 1. Several of the illustrative documents referred to in the narrative have also, at some period, become detached (see i. 71 n., 296 n., 386. 1; ii. 24 n., 85. 1, 105. 1, 134. 1, 153. 1, 154. 1, 163. 1, 169. 1, 170. 1, 176. 3, 262. 2, 284. 1, 313. 2, 341. 1), but two of these have been recovered and their contents printed (ii. 85. 1, 105. 1).

The sixteen pages missing from the beginning of the MS., if written in the same hand as p. 17, would contain about 10,000 words, whereas there are about 17,500 words from the beginning of the printed editions to the point where the narrative in the MS. begins. It is evident, therefore, that the earliest portion of the printed editions includes material from other sources in addition to the material in the missing sixteen pages, a method adopted through the remainder of *The Journal*. The only references noted in *The Journal* to anything recorded in the printed

editions prior to 1650 and, therefore, probably contained in the missing pages, are to be found in notes i. 14 *a*, ii. 19. 1, 110. 1.

3. Time and Place of Writing.

It has generally been stated that *The Journal* was written in Worcester Jail, during the imprisonment of George Fox and Thomas Lower, between Tenth Month, 1673, and Twelfth Month, 1674/5. Charles J. Spence writes, "There can be little doubt that the Journal was dictated by George Fox to his son-in-law, Thomas Lower, and there is some evidence in its arrangement which would show that it was one of the many writings undertaken during the long imprisonment at Worcester, where Thomas Lower was his constant companion" (*Essayist and Friends' Review*, 1893). We know that the Worcester imprisonment was a time of active literary work (see ii. 311, 485). Lower wrote to his wife from Worcester, xi. 1673 (Jan. 1673/4), "It is much as I can do to get a little spare time ...by reason of the many visitors we have, and the many papers to write" (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 287). From internal evidence (i. 41. 2), *The Journal* could not have been written before August, 1674, which leaves three months only between that time and the date of Lower's departure shortly before Fox's liberation in the following February. Fox states that he was sent forth to preach the gospel "& have continnued in it this 27 yeere" (i. 250), which would place the date of this writing in 1674 or early in 1675, if we reckon 1647 as the opening year of his ministry.

It is quite possible that some preparatory work may have been done at Worcester, but, from the following

internal evidence, it is clear that *The Journal* could not have been completed before Fox's release in 1674/5.

(*a*) ii. 105. 3—Barbara Fleming died in April, 1675.

(*b*) i. 111. 2, 292—John Wilkinson died xi. 1675.

(*c*) ii. 312—In the margin of a numbered page appears the date 1676, written, apparently, at the same time as the rest of the page.

(*d*) ii. 325—"now 1676." The Annals for the years 1649 to 1657 are written on pages numbered on, following the close of the narrative portion, but the style of Lower's hand is somewhat different.

(*e*) ii. 338. 3—This survey of the rise and progress of Truth appears to have been written about the same time as the narrative (the watermark of the paper is the same), and it closes with "this yeere 1676."

(*f*) ii. 312—The latest date of the tracts referred to here on numbered pages as written at Swarthmoor is Seventh Month, 1676 (but see ii. 312. 15).

There is no evidence of a break which might indicate a change of *locale*. It is not likely that Fox would have with him in Worcester the various papers referred to in the earlier portion of the narrative (i. 62, 116, 163) as then at hand. It seems, therefore, more probable, in default of any known external evidence, that the whole of the narrative portion was written at Swarthmoor during the leisure of Fox's visit there from iv. 1675 to i. 1677, when surrounded by many important personal and literary helps and in harmony with his own statement, "As many things lay upon me to Write, both for publick and private Service, I did not stir much abroad...but when Friends were not with me spent pretty much time in writing Books and Papers for Truth's service" (printed editions).

This series of MSS. has, according to the historical account before given, been preserved in its present condition for many years. C. J. Spence writes, "The Journal

proper has only once been opened to the printer since it was originally edited for the first folio of 1694. This was in the course of a controversy which divided the Society in the former half of the present century [the Beaconite Controversy, 1836]. Access to the manuscripts was then allowed to some of the disputants, and careful search was made for any matter calculated to impair the authority of the early Friends" (*Essayist and Friends' Review*, 1893). One of the above "disputants" was Elisha Bates, of Ohio, U.S.A., who issued *An Appeal to the Society of Friends*, in 1836 (i. 425). In an introduction to this pamphlet by Robert Benson, he states: "That they [*The Journal* MSS.] are genuine is a fact which admits of no doubt....They carry with them undeniable evidence to this effect, both internal and external."

4. Authenticity.

There is no doubt that the narrative portions of the MSS. (with the exception of p. 17 to the middle of p. 20 and, perhaps, also of the lost sixteen pages) were written by Thomas Lower (1633—1720), step-son-in-law of George Fox. They are in the same hand as in many papers and letters signed by him, extant in D. and elsewhere, and it is well known that he was with George Fox in Worcester and also at Swarthmoor, near which latter place he had a residence.

The writer of the first few pages is not known, but the paper used has the same water-mark as that on which Lower continues and Lower has added to and corrected these pages. The writing on the numbered sheets was probably done at fairly consecutive periods, bearing evidence of hurry as if the matter was dictated, and then, later, these sheets received correction and addition by Lower, in a smaller and more upright style. Except in about a dozen places, by at

most two contemporary hands (i. 135 n., 137 n., 182 n., 285 n., 288 n., 299 n.; ii. 1 n., 36 n., 80 n., 130 n., 165 n., 170 n.), Lower's work has not been altered; many of the addenda documents are endorsed by Lower, and there are evidences in many of them of his corrections and additions (see *e.g.* i. 1. 2, 2. 1, 68. 3, 72. 1, 75. 1, 299. 1, 357. 2, 367. 1, 375. 1, 381. 5; ii. 48. 1, 85. 1, 105. 1, 170. 3, 187.1, 288. 2).

Contrary to general expectation, there is very little of Fox's own writing in his *Journal*. One paper only was completely written by him (i. 68. 3) and only occasionally do a few words of his appear (i. 343. 1; ii. 105. 1, 159. 1, 288. 4), but many papers and letters received his endorsement (see *e.g.* i. 5. 1, 68. 3, 77. 1, 116. 2, 120. 1, 178. 1, 206. 1, 239. 1, 263. 3, 301. 1, 372. 3; ii. 20. 1, 43. 1, 57. 1, 72. 1, 102. 1, 2, 159. 1, 196. 2, 256. 1, 265. 5, 268. 2, 296. 2, 309. 1, 327. 2). The only place where the handwriting of both Fox and Lower appears on the same sheet (except in endorsements) is ii. 105. 1.

Excluding autograph letters and the testamentary papers, it is computed that the two volumes contain about fifty different handwritings (thirty in one and twenty in the other). Among the writers identified are Sarah Fell, Bridget Fell, Ellis Hookes, Gervase Benson, John Stubbs, Richard Richardson, Mark Swanner. There is no appearance of modern handwriting on any of *The Journal* MSS.

The Journal as here printed bears little, if any, evidence of having been preceded by any form of diary, regularly written up, although Ellwood states that Fox "himself kept a Journal" (Ell. edd. at end), but when dictating his life history Fox was, doubtless, able to avail himself of notes of travel and other documents including original letters. Memoranda in Fox's writing are preserved in D., but most of these refer to events later than 1675 and include the "Little Jornall Books" mentioned ii. 348. Numerous documents and letters are found among *The Journal* MSS.,

which were referred to in the compilation of *The Journal* (see i. 63, 67, 68, 160, 299, 367, 375, 378; ii. 43, 48, 57, 60, 72, 85–89, 102, 137, 159, 176, etc.).

In addition to the above sources, there is, in D., a manuscript endorsed by Fox, and usually known as the *Short Journal*, which contains an orderly record of his work and suffering to the year 1664. William C. Braithwaite, in his forthcoming work, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, cites some passages from it and notes the similarity between these and passages in the "Great Journall."

5. Preparation for the Press.

In his testamentary dispositions George Fox makes mention of "y^e^ great Jornall of my Life, Sufferings, Travills, and Imprisonments" (ii. 347), doubtless in reference to the preceding dictated narrative, and he appoints certain Friends to attend to the printing of the same. In the minutes of the Morning Meeting (the body of Friends appointed to examine MSS. and approve or disapprove of the printing of the same), soon after Fox's death, we learn that the work of transcription for the press was undertaken by Thomas Ellwood, and in Second Month, 1692, Ellwood states that he "hath Transcribed about 200 sheets" and "gott no further then 1666." Two months later a minute recites the proposed title for the work—"The History of G. F.'s Journall and Progress in y^e^ Lord's Work—Entituled The Everlasting Gospell Preacht Againe And Truth's Progress in these latter dayes Powerfully Witnessed—In The great Labours Travells Tryalls and Sufferings, of The Antient ffaithfull Servant and Minister of Christ *George ffox* the Elder, who departed this Life in Peace, y^e^ 13^th^ day of the $\frac{11}{mo}$ 1690/1." There were many delays, however; the transcription took a longer time to finish than was anticipated and before the "copy" was

committed to the printer, it was carefully read and re-read in order, as Ellwood writes, "That nothing may be omitted fit to be inserted, nor any thing inserted fit to be left out" (Barclay, *Letters*, p. 213; see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1902), so that, as William Penn put it, "It might not sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears." One object of the present work is to present *The Journal* as first written, not as smoothed and modified by Ellwood and the editorial committees. "The native greatness of Fox asserts itself convincingly through all the ruggedness of the Great Journal and if there are touches of self-importance and extravagant mystical language, we feel that they too, under the conditions of the age, are a natural part, such as we should expect to find, of his commanding personality" (W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*).

Further evidence that the Spence MSS. formed the basis of the Ell. edd. is to be found in the change of style noticeable in the latter at about the year 1675, when the "Great Journall" closes, there being from that time a preponderance of epistolary matter and mere itinerary, as to which Ellwood writes, "Some years remain still to be digested, yet being the latter part of his time they will yield less matter than the former years have done" (Barclay, *op. cit.* p. 213).

6. Printed Editions.

The Journal thus edited, appeared in 1694 (see thereon ii. 109. 4, 349. 2).

Subsequent editions were brought out in England in 1709, 1765, 1827, 1836, 1852 and 1891 (with reprints in 1901 and 1902) and in America in 1800, 1808, 1831 and 1833 (see Appendix to reprint of 1901), but the original manuscripts do not appear to have been consulted in the preparation of any of these later editions.

7. Collation with Printed Editions.

Considerable care has been exercised in the collation of the manuscript *Journal* with the Ell. edd., and an attempt has been made to distinguish the matter omitted from the latter, and therefore printed for the first time, by enclosing it within brackets.

A study of these omissions enables us to classify them roughly, as follows:

Personal references to Fox, mostly laudatory: i. 1, 2, 13, 15, 20, 26, 41, 43, 50, 52, 61, 62, 107, 114, 125, 140, 162, 168, 185, 190, 204, 208, 267, 273, 274, 276, 307, 340, 355; ii. 7, 9, 22, 27, 76, 78, 98, 112, 120, 132, 147, 154—156, 165—167, 169, 175, 222, 230, 232, 233, 238, 310.

Statements made, but doubted or disproved later: i. 9, 14, 39, 107, 149, 180, 181, 184, 187, 189, 190, 194, 196, 200, 201, 205, 210, 231, 242, 243, 255, 269, 308, 310, 353; ii. 33, 284

Curious customs, superstitions, statements, etc.: i. 17, 38, 108, 126, 260; ii. 9, 166, 168, 170.

Difficult readings: i. 21, 90, 157, 248, 343; ii. 104, 210, 293.

Omission of names, in some cases those of ex-Friends: i. 10, 40, 44, 56, 198, 245, 291, 308, 357, 386; ii. 3, 124, 125, 133, 156, 158, 162, 169, 176, 197, 212, 262, 312.

Omission of dates: i. 2, 24, 55, 139, 148, 160, 165, 180, 182, 211, 261, 317, 348, 389; ii. 10, 72, 91, 119, 222—239, 284, 285, 310.

Statements regarding persons for various reasons undesirable to print: i. 29, 41, 44, 51, 79, 166. 2, 181, 183, 231, 245, 302, 343, 360, 384; ii. 1, 4, 8, 42, 162, 163, 284.

References to documents omitted from Ell. edd.: i. 62, 79, 360; ii. 19, 24, 56, 57, 80, 84, 102, 106, 176, 262, 284.

References to contemporary literature: i. 197, 208, 214; ii. 3, 196, 313.

Lengthy omissions from narrative portion: i. 140 f., 285 ff., 312 ff.; ii. 135 f., 153 ff.

It must be borne in mind by those who use this edition of *The Journal of George Fox* that it is the reproduction in print of a certain collection of MSS. and is not based upon editions of *The Journal* previously printed, and especially that the text of this edition covers the period of Fox's life from 1650 to 1675 only.

8. Note respecting the Calendar.

It may be well to mention that, until the year 1752, what is known as the Julian Calendar, under which the year began on the 25th of March, was in use in the British Isles, whilst other nations of Western Europe computed the year according to the Gregorian Calendar, which made the year begin on the 1st of January. For more than a century before the latter Calendar was introduced, the dates from 1 January to 24 March inclusive were often given according to both Calendars, thus—16 January, 1656/7.

Those writers who discarded the *names* of the months, some of which had a pagan origin, and who described the months by *number*, began the year with March and called the whole of that month First Month, although, according to the Julian reckoning, only the last seven days formed part of the new year. Friends followed the lead of some other nonconforming bodies, hence the right understanding of this method of reckoning is essential to the student of the first hundred years of Quaker history.

An examination of the dates of consecutive records of Friends shows the care which official Quakerism took in this matter. In the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings (MS. in D.), for instance, we find 22nd of 12 mo. 1676, 1st of 1 mo. 1676, 22nd of 1 mo. 1676, 12th of 2 mo. 1677, also 9th of 11 mo. $168\frac{4}{5}$, 16th of 11 mo. 1684, 27th of 12 mo.

$168\frac{4}{5}$, 6th of 1 mo. $168\frac{4}{5}$, 20th of 1 mo. $168\frac{4}{5}$, 27th of 1 mo. 1685.

By the Act of 24 George II, "for regulating the commencement of the year and for correcting the Calendar now in use," it was enacted that the first day of January next following the last day of December should be "reckoned taken deemed and accounted to be the first day of the year of our Lord, 1752, and so on from time to time."

It was also enacted that, in order to correct the Calendar, which, in process of time, had become eleven days out, the day after the 2nd of September, 1752, should be reckoned the 14th of September.

The Friends' Yearly Meeting of 1751 directed that arrangements should be made for compliance with the provisions of this Act, and in Seventh Month (Sept.), a circular was sent out to Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and America on the subject, including the following table:

The	Eleventh Twelfth First Second Third Fourth Fifth Sixth Seventh Eighth Ninth Tenth	Month called	January February March April May June July August September October November December	shall be reckoned and stiled	First Second Third Fourth Fifth Sixth Seventh Eighth Ninth Tenth Eleventh Twelfth	Month of the next and every succeeding year

George Fox's signature

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX

[a]*After this I was moved to go into Derbyshire, where the mighty Power of God was among ffriends. And I went to Chesterfield where one Britland*[1] *was Priest. He was one, that saw beyond the common sort of Priests; for he had*[a] [2]beene convinced whoe was above ye Preistes[3] & had spoaken much in behaulfe of Truth & soe ye Preist of ye Towne being dead Hee had gott ye parsonage & choaked himselfe with itt, & soe I was mooved to speake to him & ye people, In ye great love of God, & hee was not able to oppose, & soe they had mee before ye Maior & sent mee {with some others} to ye House of Correction, but ye Iudgments[4] of ye Lord came on y[t] preist soone after & hee was cutt off & dyed. And in ye Night they putt Us out of Towne with Watch men, but there were severall convinced of ye Lords Truth & ye Lords Power began to spread mightyly & his Truth up and downe in those partes [& then y[t] Preist Stevens[5] of Drayton my Native Place, hee Preached & tould my Relations y[t] I was carryed up with a whyrlewind Into Heaven, & after I was found full of gould & sillver, & soe my Relations wrote a letter to mee to come & shew myself, & soe I Answered ye letter, & they shewed itt To ye Preist, & ye Preist said Aney one might write a Letter—but where was ye Man? & soe my Relations did conclude itt was soe, for said They when Hee went from Us hee had a greate deale of gould & sillver about him, neveryelesse they sent to mee againe, & after I went homewardes, & one or two

[a]...[a] From the first Ellwood edition 1694, page 30.

went along with mee till wee came to a Towne where wee mett many Professors, & many were convinced {at Kidsley Parke[1]}].

[1650.] And Then wee came to Darby & Lay att a Doctors House his wife was convinced & severall in ye Towne, & as I was walkeing in my Chamber ye bell rung & itt struck at my Life at ye very heareing of itt, & I asked ye woeman of ye House what ye bell Rung for? & shee said there was to bee a great Lecture y^{t} day & aboundance of ye Officers of ye Armie & Preists & Preachers were to be there & a Collonell y^{t} was a preacher, & I was mooved of ye Lord to goe up to them, & when they had done, I spake to them what ye Lord commanded mee; & they were pretty quiett & there came an Officer to mee & took mee by ye hand & said I must goe before the Magestrates & ye other 2 y^{t} were with mee, & soe when wee came before y^{m} about ye 1st hower I tould them All their Preaching, Baptisme, & sacrifices would never sanctifie them & had many words with y^{m}; & I tould y^{m} y^{t} they were not to dispute of God & Christ but to obey him, & ye power of God was thundred Among y^{m} & they flew like Chaff, & they putt mee in & out from ye 1st hower to ye 9^{o} hower at night in Examinations having mee backward & forward & said y^{t} I was taken up in raptures as they cald itt & soe att last they asked mee whether I was sanctified? & I said, sanctified; yes, for I was in ye Paradise of God, & they said had I noe Sinne? Sinne said I Hee hath Taken away my sinne (viz: Christ my saviour) & in him there is noe sinne, & many such like words[2] {they had with mee as in ye foloweinge examination may bee seene}, & soe They committed mee upon That as a Blaspheamer, & {as by ye mittimus may bee seene} a Man havinge noe sinne & committed Another man[3] with mee to ye House of Correction for six Monthes [& then many People came far & neer to see a Man y^{t} had noe sinne], & then did ye Preistes Roare up for Sinne in their pullpitts, & preach up sin {y^{t} people said never was ye like hearde}. Itt was all their workes to plead for itt, & soe then after some tyme y^{t} Man y^{t} was imprissond with mee did not stand but gott in with ye keeper & made way to ye Justice to goe see his Mother {& soe gott his liberty}, & then they reported y^{t} hee should

saye y^t I had bewitched him & deceived him [& some ffreinds wold have removed mee to ye Parliament itt being y^{en} in the Dayes of ye Common Wealth], & then my Spirit was doubled upon mee when y^t Man was gone, & y^n ye Preistes & Justices & Professors & Keeper were all in great Rage against mee & watched my words & asked mee questions to ensnare mee, sometimes would ask mee {such silly questions as} whether ye Door was latched &c things, to gett somethinge to make sinne of itt, but I was kept watchfull & Chaste, & they Admired at Itt [& severall tymes I had motions {from ye Lorde} to goe Into ye Towne in tyme of ffaires & Marketts to speake to ye People {though I was in prison}, & I would tell ye Keeper & aske him to lett mee goe & hee would not, & then I said to Him, y^{en} lett it be upon thee, ye Iniquitye of ye People bee upon thee, & ye Lord said to mee y^t I was not to be remooved from y^t place yet, but was sett as a King for ye $bodie^s$ sake & for ye true hope {y^t doth purify} & ye true ffaith {y^t gives ye victory} & ye true Beleife {y^t overcomes ye worlde}].

And soe when professors came to mee to dispute & discourse I shold feele y^m before they came to plead for sin & imperfection, & I asked them whether they beleived? & they said yes, y^n I asked y^m: In whome? & they said, In Christ, & I said to y^m: if you beleive you are past from Death to Life, & soe from ye sinne y^t bringeth Death {& they saide they beleived noe such thinge y^t any coulde bee free from sin while upon ye earth}. Then I bid y^m Keep from babling about ye Scriptures which were holy mens Wordes, whilst you plead for Unholynesse, & y^n (it may be) another Company of Professors would come & they also woulde bee pleading for sin, & I wold ask y^m whether they had hope? & they wold say, yes, god forbid else, but y^t wee shold have hope, & I asked them what hope is it? did itt purifye you As hee is pure? Christ in you ye hope of Glory? & they could not endure to hear of puritye {or being made pure heere} & then I bid y^m keep from talkeing of ye Scriptures ye holy mens words {for ye holy men pleaded for holynesse in hearte & life & conversation heere} & you pleading for Impurity & sin which is of ye Divell {what have you to doe with ye holy mens words}.

And y^n^ (it may be) another Company would come, y^t^ wold bee talkeing of ye Scriptures & pleading for sinne, & I would aske y^m^ have you any faith? & they wold say, yes, & y^t^ they were Christians.—And I said what Faith is it? will it give Victorie over sin? & over ye Divell? & Purifie your heartes? & bring you to have accesse to God againe? & to please God, which ffaith is held in a pure Conscience, & they could not Endure to hear talke of puritye nor victory over sin & ye Divell {heere upon ye earth}, & then I bid them also Give over talkeing & babling of ye Scriptures y^t^ were Given forth by holy Men, as they were moved by ye holye Ghost, & ye keeper beinge a great Professor was in A mighty rage against mee, yet itt pleased ye Lord to strike him soe one day y^t^ as I was walkeing in my Chamber I heard A dolefull Noise & I made a stand, & hee was speakeing to his wife How y^t^ hee saw ye Day of Judgment & hee saw Georg there & Hee was afraid of him because y^t^ Hee had done him soe much wronge & spoke {soe much} against him to Professors & Justices {& ye Preists} & in Tavernes & Alehouses, &c & soe toward Evening hee came up into my Chamber & said to mee, I have bin as a Lyon against you, but Now I come like a Lamb, & come like ye Goaler y^t^ came to Paul & Silas trembling & desired y^t^ hee might Lye with mee, & I tould him y^t^ I was in his power, hee might doe what hee would, & hee said nay, hee wold have my Leave, & hee could {desire to} be allways with mee, but not {to have mee} as a Prisoner, & said y^t^ hee had bin plagued, & his house was plagued for my sake [like Pharohs & Abimelecks concerning Abraham & Isaack], & soe I suffred Him {to lye with mee}, & then hee tould mee all his heart & beleived what I said to be true of ye true faith, & hope &c, & wondred y^t^ ye other man did not stand to itt y^t^ was putt into prisson with mee & said Hee was a knave & I was an honnest man &c, & soe hee went to ye Justices & tould y^m^ hee & his house had been plagued for my sake & ye Justices said that ye plagues was one y^m^ too {for keepinge mee in prison}, this was Justice Bennett[1] of Darby y^t^ first called Us Quakers because wee bid y^m^ tremble att ye Word of God[2] & this was in ye year 1650.[a]

[a] Narrative continued on page 9.

[*Collonell Bennett that called the servants of the Lord Quakers*

G. F. paper to him: Collonell bennett of darbe 1650[1].

friend

The lord will persue thee though thou run to the uttmost parts of the Earth, & be lifted upp Among the princes which are but as dust, thou wast the first man that turned Against the truth one of them in the north, and thou saids thou prisonest one they call george ffox for saying that Christ that dyed att Jerusalem was A rogue, this thou saids when thou wast att London A parlement man and declared it ther Abroad when sence that time to[a] men was sent out of the north, Robert Whither[2] and James Tayler[3] {& another} to queery at the Goale, wher hee was prisoned, and to see the mittymus and query the country and the towne, for thou keeping him In prison twelve month (within three weekes). If Any such thing had bine, the Country the towne the keepers of the prisone whould have knowne it, but noe such thing Ever could bee heard, others have queeried in the same towne, and gon to the priest, which was one that did Examine him, and hee declared and gave it under his hand (Baker[4] by name) that hee never hard Any such thing, neither was ther Any such word spoken, and gave it under his hand to Myles Halehead[5], now thou being in place to doe Justice, and A publisher of lyes to the nation when thou wart a parlament man, now in this thou dishonourest thy place (who bends thy tongue to tell lyes) thou wast the first man in the nation that gave the people of god the name quaker And Called them quakers, when thou Examinest George in thy house att Derbey (which they had never the name before) now A Justice to wrong name people, what may the brutish people doe, if such A one A Justice of peace give names to men, but thou art Lifted upp proud and haughty and soe turnest Against the Just one given upp to misname the saints, and to make lyes for others to beeleve: for all the Country people and the toune and the priests and Jayler cleared George from thy lyes

[a] Altered to *three* in another hand.

and slanders, and did not god bring his plagues uppon thee whiles hee was in prison, and uppon the Jayler both, was not sume of you made to confess it, was not sume of your housis plagued, did you not see and feele the hand of god, and sayd the plague of god would never bee ofe you whiles you kept him, now did thou, the plague being A lettle off thee bend thy tongue to fforch lyes Againe in the cheiffest Assembly in the nation, will not this ffall uppon thee.

Unto the wittnes in thee doe I speake of god dids not thou render thy self odyous beeffore men and god, canst thou hide thy self from his presents (or his children) but both will fiend thee out, oh man the day will come uppon thee that thou wilt ffeele, thou hads better never bine borne, oh man what hast thou sowen in the nation how many Reprochers scoffers & mockers through Every towne in the nation, hast thou beegotten yee the very tables and housis and feasts[a] thy children mockers and scoffers, for thou wast the first man that gave the children of god that name of qwakers, and soe it spread over the nation, the Lord will rewards thee According to thy workes, and what thou hast sowen, that that thou must Reape, and thou hast the bigest crap In the nation to Reape (of Reprochers) of one seeds-man, ffor all the whole Reprochis in the nation have come upp in that kiends, through thee (as quakers), thou art the man and father that hath begotten all thees reproches and the day of thy Lementation is come, for they that are reproched as quakers by thee they with that which cannot bee shaken which Are of the Riall seed of gods Elect, and pretious before the world was made, thou hast opened all mouths in strets and townes and highways and all the dronkards and brutish people to shut and mocke, and call quaker and heares thy ofspring and of thy stocke and roote and heare is thy worke and fruit of thy geneation Ismaells first borne, and all the mockers and scoffers uppon the Earth, that gives the name quaker to the people of god thou wert the father of, soe the father of mockers scoffers scorners, and scorners they all ly uppon thee, and thou canst never gett that downe which thou hast begotten in all mockers scoffers and reprochers throout the nation,

[a] An ancient copy of this letter (Spence MSS. iii. 5) reads *streets*

and nations and all theer dominions, ffor the sober people follow thee not, neither doe they Learne thy doctrine, but all the Light prophaine heady Earthly proud ungodly people, thees receve thy doctrine of Reproch, for Long[1] before thou In scorne called them quakers, hath the people of the Lord god bine knowne About Mansfeild Notinggham, and sume parts of Lester sheare, and ther Abouts.

Now all the Reprochis in the world in this thing, will be thy begetting, for of it art thou Author and farther, to us the people of God, whos burden thou must beare, for thou hast filled the mouth of scorners with Reprochis, and soe made the people of god in scorne bee called by that name thorowout all thees nations, and this is thy worke thou hast brought forth the 30 day of October 1650 In Darby, who was the first Reprocher and scorner and giving the name to the people of god (quaker) which sence in the nation thou mayest see what fruit it hath brought forth, and how many children thou hast in all the streets, and townes, and how many deciples thou hast drane After thee, which hast caused the truth to bee Evell spoken of, and soe all may see heare, that thou hast sowen to the flesh, that soe much corruption thou must reape In all towns streets markertts, and steple housis and see if this state must not quake, Among you, before the seed of god be raysed upp over all, and will not this word be Redeemed from the people of god who are of the Ryall seed of god, that wittneseth wher ther is noe shaking types nor figuirs nor shadows.

And must not thou who first gave the name quaker to them of the Ryall seed of god quake, is not that word to thy self and all the Reprochers scoffer mockers proud Earthly ones fatt dronken lust full ones, beastly people that follow pleaswer, headdy high miended and haughty and covitious given upp to Uncleanenes hath they word quaker in their mouths Against the Ryall seed must not they quake, Is not the word quake to them, and tremble both from the Lord god, fighters strikers persequtors hath gott the word quake to the Royall seed, now is not the word quake to all them And tremble both and shake before they know the seed of god (that they say quake to) doe the Ryall seed of god quake must not thou and all thy Children that have Learned

thy doctrine know quaking and trembling before they know soulvation wrought out, and all mockers scoffers and miss namers of people is not this all in the transgression, out of the saintyfied state, and is it not of Ishmaells stocke, and yett you are Ignorant of the scripters, and the holy men of gods words and his power which wrought uppon them which made them to tremble, make proud flesh to tremble that is the soulvation and workes out the seed, the heir of the promis of god, Mosis trembled, David trembled, Habaccok trembled, Job trembled, the Alarhum is sounded in the holy mountain, the Trumpet is sonded out of Syon, which shall make the Inhabitants of the Earth tremble, the day of the Lord is Appered and A sword is drane, and the battle of the Lord is begone with all the Inhabitants of the Earth, his fury is gon out (woe) is pronounced, the vialls are powering out the thunders untering Eathquakes shall bee downe and art knowne[a] the kings of the Earth the beast and the false prophett and the ould dragon shall Rise Against the Lambe the saints but the Lambe the saints shall gett the victory and they shall be taken and cast A live in to the Lake of fier hee shall they slay with the sword that comes forth of his mouth, soe thou hast bine one of the beasts heads, that gives the names which doe not the saints nor Apostles nor Christ teach Any such docktrine, that the saints should doe soe, but all this Giving of names Among people is come upp Among you from them that are Apostatised, the divells geneation and the dragons power and soe to cause the people to give names on to Another, wher by to Envy one another and to hate one Another, and this they are Ignorant off that they ware all off one blood and mould that dwell uppon the face of the whole Earth, and Ignorant of the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles which is Love, and stopts that which causes Envy and hatreed, soe that which went out of the truth and aboad not in truth is the Enmyty is the cause of people hating one Another, and the quakers now in scorne called soe shall make the nations Tremble.

G. F.]

[a] Or might be read *un krowne* The other MS. reads *Earth Quakes shall be knowen and are knowen*

[1][G. F. hearing y^t^ Phillip Bennet[2] a Justice of peace of Darby, after he had prisoned G. F. wrongfully & keept about a year, after he being a parlement man, he Reported at London: that he had Imprisoned G. F. for calling Christ Rogue—& this was about 3 years after y^t^ g. f. was first Imprisond by him: & g. f. wondered at this slander he should cast upon him, that he sent 3 substantiall men out of ye north to Darbie town wher I was in prison to ye geole and to ye preist, who took a Coppie of my mittimus & ye examination as is here inserted wher all may see, how this Justice Benet of Darby had wronged g. f. in say he had spoke those words, which he never said nor thought: but abhored in his heart: & this both Geollers & ye preist & ye people of ye town testified, that was at ye examination.

g. f.]

[a]And soe hee confest all to mee how that when I had ye severall Motions {from ye Lorde} to goe out to speake to People & hee wold not Lett mee goe & when I layd itt upon Him y^t^ y^n^ hee was distracted & Amazed for an hower after & was much troubled & in such a Condition for a tyme [y^t^ one might have killed him with a Crabb {as hee saide}], & ye Justice gave Leave y^t^ I shold have Liberty to goe A Myle, & I perceived their end, & I tould ye Goaler y^t^ if they would sett {doune to} mee how farr a mile was, I might walk in it, but its like they thought I would goe Awaye, but I tould Him I was not of y^t^ spirit, & ye Goaler confest it after y^t^ they did itt with y^t^ Intent to have had mee gone away {to ease ye plague from them}, & they said I was an honnest man, & this Goaler had a sister y^t^ was a tender young woeman, & shee came up Into my Chamber {to visett mee}, and went downe [& a little after Dyed], & shee spake before & tould them y^t^ an Innocent People wee were & did none any hurt but did good to all, & to them y^t^ hated us and Desired Them to bee tender towards Us [& soe shee Dyed].

And a great Judgment was upon ye towne & I saw ye Power of God went away from them as ye Waters ranne [from ye Towne {damm] when ye floode gates were uppe[3]},

[a] Narrative continued from page 4, *hee = ye keeper.*

for they were an hardened People, & yett there were some convinced in ye Towne.

And there was a young woeman y^t^ was to bee putt to death for robbing her master & Judgment was Given & a grave made for her & shee carryed to Execuçon & I was made to write to ye Judg & to ye Jury about her, & when shee came there they had not Power to Hang her {as by ye paper which I sent to be reade at ye gallowes may bee seene}, but shee was brought back againe, & they came with great rage against mee {into ye prison}, but afterwards this yong woeman came to be convinced.

[1]And soe I was allowed a mile to walke out by my selfe: & one time whilsst I was in goale there was a Conjurer brought to prison & hee threatned how hee woulde talke with mee {& what hee woulde doe to mee}: a wicked ungodly man: but hee had never power to open his mouth unto mee: & one time ye goaler & hee fell out & hee threatned ye goaler to raise ye Devill to breake his house doune & made ye goaler afraide: & I was moved off ye Lorde to goe in his power & thresh him in it: & to say Come letts see what thou canst doe & bid him doe his worst: & tolde him ye Devill was raised high enough in him already but ye power of God chained him: & hee slunke away & went from mee.

And when I had liberty I went into ye markett & streets & warned people to repentans, & soe returned to prison againe.

And my relations came to mee & was much troubled y^t^ I shoulde bee in prison: for they lookt upon it to bee a great shame to y^m^ for mee to bee in goale & It was a strange thinge to bee Imprisoned then for religion & some thought I was madde, because I stoode for purity & perfection & righteousnesse.

And there came on [Rice Jones[2]] {a souldyer} of Nottingham y^t^ had beene a baptist & severall others with him: whoe was goeinge to Worcester fight: says hee to mee thy faith stands in a man y^t^ dyed att Jerusalem & there was never any such thinge & I saide unto him did not Christ suffer without ye gates at Jerusalem through ye professinge Jewes & cheife preists & pilate: & hee denyed it y^t^ ever

Christ suffered there outwardely: then I askt him whether there was not cheife preists: & Jews & pilate {there outwardely}: then hee saide I was a cheife preist: but I tolde him if hee did confesse there was a cheife preist & Jews there outwardely: then hee must needs confesse y^{t} Christ was persecuted & suffered there outwardely under y^{m}: which as to ye preists outwardely beinge there hee woulde not deny: & saide hee woulde say litle to y^{t}: & from this man & his Company was the slaunder raised upon us y^{t} ye Quakers shoulde deny Christ y^{t} {dyed &} suffered att Jerusalem: which was all utterly false: & never ye least thought of it in our heartes [butt itt was these baptists y^{t} thus cast it upon our ffreinds: & they nor never any other learnt any such principle amongst us].

And also hee saide y^{t} never any of ye prophetts nor Apostles nor holy men of God sufferd any thinge outwardely: butt all there suffringes were inwardely. And I Instanced to him many of ye prophetts & Apostles: how they sufferd & by whome they sufferd {& soe I brought ye power of ye Lorde over his imaginations & whimsys}: & soe hee went his ways.

And there came another Company y^{t} pretended they were tryers of Spiritts: & I askt y^{m} a question what was ye first steppe to peace: & what Itt was by which a man might see his salvation: & they was uppe in ye ayre & saide I was madd: soe such came to try Spiritts as did not know y^{m}selves nor there owne {Spiritts}.

And daily tryalls & disputes had I with professors of all sorts: & soe Worcester ffight came on & my time beinge out of beinge committed 6 monthes to ye house of Correction: & then they filled ye house of Correction with persons y^{t} they had taken upp to bee souldyers: & then they woulde have had mee to bee Captaine off y^{m} to goe foorth to Worcester fight & ye souldyers cryed they woulde have none butt mee: soe ye keeper of ye house of Correction was commanded to bringe mee upp before ye Commissioners & souldyers in ye markett place: & there they profered mee y^{t} preferment because of my virtue as they saide with many other complements: & askt mee If I woulde not take upp armes for ye Commonwealth against ye Kinge. Butt I tolde y^{m} I lived in ye {virtue of y^{t}} life & power y^{t} tooke

away ye occasion off all warrs: & I knew from whence all warrs did rise from ye lust accordinge to James his doctrine: & still they courted mee to accept of there offer: & thought y^{t} I did butt complement with y^{m} but I tolde y^{m} I was come Into ye Covenant of peace which was before warrs & strifes was: & they saide they offerd it in love & kindenesse to mee because off my virtue & such like: & I tolde y^{m} if y^{t} were there love & kindenesse I trampelde it under my feete.

Then saide they take him away goaler & cast him Into ye Dungeon amongst ye roages & felons: which they then did putt mee into ye dungeon amongst 30 felons in a lousy stinkinge place without any bed: where they kept mee almost a halfe yeere: unlesse Itt were att times: & some tymes they woulde lett mee walk in ye garden for they had a beleife off mee y^{t} I woulde not goe away.

[And one time hee y^{t} shoulde have beene ye Leifetenant but refused it they cast him Into prison alsoe: & ye goalers wiffe saide shee woulde lett him goe out to walk with mee in ye backesyde: & as I walked a litle before him I hearde ye hedge cracke: & I stept backe to him & askt him why hee woulde offer to doe soe: & soe brought him in: soe hee went foorth noe more with mee: but when hee walkt foorth by himselfe: hee rann away: butt they fetcht him againe soone after.]

And there was severall sorts of religions in prison: & on ye first days when I gott out I woulde goe & visitt y^{m} in there meetings in the prison on ye first days.

And when I was in ye house of Correction: there came a trooper to mee & saide as hee was settinge in ye steeplehouse hearinge ye preist hee was in {an exceedinge} great trouble & ye voice of ye Lorde came to him sayinge what dost not thou know y^{t} my servant is in prison goe to him for directions: & hee came & I spoake to him & opned his understandinge & setled his minde in ye light & spiritt of God in himselfe: & tolde him y^{t} which shewed him his sin & troubled him for it: woulde shew him his salvation: for hee y^{t} shews a man his sinns is hee y^{t} takes it away: & soe ye Lords power opned to him soe as hee began to have great undestandinge of ye Lords truth & mercyes: & begann to speak boldely in his quarters amongst ye souldyers &

others {concerneinge truth}: & ye Scriptures was very much opned to him: soe y^t^ hee saide y^t^ his [two] Collonell[s Barton[1] & Saunders[2]] was as blinde as Nebuchadnesar to cast mee ye servant of ye Lorde Into prison: soe they begann alsoe to have a spite & malice against him: y^t^ when hee came to Worcester fight & ye two armyes lay one nigh ye other: two came out of ye kinges army & chalenged two out of ye parlament army to fight with y^m^ & then his two Collonells made choice of him and another: to goe and fight with y^m^: & they went foorth to y^m^ & his companion was killed & after hee drove ye two within muskett shott of ye townde & he never fired his pistoll att y^m^: this hee tolde mee out of his owne mouth: butt when ye fight was over hee sawe there deceite & hypocrisye & hee layde doune his armes & sawe to ye ende of fightinge: and how ye Lorde had miraculously preserved him.

And when I was In ye house of Correction my relations came to mee: & went to ye Justice y^t^ cast mee in prison: & woulde have beene bounde in one hundred pounds: & others in Darby 50 l. a peice y^t^ I might have gonne home with y^m^: & y^t^ I shoulde not come noe more amongst y^m^: to declare against ye preists: & they had mee uppe to before ye Justice with y^m^: & because I woulde not have y^m^ to bee bounde: for I was Innocent from any ill behaviour: & had spoaken ye worde of life & truth unto y^m^: Justice Bennett gott uppe Into a rage: & as I was kneelinge doune to pray to ye Lorde to forgive him hee rann upon mee with both his handes & struck mee: & cryed away with him goaler: take him away goaler [& many times when they was settinge mee at liberty then was I moved of ye Lorde God to write[3] unto y^m^ & then there rage woulde bee uppe & then they woulde keepe mee in prison againe].

And in this time I was exceedinge much oppressed with Judges & magistrates & Courts[4]: & was moved to write to ye Judges concerneinge there puttinge men to death for Catle & for money: severall times: howe contrary to ye law of God it was: & one time when I did write to y^m^ I was under such a burden for there takeinge away mens lifes for such small thinges which was soe contrary to ye law of God: y^t^ I writt to lett y^m^ see howe contrary to ye law of God it was & I was under great sufferinges through

it: butt when I came out of it: ye heavens was opned & ye glory of God shined over all [& two men sufferd for small thinges: & I was moved {to admonish y^m^ for there theft} to Incourage y^m^ concerneinge there suffringe it beinge contrary to ye law of God & a litle after they had sufferd there spiritts appeared to mee as I was walkinge & I saw ye men was well].

And I alsoe writt to ye Judges what a sore thinge it was y^t^ prisoners shoulde lye soe longe in goale: & howe y^t^ they learned badnesse one of another in talkinge off there bad thinges: & therefore speedy Justice shoulde have beene donne: for I was a tender youth in ye feare off God & I was greived to heare there bad language: & was made often to reprove y^m^ for there words & bad Carriage each towards other.

And soe ye people did admire y^t^ I shoulde bee soe preserved & kept: for they could never catch a worde nor action: for almost a whole yeer from mee: to make any thinge off: for ye Lords Infinite power uphelde & preserved mee all y^t^ time [butt many turned off y^t^ had beene convinced because of ye persecution].

And sometime they woulde have had mee uppe before ye parlament & another time they woulde have banished mee to Irelande att first they caled mee a deceiver & seducer & a blasphemer & then when God brought his plages upon y^m^ then they saide I was an honest virtuous man: butt there good report & bad report there well nor Ill speakinge was nothing to me for ye one did not lift mee uppe nor ye other cast mee doune praised bee ye Lorde.

Soe att last I was sett out freely in 1651: & when I was foorth I passt through ye Country towards my owne Country where I had meetinges & ye Lords power & spiritt accompanyed mee: soe I came through ye Countryes Into Leistersheer: where ye preists reported I was taken uppe above ye Clouds & after found again full of golde & sylver: y^t^ they might see there lyes: & this was preist Steephens aforesaid that had saide to Purphury[1] aforesaid[a] y^t^ never such a plant was bred in Englande.

[a] That is Colonel *Purefoy*, probably referred to in the missing pages of the MS. The spelling of the original has been altered by another hand.

[1]And when I came out of Darby prison I came to neere Burton upon Trent where some was convinct & soe to Bushell house[2] where I had a meetinge: & I went uppe Into ye Country where was freindely people but there was a rageing wicked professor had an Intent to have donne mee a mischeife but ye Lord prevented him.

[3]And as I was one time walkinge in a Close with severall freinds I lift uppe my heade & I espyed three steeplehouse spires & they strucke att my life & I askt ffreindes what they was & they saide Lichfeilde & soe the worde of ye Lord came to mee thither I might goe: & I bid freindes y^{t} was with mee walke Into ye house from mee & they did & assoone as they was gonne for I saide nothing to y^{m} {whether I would goe} butt I went over hedge & ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfeilde & when I came Into a great feilde wher there was shepheards keepinge there sheepe I was commanded of ye Lorde to putt of my shooes off a sudden & I stoode still & ye word of ye Lorde was like a fire in mee & beinge winter I untyed my shooes & putt y^{m} off: & when I had donne I was commanded to give y^{m} to ye shepheards [& was to charge y^{m} to lett noe one have y^{m} except they paide for y^{m}].

And ye poore shepheards trembled & were astonished & soe I went about a mile till I came Into ye townde & assoone as I came within ye townde ye worde of ye Lorde came unto mee againe to cry: Woe unto ye bloody citty of Lichfeilde: soe I went uppe & doune ye streets cryinge Woe unto ye bloody citty of Lichfeilde & beinge markett day I went Into ye markett place & went uppe & doune in severall places of it & made stands cryinge Woe unto ye bloody citty of Lichfeilde & noe one touched mee nor layde hands off mee.

[And soe att last some freindes & freindely people came to mee & saide alacke George where is thy shooes & I tolde y^{m} Itt was noe matter] soe when I had declared what was upon mee & cleared my selfe I came out of ye tounde in peace about a mile to ye shepheards: & there I went to y^{m} & tooke my shooes & gave y^{m} some money & ye fire off ye Lorde was soe In my feete & all over mee y^{t} I did not matter to putt my shooes one any more & was att a stande whether I shoulde or noe till I felt freedome from ye Lorde soe to doe.

And soe att last I came to a ditch & washt my feete & putt on my shooes & when I had donne I considered why I shoulde goe & cry against y^t^ citty & call it y^t^ bloody citty: though ye parlament had ye minister[a] one while and ye Kinge another while & much bloode had beene shed in ye townde yett y^t^ coulde not bee charged upon ye townde butt as I went doune ye tounde there runn like a Channell of bloode doune ye streets & ye markett place was like a poole of bloode this I saw as I went through it cryinge woe to ye bloody citty of Lichfeilde.

Butt after I came to see y^t^ there was 1000 martyrs in Dioclesians time was martyrd in Lichfeilde & soe I must goe in my stockinges through ye Channell of there bloode & come Into ye poole of there bloode in there markett place.

Soe I might raise uppe ye bloode of those martyrs y^t^ had beene shed & lay colde in there streets: which had beene shed above a 1000 yeeres before.

Soe ye sense of this bloode was upon mee for which I obeyed ye worde of ye Lorde: & ye auntient records will testify how many of ye {Christian} Britaines sufferd there.

And much more I might write to this thinge & of ye sense of ye bloode of ye martyrs y^t^ hath beene slaine in this nation both in & under ye ten persecutions & since for ye name of Christ sake but I leave it to ye Lord & his booke out of which all shall bee Judged out off, for his booke is a true recorde: & his spiritt is a true register: or recorder.

And then I passt uppe & doune & had meetinges amongst ffreindely people in severall places: & my relations was offended att mee: soe after some time I came Into Nottingham sheere againe & to Mansfeilde & Darby sheere visitinge freindes: & preacht repentans through Doncaster & severall other places: & then after came to Balby: where Rich: farnesworth[1] was convinct & severall others: & soe passt through ye Countrys to severall places: preachinge repentans & ye worde of life to y^m^: & went Into ye Country about Wakefeilde where James Naylor[2] lived, where hee & Tho: Goodyeere[3] was convinct & Will: Dewsbury[4]: & many more & from thence I passt through ye Country towards Captaine Pursloe[5] by Selbye & one John Leeke[6]

[a] *minister = minster.*

there had beene to visitt mee in Darby prison beinge convinced: & I had a horse but was faine to leave my horse {not knowing what to doe with him}: ffor I was moved to goe to many great houses to admonish y^m & to exhorte y^m to turn to ye Lorde.

And soe as I passed on I was moved of ye Lorde to goe to Beverly steeplehouse a great professinge place & beinge very wett I went to an Inn: & assoone as I came to ye doore: a young woman came to ye doore: & saide what is it you saide shee: as though shee had seene mee before: come in: saide shee: for ye Lords power bowed there hearts: soe I refreshed my selfe: & went to bed & ye next morninge my cloaths was sore wett: & in ye morninge I paide for what I had & went uppe to ye steeplehouse: & there was a man preachinge & when hee had donne[1] I was moved to speake to him & ye people in ye mighty power of God & turned y^m to there teacher {Christ Jesus}: & ye power of ye Lorde was soe stronge as it strucke a mighty dreade amongst ye people: & ye maior came doune to mee: & spoake a few words to mee but they none of them had any power to medle with mee & soe I passed away out of ye tounde: & in ye afternoone about 2 miles off I went to another steeplehouse: & when ye preist had donne I was moved to speake to him & to ye people very largely & showed y^m ye way of life & {truth & ye way of} reprobation & election: [& howe y^t they shoulde finde Esau & Ishmael in y^m selves though they founde soe much fault off y^m without y^m y^t] ye preist saide hee was but a childe & coulde not dispute {with mee}: & soe I tolde him I did not come to dispute butt to holde foorth ye worde of life & truth unto y^m y^t they might all knowe ye one seede which ye promise of God was to both in ye male & female.

And ye people was very loveinge & they woulde have had mee come againe in ye weeke day & preacht amongst y^m: but I directed them to there teacher Christ Jesus & soe passt away [& came to an Inn where they was loath to receive mee unlesse I woulde goe first to a constable {which was ye custome of there Country}: & I was not free soe to doe: but tolde y^m I was an innocent man & shoulde lye out rather soe at last they received mee: & I staide there all night] & ye next day came to Crantsicke to Capt Pursloes.

And hee went with mee to Justice Hothams[1]: a pretty tender man y^t^ had had some experiences of Gods workeinge in his hearte: & after y^t^ I had some discourse with him off ye thinges of God hee tooke mee Into his Closett & saide hee had knowne y^t^ principle this 10 yeere: & hee was glad y^t^ ye Lorde did now publish it abroade to people: & soe after a while there came in a preist with whome I had some discourse concerneinge ye truth but his mouth was quickely stoppt for hee was nothinge but a notion & not in possession.

And after a while there came in a great woman of Beverley: y^t^ had some busnesse with Justice Hotham: & shee saide unto him y^t^ ye last saboth day as shee caled it there was an Angell or Spiritt came Into ye body of ye church meaneinge ye steeplehouse: & spoake strange thinges & ye wonderfull thinges of God to ye astonishment of all y^t^ were in ye steeplehouse: & when hee had donne Itt or hee passed away: & y^t^ they did not knowe whence hee came nor whether Itt went: but Itt astonished all ye preists & professors & magistrates of ye tounde: & soe Justice Hotham gave mee this relation [but I said nothinge to him till ye woman was gonne.

And when shee was gonne] I gave him a full relation howe I had beene att ye steeplehouse & had spoaken to ye preist & people ye last first day which was ye day shee spoake of to him.

And there was some great high preists {& other Doctors} in ye Country y^t^ Justice Hotham had acquantans with & woulde faine have y^m^ speake with mee & saide hee woulde sende for y^m^ under pretence [y^t^ there was a patient att his house y^t^ wanted physicke]: but I tolde him Itt was noe matter for sendinge for y^m^ upon y^t^ account: & y^t^ hee shoulde not doe soe.

Soe when ye next first day came: Justice Hotham walkt out with mee Into ye feilds & then Capt: Pursloe comeinge uppe after us: {Justice} Hotham {left us &} went home & Capt Pursloe went Into ye steeplehouse with mee.

And when ye preist had donne I spoake to ye preist & people: & declared unto y^m^ ye worde of life & truth & directed y^m^ where they might finde there teacher ye Lorde Jesus Christ: & some then received ye truth at y^t^ place {& were convinced & stands to this day & have a fine meetinge thereaways}.

And in ye afternoone I went to the great high preist there doctor {y^{t} Justice Hotham saide hee woulde sende for to speake with mee} to ye steeplehouse 3 miles off where hee preacht: & sate mee doune in ye steeplehouse till ye preist had donne: & hee tooke a text which was oh Every one y^{t} thirsteth lett him come freely without money & without price &c.

And soe I was moved {of ye Lord God} to say unto him Come doune thou deceiver for dost thou bid people come freely & take of ye water of life freely: & yett thou takes 300 l. a yeere off y^{m} {for preachinge ye Scriptures to y^{m}}: maist not thou blush for shame: did ye prophett Esaiah & Christ doe soe y^{t} spoake those words & gave y^{m} foorth freely ffor did not Christ commande his ministers freely you have received freely give.

And soe ye preist like a man Amased packt away [& this was ye man Justice Hotham woulde have sent for to have spoaken with mee {as aforesaid}].

And soe {after ye preist had left his flocke} I had as much time as I coulde desire to speake to ye people & directed y^{m} to ye grace of God y^{t} woulde teach y^{m} & bringe y^{m} salvation & directed y^{m} from darknesse to ye light & to ye spiritt of God there free teacher.

And after att night I came to Justice Hothams house againe & hee tooke mee in his armes & saide his house was my house: & hee was exceedinge glad att ye worke of ye Lorde & his power.

And when I turned backe againe to Hothams house hee tolde mee what reasoninges hee had in him{selfe concerninge his not goinge with mee to ye steeplehouse}: for if hee had gonne to ye steeplehouse with mee ye officers woulde have putt mee to him {& then hee shoulde have beene soe putt to it & hee shoulde not have knowne what to have donne}: & when Capt: Pursloe came uppe hee was glad y^{t} hee was come to goe with mee: though neither of y^{m} was drest: nor had there bands about there neckes: & it was a strange thinge then to see a man come Into ye steeplehouse without a bande: yett Capt. Pursloe went in without his bande: ye Lords power & truth had soe affected him hee.....such thinges[a].

[a] Edge of sheet worn away. Ellwood editions give *minded it not*

And afterwards I passed away through ye Country & att night came to an Inn: & there was a rude Company of people & I askt ye woman if shee had any Meate to bringe mee some: & shee was somethinge strange because I saide thee & thou to her: soe I askt her if shee had any milke but shee denyed it: & I askt her if shee had any creame & shee denyed y^{t} also [though I did not greatly like such meate but onely to try her].

And there stoode a churne in her house: & a litle boy put his hande Into ye churne & pulled it doune: & threw all ye creame In ye floore before my eyes: & soe Itt manifested ye woman to bee a lyar {& ye woman was amased: & tooke ye childe & whipt it sorely: & blesset her selfe: but I reprooved her for her lyinge & deceite}: & soe I walkt out of her house after ye Lord God had manifested her deceite & perversenesse: & came to a stacke of hay: & lay in ye hay stacke all night: beinge but 3 days before ye time caled Christmas in snowe & raine.

And soe ye next day I came Into Yorke where there was severall people y^{t} was very tender: & upon ye first day I was commanded of ye Lorde to goe to ye great Minster & speake to preist Bowles[1] & all his hearers in there great Cathedrall: & soe when ye preist had donne I tolde y^{m} & him I had somethinge from ye Lorde God to speake to ye preist & people: then say one quickely says a professor for it was very colde weather of frost & snowe.

And soe I tolde y^{m} this was ye worde of ye Lorde God unto y^{m} that they lived in words: but God Almighty lookt for fruites amongst y^{m}: Soe assoone as ye words were out of my mouth they hurryed mee out & threw mee doune ye staires but I gott uppe againe without any hurte & soe I went to my lodgeinge againe & severall was convinct there: & ye very groanes of ye weight & oppression y^{t} was upon ye Spiritt of God in mee woulde open people & strike att y^{m} & make y^{m} confess y^{t} my very groanes did reach to y^{m} for my life was burdned with there profession without possession & words without fruite.

And soe I passt out of Yorke after severall had received ye truth & was convinct of Gods truth & his teachinge.

And I saw towards Cleveland there was a people had tasted of ye power of God: & I saw then there was a seed

[in Holland[a]] {in y^t country} & y^t God had humble people there.

And y^t night I passed on & a papist overtooke mee & tolde mee of his religion & of there meetinges: & I lett him speake all y^t was in his minde {and y^t night I stayde at an ale house}: & ye next morninge I was moved of ye Lorde to speake ye worde of ye Lord to him {& I went to his house} & declared against his religion & all there ways: & tolde him y^t God was come to teach his people him selfe: & this putt ye papist in such a rage: y^t hee coulde not Indure to stay in his owne house.

And ye next day I came to Burrabey[1] & there was a preist & severall freindely people y^t mett togeather & the people was convinced & have stoode ever since & there is a great meetinge in y^t tounde: & ye preist was made to confesse to truth.

And ye next day I passed to Cleveland amongst those people y^t had tasted of ye power of God but was all scattered to peices: & ye heads of y^m turned ranters.

Nowe they had had great meetinges: soe I tolde y^m y^t after they had had such meetinges they did not waite upon God to feele his power to gather there mindes togeather to feele his presence & power & therein to sitt to wait upon him for they had spoaken y^mselves dry & spent there portions: & now they had spent there portions & not lived in y^t which they spoake: & now they were dry: they had some kinde of meetinges but took tobacco: & drunk ale {in y^m; & soe grew light & loose}.

Butt my message unto y^m was from ye Lorde y^t they might all come togeather againe & waite to feele ye Lords power & spiritt in y^mselves to gather y^m to Christ & to bee taught of him whoe says learne of mee.

For after when they had declared y^t which ye Lorde had opned to y^m then ye people was to receive it {& ye speakers} & they was to live in y^t y^m selves.

Butt when they had noe more to declare butt to goe to seeke formes without life: y^t made y^m selves dry & barren & ye people: & thence came all there losse: for ye Lord renews his mercyes & his strength if they woulde waite

[a] The district of that name in Lincolnshire.

upon him but ye heads of y^m all came to nothinge: but most of ye people came to be convinced: & stands a meetinge to this day & received Gods everlastinge truth & setts under ye Lord Jesus Christ teachinge there saviour.

And soe upon ye first day after ye worde of ye Lorde came to mee to goe to ye steeplehouse: & soe when ye preist had donne I spoake ye truth to him & ye people & directed y^m to there teacher Christ Jesus there free teacher y^t bought y^m & soe ye preist came to mee with whome I had a litle discourse but hee was soone stopt & silent after which I passed away haveinge had severall meetinges amongst those people.

After this I passed through ye Country to a markett tounde where I mett with many professors with whome I had a great deale of reasoninge & I askt y^m many questions & they were made to confesse they had never such deepe questions askt in there lifes: & It beinge very deepe snowe I passed through ye Country to a place caled Staths: wher I mett with many professors: & ranters: & great meetinges I had amongst y^m and a great convincement there was & one olde man about 100 yeeres olde & a Cheife Constable: & a preist one Phillippe Scafe[1] received ye truth: y^t since is become a pretty minister of Gods free Gospell.

And then I went to ye steeplehouse where was a high preist y^t did much oppresse ye people with tyths: &c.

And when I spoake unto him ye preist fled away: after I had layde his oppressinge of ye people upon him.

For if ye people went 100 miles of a fishinge hee woulde make y^m pay the tyth money: though they catcht ye fish att such a distans & carryed ye fish to Yarmouth to sell: & ye cheife of ye parish was very light & vain.

But after I spoake ye worde of life to them I sleighted y^m seeinge they did not receive it.

But ye worde of ye Lorde stuck with some of y^m soe y^t at night some of ye heads of ye parish came to mee: & was most of y^m convinced & satisfyed & confesst to truth: & soe ye truth begann to spreade uppe & doune y^t Country: & great meetinges wee had soe y^t ye preist begann to rage & ye ranters began to bee stirred: & they sent to mee y^t they woulde have a dispute with mee both ye oppressinge preist & ye leader of all ye ranters[2]: & a day was sett: & ye ranter

came & his company: & another preist a Scott[1] but not ye oppressinge preist aforesaid: & ye preist y^t^ was convinced & a great number of people mett: & soe when wee were set ye ranter saide to mee y^t^ he had a vision of mee: y^t^ I was setting in a great Chaire: & y^t^ hee was to come {& putt of his hat} & bowe doune to ye grounde before mee: & soe hee did & many other words hee saide: & when hee had donne I saide unto him {Itt was his figure: &} repent thou beast & hee saide Itt was Jealosye in mee {to say soe}: & then I askt him ye ground of Jealosye & howe it came to bee bred in man & ye nature of a heathen what made it & howe y^t^ was bred in man: for I saw him directly in y^t^ nature of ye beast: & therefore I woulde have knowne from him howe y^t^ came to be bred in him soe I tolde him hee shoulde give mee an account of thinges donne in ye body: before wee came to discourse of thinges donne out of ye body.

Soe I stopt uppe his mouth y^t^ hee coulde say noe more & all his fellow ranters were stopt uppe for hee was ye heade of y^m^.

Then I caled for ye oppressinge high preist but hee came not but onely ye Scotch preist aforesaid: & his mouth was {soone} stoppt presently with a very ffew words as beinge out of ye life of what hee did professe.

And then I layde open ye ranters in Sodom & all ye preists I manifested {y^m^ to bee} amongst all there fellow hirelinges & bearinge rule amongst people by there meanes seekinge for there gane from there quarter & teaching for there gaine & filthy lucre & divineinge for money & soe brought all ye prophetts & Christ & ye Apostles on ye heads of y^m^ & shewed y^m^ howe they {to witt ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles} had discovered y^m^ by ther markes & fruites.

And soe all was quiett & there mouths stopt: though it broiled within but ye life had stopt it uppe it coulde not breake out.

And soe I directed people to there teacher Christ Jesus there savior when these mountaines was layde low & soe did sett uppe Christ in ye heartes of his people & soe after ye meetinge was donne this Scotch preist desired mee to walke with him a toppe of ye Cliffes soe I tooke his brother law[2] alongst with mee which was convinced & tolde him it may bee hee will report y^t^ after I am gonn y^t^ which I did

not say to him & therfore I desired to have some freindely man by, to heare what wee did say: soe as I went hee askt mee concerninge ye light of Christ: & what ye soule was: & I aunswered him fully soe hee goes away: & meetinge with ye other preist y^{t} was convinced: in madnesse broake his Cane upon ye grounde & saide if ever hee mett mee or saw mee againe hee woulde have my life or I shoulde have his: & hee woulde give his heade if I was not knockt doune within a month: & soe freinds perceived his Intent was when hee desired to have walked with mee alone: it was either to have thrust mee doune over Cliffe or to have stabbed mee: & when y^{t} was frustrated that made him rage & madd [for before this came to passe I beinge one day att his house: I saw a dogge like nature in him: & I was moved to tell him hee was a dogge: & soe his nature shewed it selfe]: but I feared not his prophesyes nor his threats but I feared God Almighty though many weake freinds feared much y^{t} this preist would have donne mee some mischeife {or have sett on others}: butt after some yeeres this Scottish preist & his wiffe came to bee convinct & I was att there house about 12 yeeres after this.

[1651.] After this there came another high preist to mee which was reputed above all in ye Country: & soe as I was speakinge in ye meetinge y^{t} ye Gospell was ye power of God & howe it brought life & immortality to light {in men} & soe turneing people from ye darknesse to ye light this high preist saide ye gospell was mortall: but I tolde him ye true minister saide ye Gospell was ye power of God: & howe coulde hee make ye power of God mortall: upon y^{t} ye other preist y^{t} was convinced & had felt ye power of God which was immortall tooke him uppe & reproved him & soe a great dispute ye convinct preist & ye high preist had: ye convinct preist holdeinge y^{t} ye gospell was immortall: & ye other high preist helde y^{t} it was mortall: but ye Lords power stopt his mouth & these thinges mightily convinct ye people: to see ye darknesse y^{t} was in ye high preist & ye light y^{t} was in ye other convinct preist.

[But people generally waited to see ye fulfilling of ye other Scotch preists prophesy: y^{t} I shoulde bee knoct doune before ye months ende: & some were afraide: but I bid y^{m} feare God: & not man for I was not afraide of him.]

And then there was another preist sent to have a dispute with mee: & freinds went with mee uppe to ye house where hee was & when wee came there: hee went out of ye house & hidd him under a hedge: & when they went to looke for him they founde him but coulde not gett him to mee {& I went to a steeplehouse there & ye preist & people was in a great rage: & this preist had threatned freinds: but when I came there hee woulde not stande but fled ye Lords power soe came over him & y^{m}}: & soe wee passt away to Whitbay {& Scarborough} where wee had some service {for ye Lorde & there is become large meetinges there since}: & from thence I passt over ye Woules to Malton where wee had great meetinges & att ye toundes thereabouts.

And there was a preist hee chalenged to dispute with mee: & ye Lords power seised upon ye people: & one whoe had beene a wilde drunken man: was reacht therewith soe as hee came as lowly as a lambe: though hee & his Companions sent for drinke of purpose to make ye rude people drunke: butt ye Lord confounded y^{m} all.

And soe I went to meete ye preist {aforesaid} but hee woulde not come foorth ye Lorde confounded him & y^{m} all {& I was moved to goe to a steeplehouse there & ye Lordes power came over y^{m} all}.

And ye first day there came on of ye highest Independant professors a woman: & shee was confounded & convinced & stands a freinde to this day: y^{t} saide before shee was convinced y^{t} shee coulde willingely have gonne to ye hanginge of mee.

And soe I turned to Malton againe: & very great meetinges there was & severall people woulde have come but they durst not for there relations for it was a strange thinge then to preach in houses & not to goe to Church {as they caled it}: & much desired I was to goe to there steeplehouses: & there was a high preist kept a lecture there & another preist had written to mee & Invited mee to his steeplehouse calinge mee his brother[1]: & soe I went Into ye steeplehouse & there was not passinge 11 hearers: & ye preist was preachinge to y^{m} & after it was knowne in ye tounde y^{t} I was in ye steeplehouse Itt was presently filled with people.

And when ye cheife preist had donne there beinge 2

preists in ye steeplehouse: ye preist y^t^ had beene preachinge sent another preist y^t^ sent ye letter to mee to have mee come & goe uppe Into ye pulpitt: & I sent backe worde unto him y^t^ I neede not go uppe Into it: then hee sent mee worde again hee desired mee to goe upp Into it for it was a better place & there I might bee seene of ye people: & I sent him worde againe I coulde bee seene & hearde well enough there for I came nott to holde uppe those places nor there maintenans & trade: & then they begann to bee in a rage & saide the false prophetts shoulde come in ye last times because I woulde not goe upp Into there pulpitt.

And y^t^ greaved many of ye people to heare y^m^ say soe upon which I started uppe & desired all to bee quiett: & stept uppe in a high seate & declared unto y^m^ ye markes of ye false prophetts: & howe they was come & sett ye true prophetts Christ & ye Apostles over y^m^ & shewed y^m^ howe these were out of ye stepps of y^m^ & then directed all people to there teacher Christ Jesus: whoe would turne y^m^ from ye darkenesse to ye light: &c.

And opninge ye Scriptures to y^m^ & bringeinge them to ye Spiritt of God in y^m^ selves by which they might know y^m^ & soe had a large time amongst y^m^ & parted in peace.

And after sometime I went Into ye Country to Pickeringe where ye Justices kept there Sessions in ye steeplehouse Justice Robinson[1] beinge Cheife: & I kept a meetinge in ye schoolehouse att ye same time: & aboundans of preists & professors came to it askinge Questions & were aunswered to there satisfaction: & 4 Cheife Constables & aboundans others were convinced y^t^ day.

And soe news was carryed in to Justice Robinson y^t^ his preist was overthrowne & convinced y^t^ hee had a love unto more then all ye preists.

And soe after ye meetinge was donne wee went to an Inn: & many preists came in & Robinsons preist woulde have paide for my dinner [& would have wipet my shooes] but I charged freinds y^t^ noe such thinge shoulde bee donne: but hee ofred to freinds y^t^ I should have his steeplehouse to preach in if I woulde come: but I denyed it: & tolde him & ye people y^t^ I came to bringe y^m^ of from such thinges to Christ: & soe ye next morninge I went uppe with ye 4 Cheife Constables & some others to see Justice Robinson:

& hee mett mee at his Chamber doore & I tolde him I coulde not honor him with mans honor : & hee saide hee did not looke for it : & soe I went in to his chamber & tolde him ye state {of ye false prophetts &} of ye true prophetts Christ & ye Apostles & sett y^m over ye other & directed his minde to Christ his teacher : & opned to him ye parables : & howe election & reproobration stoode : & y^t election stoode in ye second birth : & reproobration stoode in ye first : & what ye promise of God was to : & what ye Judgementt of God was to : & hee confesst all : & hee was soe opned with ye truth y^t one other Justice opposeing a litle hee Informed him.

And soe att my partinge hee saide Itt was very well y^t I did exercise y^t gift which God had given to mee : & hee caled ye Cheife Constables asyde & woulde have given y^m some money to have given mee saying hee woulde not have mee bee at any charg in there Country : & ye Cheife Constables tolde him y^t they y^m selves coulde not gett mee to take any money : & soe they refused his money & accepted of his love & kindenesse.

And from thence I passt uppe Into ye Country with ye preist aforesaid y^t caled mee brother : in whose shcoole house I had declared in : & as wee passt through ye Country : & came Into a tounde to baite ye bells runge & soe I askt y^m what ye bells runge for & they saide for mee to goe & preach in ye steeplehouse.

And soe as I walkt uppe to ye steeplehouse ye people was gathered about ye steeplehouse yarde : & ye olde preist woulde have had mee to have gonne Into ye steeplehouse & I saide nea It was noe matter but It was somethinge strange to people y^t I woulde not goe in to ye house of God as they caled it.

Soe I declared to ye people : y^t I came not to holde uppe there Idolls temple nor tyths nor preists but to declare against y^m : & opned to ye people all there traditions : & y^t peice of Grounde was noe more holy then another peice of Grounde : & y^t they shoulde know y^t there bodyes were to bee ye temples of God & Christ & soe to bringe y^m of all ye worlds hirelinge teachers to Christ there free teacher : & directinge y^m to ye Spiritt & grace & ye light of Jesus y^t they might knowe both God & Christ & ye Scriptures & soe passed away quiett & many was convinced there.

And then I passed on where there was another great meetinge & this olde preist went alonge with mee & there came all sorts of professors to it purposely to dispute: & I sate of a hey stacke: & spoake nothinge for some houres: for I was to famish y^m from words: & soe ye professors spoake to this olde preist & askt him severall times when I woulde speake & begin: & hee bid y^m waite & tolde y^m y^t ye people waited upon Christ alonge while before hee spoake.

And at last I was moved of ye Lorde to speake & they was all reacht by ye Lords power & worde of life & there was a generall Convincement amongst y^m: & from thence I passed alonge with ye olde preist & severall others.

And as we was goeinge some people caled to ye olde preist & saide M^r Boys wee owe you 20^{l^a} for tyth: come & take it: & ye olde preist threw upp his handes to y^m & saide hee had enough: hee woulde have none of it: they might keepe it {& praised ye Lorde hee had enough}.

And soe wee passt on to this olde preists steeplehouse in ye moores[1] & when wee came to it ye olde preist went before mee & helde open ye pulpitt doore & I forbad him & tolde him I shoulde not goe Into it: & ye steeplehouse was exceedinge much painted & I tolde him & ye people y^t ye painted beast had a painted house: & opned to him ye grounde of all those houses & there superstition & there ways: & ye ende of ye Apostles goeinge Into ye temple & synagogues which God had commanded which was not to holde y^m uppe: but to bringe y^m to Christ ye substans: & soe was my ende of comeinge there not to holde uppe these temples preists & tyths which God had never commanded but to bringe y^m off all these thinges to Christ ye substans & soe shewed y^m ye true worshippe which Christ had sett uppe & Christ ye true way from all ye false ways: & opninge ye parables to y^m turninge y^m from ye darknesse to ye light y^t with it they might see y^mselves & there sinns & Christ there saviour y^t saves y^m from there sinns.

And soe after we passed away to one Birdetts[2] house where wee had a great meetinge: & this preist accompanyed mee: & left his steeplehouse: for hee had beene lookt upon

[a] This letter appears to have been originally *l*, but was altered somewhat later into *s*. Ellwood editions have *some Money*

as a great high preist above common prayer men & presbyters & Independants: & many times hee woulde have gonne Into there steeplehouses to have preacht before hee was convinct & they woulde complaine to Justice Hotham of him: & hee woulde bid y^m distraine his horse for travaileinge on ye first days: for Hotham spoake y^t to putt y^m off with for they knew hee used none but travailed on foote [soe att last hee woulde gett Into ye steeplehouse & gett Into ye pulpitt: & after ye psalme was sunge upp woulde Boys start to preach: for hee had beene a Zealous man in his way: before hee was convinced & I had severall discourses with him before hee came to bee convinced: & one day I askt him a question which was: what it was y^t Christ putt his sheepe foorth from: y^t hearde his Voice & followed him: for y^m y^t was unputt foorth by Christ coulde not heare his Voice: which sett ye man soe y^t hee coulde not aunswer it with other such like questions].

And after this I came upp through ye Country towards Crantsicke to Capt: Pursloe & Justice Hothams: & Justice Hotham was glad y^t ye Lords power & truth was spreade & soe many had received it: & y^t Justice Robinson was soe civill: & moreover he saide if God had not raised uppe this principle of light & life {of ours}: ye nation had beene overspread with rantisme & all ye Justices in ye nation coulde not stoppe it with all there lawes: because they woulde have saide as they saide & donne as they commanded y^m {& yett kept there principles still}: but this principle of truth overthrew ye roote & grounde of there principle: & overthrew there principles which they coulde not have donne with all there lawes {as hee saide & hee was glad ye Lorde had raised uppe this principle of life & truth}.

And from thence I passed uppe Into Holdernesse: & came to a Justice his house: one Pearsons[1] where there was a very tender woman y^t beleived in ye truth & saide shee coulde have left all & followed mee.

And from thence I passed to Oram to George Hartises[2] where many of y^t tounde was convinced.

And on ye first day I was moved to goe Into ye steeplehouse & ye preist had gott another preist to helpe him: & a many professors & contenders was gathered: but ye Lords power was over all & a great deale of good service I had for

ye Lorde: & ye preist fledd away & some of those great professors was convinct & stoode honest faithfull men men of account.

[And from thence I passt uppe In ye Country & had some service in ye toundes att night amongst people] & ye next day ffreinds & freindely people had left mee & I passt alone: [sometimes by ye sea syde amongst people] & sometimes in ye toundes declareinge ye day of ye Lorde unto y^m & warninge of y^m to repent.

And soe I turned Into a tounde towards night caled Patringeton: & as I was goeinge alonge ye tounde I warned ye preist {y^t was in ye street} & people to repent & turne to ye Lorde & it grew darke before I came to ye ende of ye tounde & a great deale of people gathered about mee & I declared ye truth & ye worde of life to y^m.

And after I went to an Inn: & desired y^m to lett mee have a lodgeinge & they woulde not: & desired y^m to lett mee have a litle meate & milke & I woulde pay y^m for it but they woulde not.

Soe I walked out of ye tounde & a Company of fellowes folowed mee & askt mee what news & I bid y^m repent & feare ye Lorde.

And after I was passt a pretty way out of tounde: I came to another house & desired y^m to lett mee have a litle meate & drinke & lodgeinge for my money but they woulde not neither but denyed mee.

And I came to another house & desired ye same but they refused mee alsoe: & then it grew soe darke y^t I coulde not see ye high way: & I discovered a ditch & gott a litle water & refresht my selfe & gott over ye ditch & sate amongst ye furse bushes beinge weary with travailinge till it was day.

And at breake of day I gott uppe & passt one in ye feildes & there came a man with a great pike & went alonge with mee to a tounde: & hee raised ye tounde ye Constable & Cheife Constable: before ye sun was uppe & soe I declared Gods everlastinge truth amongst y^m & warned y^m to repent & y^t ye day of ye Lord was comeinge upon all sin & wickednesse.

And they sseised upon mee with watch bills & pikes & stakes & halberds & garded mee backe againe to this

Patrington about 3 miles: & when I came there all ye tounde was upp in an uproare & ye preist & constables: & soe I had an oppertunity to declare ye worde of life & truth amongst y^m {againe} & warned y^m to repent: & at last a professor a tender man caled mee into his house: & I tooke a litle breade & milke haveinge not eaten before for some days: & then they garded mee about 9 miles to a Justice & when I was come neere his doore there came a man rideinge after mee & askt whether I was ye man y^t was apprehended: & I askt him wherfore hee askt & hee saide for noe hurte & I tolde him I was & hee ridd away to ye Justice before mee: & before I was brought in before him ye garde saide It was well if ye Justice was not drunke before wee came to him for hee used to bee drunke {very early}: & when I was brought before him because I did not putt off my hatt & saide thou to him hee askt ye man whether I was not Mased or fonde: & hee saide noe: Itt was my principle: & soe I warned him to repent & come to ye light y^t Christ had enlightned him withall y^t with it hee might see all his evill words & actions y^t hee had donne & acted & his ungodly ways hee had walked in & ungodly words hee had spoaken: & soe returne to Christ Jesus whilst hee had time & whilst hee had time to prise it: & then saide hee I: I[a]: says hee ye light y^t is spoaken of in ye 3^d of Jhon.

And I desired him y^t hee woulde obey it & minde it {for I layde my hande upon him & admonished him & hee was brought doune by ye power of ye Lord}: & all ye watchmen stoode amased: soe after hee tooke mee Into a litle parlor with ye other man & desired to see what I had in my pocketts of letters or Intelligens: & I pluckt out my linnen: & shewed him y^t I had noe letters: soe hee saide hee is not a vagrant by his linninge.

Soe hee sett mee at liberty & I went backe againe to Patrington with ye man aforesaid y^t askt whether I was ye man y^t was apprehended whoe lived at Patringeton: & when I came there hee woulde have had mee had a meetinge at ye crosse & I saide It was noe matter his house woulde serve: & hee desired I would goe & ly doune upon a bed or in ye bed: for they had gott a report y^t I woulde not ly

[a] *I: I = aye, aye.*

in any bed: y^t^ hee & his wiffe might say they had seene mee lye in a bed {or upon a bed: because att y^t^ time I lay many times without doores}.

Soe on ye first day I had a great meetinge there att his house: & I went out of ye meetinge & saide nothinge to any one & went to ye steeplehouse & declared ye truth to both preist & people & ye people did not molest mee soe I brought ye power of God over y^m^ & came againe to ye meetinge where there was many y^t^ was convinced of ye Lords everlastinge truth & stands to this day: & they was exceedinge sorry & greived y^t^ they shoulde not receive mee nor give mee lodgeinge.

Soe I passed through ye Country to ye farthest lande in y^t^ Country: warninge people to repent both in tounds & Country: & directed y^m^ to there teacher Christ Jesus.

And on ye first day I came to one Collonell Overtons[1] house: & had a great meetinge of ye prime of ye people of y^t^ Country: which was generally convinct: & they received ye truth & ye worde of life & many thinges was opned to y^m^ off ye Scriptures y^t^ they never hearde in there lifes: & soe many was convinced & setled in Gods truth.

And soe I came to Patringeton againe: & visited those freinds y^t^ was convinct: & they Informed mee howe y^t^ {a taylor &} some wilde blades had made y^t^ warrant to carry mee before y^t^ Justice: & soe ye taylor came to aske mee forgivenesse: fearinge I woulde trouble y^m^ & ye Constables was afraide least I should trouble y^m^: but I forgave y^m^ & warned y^m^ to mende there lives & turne to ye Lorde.

And when I was at Oram before in ye steeplehouse there came a professor & gave mee a push in ye brest in ye steeplehouse & bid mee gett out of ye Church: alack poore man saide I dost thou call ye steeplehouse ye Church: ye Church is ye people whome God has purchased with his bloode: & not ye house.

And Justice Hotham hearinge of {ye abuse of} this man {unto mee} hee sent a warrant for him: & bounde him over to ye sessions: hee was soe affected with ye truth & {Zealous to keepe} ye peace of ye Country.

And hee had askt mee before: whether any people had medled with me {or abused mee}: but I was not to tell him any thinge but was to forgive all.

And I went to severall great houses warninge y^m to repent & some received mee loveingely & some sleighted mee.

And soe I passt through ye Country & att night came to another tounde & desired lodgeinge & meate & I woulde pay for it: & soe they woulde not lett mee lodge except I would goe to ye Constable which was ye Custome they saide of all lodgers {att Inns If strangers}: soe I tolde y^m I shoulde not goe: for I was an Innocent man: & y^t Custome was for suspicious persons but I was Innocent & if they woulde lett mee have lodgeinge {& meat} I woulde pay for it.

And soe I warned y^m to repent & declared unto y^m ye day of there visitation & salvation & turned y^m to ye light {of Christ} & Spiritt of God & soe passed away {& ye people was somethinge tenderd & troubled afterwards}: & when It grew darke I spyed a hey stacke & sate under it all night till morninge.

And ye next day I passed Into Hull: & admonished & warned people as I went of there salvation & to turne to Christ Jesus.

And att night I gott lodgeinge: butt was very soare with travelinge a foote soe farr.

And soe after I passt through ye Country & came to Balby: & soe visited ffreindes uppe & doune in those parts: & then passed Into ye edge of Nottingham sheere & visited freinds there & soe passed Into Lincolnesheere & visited freinds there.

And one ye first day I went to a steeplehouse a this syde of Trent: & in ye afternoone I went to another on ye other syde of Trent declareinge to y^m ye worde of life & bringeinge y^m to there teacher Christ Jesus whoe was there saviour & dyed for y^m y^t they might heare him.

And soe went Into ye Country & had severall meetinges upp & doune thereaways: & came to a place where there came a {great} man & a preist & many professors: but ye Lords truth came over y^m all: & they went there ways: & soe I went Into ye meetinge & there came a man y^t had beene att a meetinge & hee raised an accusation & made a noice uppe & doune ye Country & saide y^t I saide I was Christ.

And I went to Gainsborough & there a freinde haveinge

beene speakinge in ye markett there ye markett & tounde was all uppe in an uproare.

And I went Into a freindely mans house: & ye people rusht Into it: & it was filled with professors & disputers.

And soe this false accuser came in before y^m all & ye rude people: & accused mee openly before all ye people y^t I saide I was Christ & had brought a many wittnesses to prove it & soe sett a rage in ye people y^t they had much to doe to keepe there hands off mee.

And in ye eternall power of God I was moved of ye Lorde God to stande uppe atoppe of ye table & tell y^m y^t Christ was in y^m except they were reprobrates: & it was ye eternall power of Christ: & Christ y^t spoake in mee y^t time to them: & generally with one Consent all ye people did acknowledge ye thinge & gave testimony to it & confesst to it: {yea even ye very professors & all y^m y^t was in a rage against mee: & I saide} y^t if ye power of God & ye seede spoake in man or woman Itt was Christ.

And soe I caled him Judas: & all was satisfyed except himselfe & a professor & his owne false wittnesses: soe I tolde him againe y^t hee was Judas & y^t it was ye worde of ye Lorde & of Christ to him: & Judas his ende shoulde bee his.

And soe ye Lords power came over all & all ye people parted in peace: but this Judas went away & hanged himselfe {shortly after}: & a stake was driven Into his grave.

And after ye wicked preist went & raised a slander upon us & saide y^t a quaker had hanged himselfe {in Lincolnesheere} & had a stake driven through him: & this they printed to ye nation addinge sin unto sin which ye truth was cleare of: for hee was noe more a Quaker then ye preist y^t printed it[1].

And soe I passt out of y^t Country in ye Lords power & came in to Yorkesheere again: but many was convinced of ye Lords everlastinge truth: & setled therein in Lincolnesheere & received ye Lords teachinge & Gospell.

And after this I went to Warmsworth steeplehouse in Yorkesheere in ye forenoone: & they shutt ye doore of mee & after a while they lett in Tho: Aldam[2] & then shutt it againe.

Soe ye preist fell upon him askeinge him questions: soe

att last they opned ye doore & I went in: & assoone as I came in hee stopt his preachinge & I saide nothinge to him: though hee askt what have you to say: what have you to say: hee was in such a mase & cryed come come I will prove y^m^ false prophetts saide hee in Mathew: but hee was soe confounded hee coulde not finde ye chapter.

And soe hee fell askinge mee questions again & I stoode still all this while not makeinge any disturbans amongst y^m^ & at last I saide seeinge here is soe many questions askt I may aunswer y^m^: & assoone as I begann to speake ye people violently rusht upon mee & thrust me out of ye steeplehouse again: & lockt ye doore on mee: & assoone as they had donne & were come foorth: ye people runn upon mee & knockt mee sore with there [Crabbe tree] staffes: & abused mee sore & threw Clotts & stones att mee {& ye preist beinge in a rage layde violent hands on mee himselfe}: but I warned y^m^ {& him} of ye day of ye Lorde & turned y^m^ to Christ & to repent {but I received not much hurte: for ye Lords power was over y^m^ all}.

And soe after I went to another steeplehouse in ye afternoone but ye preist had donne before I came there & soe I did admonish y^m^ & turned y^m^ to their teacher Christ Jesus: & soe after returned backe againe to Balby: & went to Doncaster where formerly I had preacht repentans unto y^m^ on a market day: which had made a great noice {& a dreade} in ye Country.

And on ye first day I went to ye steeplehouse & after ye preist had donne I spoake to him & ye people what ye Lorde God commanded mee: & they was in a great rage: & hurryed mee out & threw mee doune ye staires: & haled mee before ye maior & ye magistrates: & a great examination I had & a great deale of worke with y^m^ & they threatned my life if ever I came there againe & y^t^ they would leave mee to ye mercy of ye people.

Neverthelesse I declared truth to y^m^ & turned y^m^ from ye darknesse to ye light of Christ whether they woulde heare or forbeare & how y^t^ God & Christ was come to teach his people himselfe.

And after a while they putt mee out amongst ye rude multitude & some freindes was with mee: & they threw stones at us doune ye streets & there was an Innkeeper y^t^

was a bailiffe came & tooke us Into his house: & they broake his heade y^t^ ye bloode runn doune his face with ye stones y^t^ they threw at us: & wee stayde there a while in his house & shewed ye people ye preists fruites: then we went away to Balby about a mile off: & ye rude people layde waite & stoned us doune ye lane but blessed bee ye Lorde wee did not receive much hurte: & then ye next first day I went to Tickill & there ye freinds of y^t^ syde gathered togeather & there was a meetinge & a mighty broakennesse with ye power of God there was amongst ye people.

And I went out of ye meetinge to ye steeplehouse & ye preist & most of ye heads of ye parish was gott uppe Into ye chancell & soe I went uppe to y^m^ & when I began to speake they fell upon mee & ye Clarke uppe with his bible as I was speakinge & hitt mee in ye face y^t^ my face gusht out with bloode y^t^ I bleade exceedingely in ye steeplehouse & soe ye people cryed letts have him out of ye Church [as they caled it]: & when they had mee out they exceedingely beate mee & threw mee doune & threw mee over a hedge: & after dragged mee through a house Into ye street stoneinge & beateinge mee: & they gott my hatt from mee which I never gott againe {& I was all over besmeared with bloode}.

Soe when I was gott upon my leggs I declared to y^m^ ye worde of life & showed to y^m^ ye fruites of there teachers & howe they dishonored Christianity.

And soe after a while I gott Into ye meetinge againe amongst freinds & ye preist & people comeinge by ye house I went foorth with freinds Into ye Yarde & there I spoake to ye preist & people: & the preist scoffed at us & caled us Quakers: but ye Lords power was soe over y^m^ all: & ye worde of life was declared in soe much power & dreade to y^m^ y^t^ ye preist fell a tremblinge himselfe y^t^ one saide unto him looke howe ye preist trembles & shakes hee is turned a Quaker alsoe.

And ffreinds was very much abused y^t^ day by ye preist & his people y^t^ ye Justices hearinge of it two or three of y^m^ came & sate to heare & examine ye busnesse: & hee y^t^ had shed my bloode was afraide of havinge his hande cut off for strikeinge mee in ye steeplehouse but I forgave him & did not appeare against him: soe I came without my hatt to Balby: about 7 or 8 mile.

And ye preist of Warmsworth procured a warrant for mee & Tho: Aldam from ye Justices: & itt was to bee executed in all ye west rideinge in yorkesheere: & I had a Vision of a beare & two great mastiffe doggs[1]: y^t^ I shoulde passe by y^m^ & they shoulde doe mee noe hurte & soe I did: & the Constable tooke Tho: Aldam with ye warrant & carryed him to Yorke: & I went with Tho: Aldam towards Yorke 20 mile: & hee had ye warrant for mee but hee saide hee saw mee but hee was loath to trouble men y^t^ were strangers but Th: Aldam was his neighbor: & soe ye Lords power restrained him y^t^ hee was not able to medle with mee till wee came to Lieutenant Ropers[2]: where wee had a great meetinge of many considerable men: & ye truth was wonderfully declared amongst y^m^ & ye Scriptures & Christs words & ye parables was opned unto y^m^ & ye state of ye Church in ye Apostles days & ye Apostacy since: & ye truth was mightily opned to y^m^ y^t^ those great men did generally confesse {& beleived} y^t^ this truth must goe over ye whole worlde.

And there was Jam: Nailor Tho: Goodyeere & W: Dewsberry y^t^ had beene convinced ye yeere before & Rich: ffarnsworth {& ye constable aforesaid & Tho: Aldam stayde ye meetinge & afterwards went towards Yorke {yorke prison}: but did not medle with mee}.

And soe I went to Wakefeilde: & there on ye first day after I went to a steeplehouse where Ja Naylor had beene a member of an Independant Church.

And when I came in when ye preist had donne ye people bid mee come upp to ye preist & when I came upp & began to declare ye worde of life to him & shewed y^m^ ye deceit of ye preist they rusht mee out of a sudden att ye other doore & fell a punchinge & beatinge of mee & called lett us have him to ye stockes: but ye Lords power was over y^m^ & they was not sufferd to putt mee in.

And soe I passed away to ye meetinge where was a great many professors & freindely people gathered & a great Convincement there was y^t^ day: & people satisfyed with ye Lords teachinge which they was turned to: & wee had layne out 4 of us under a hedge ye night before for there was few freindes to receive us there.

And ye same day R: ffarnsworth went to another high preists steeplehouse to declare unto y^m^ ye worde of truth:

& a great service hee had amongst y^m [y^t ye people saide wee made more noice in ye Country then ye comeinge uppe of ye Scotch army[1]] ye Lords dreade & power was soe mighty {over all}.

And this preist {his name was Marshall[2] whome ye Lorde not longe after cutt off in his wickednesse} (& Ja: Naylor was a member of his church) {whome hee excommunicated not longe after: & hee} raised a many wicked slaunders upon meé y^t I carryed botles & made people drinke {of my botles} & y^t made y^m to follow mee: & y^t I ridd of a great black horse: & y^t I was seene in one Country upon my black horse in one houre: & in ye same houre in another Country 3 score miles of: & y^t I shoulde give a fellow money to followe mee when I was on my blacke horse.

And with these hellish lyes hee fed his people to make y^m speake evill of ye truth [which was in Jesus] y^t I had declared amongst y^m for I was & went on foote & had no horse att y^t time.

But by these his lyes hee preacht many of his heerers away from him & ye Lords power came over y^m all & delivered us out of there hands {& cutt him off in his wickednesse as aforesaid}.

After this I came to a place caled High Tounde: where there was a woman {had beene} convinced a litle before: & soe wee went to her house & had a meetinge & ye tounds-people risse: & wee {declared ye truth to y^m & ye worde of life &} had some service with y^m {for ye Lorde}: & they passed away.

And there was a widow woman one Greene[3] in ye tounde went to a great man caled a Gentleleman y^t had killed two men & a woman: & Informed him against us: though hee was noe officer & ye next morninge wee drew uppe some Queryes to sende to ye preist & when wee had donne & were passinge away: & Just as wee were pasinge away ye toundes-people came uppe running & some freindely people & tolde us y^t this murderinge man was sharpninge a crook to plucke us out of ye house & pike to stabbe us: & was comeing uppe with his sworde, but wee were passinge away & soe misst him: but wee were noe sooner passt away but hee came to ye house: which people concluded if wee had not beene gonne: hee woulde have murdered some of us.

And soe y^{t} night wee lay in a wood Itt beinge exceedinge rainy & wee were much wett : & in ye morninge I was moved to come backe to y^{t} tounde again & they gave us a full relation of this wicked man: & soe wee passed away to Bradforde & there wee came to a house where wee mett R: ffarnsworth again from whome wee had parted as before.

And soe when wee came In they sett us on meate & as I was goeinge to suppe [of there posset] ye worde of ye Lorde came to mee eate not thy breade with such as has an evill eye: & I gott uppe from ye table : & soe eate nothinge : & ye woman was a baptist & after I had admonished her & ye people to turne to ye Lorde Jesus Christ & hearken to him there teacher {I passed away}.

And soe wee passed through ye Country preachinge repentans to ye people & came into a markett tounde on ye markett day: & there was a lecture.

And I went Into ye steeplehouse where there was a many preists & professors & people: & ye preist tooke his text out of Jeremiah ye 5th ye later parte of ye Chapter: ye people love to have it soe: & left out ye other parte of ye verse ye preists beare rule by there meanes & ye people love to have it soe.

And soe I shewed to ye people his deceite & directed y^{m} to Christ there true teacher & warned y^{m} of ye day of ye Lorde & y^{t} God was come to teach his people himselfe & to bringe y^{m} of all ye worldes teachers & hirelinges & y^{t} they might come to receive freely from him.

And soe I passt away from thence without much persecution: & att night wee came to a country house & there was noe alehouse neere: but they desired us to stay all night where wee had a good service there for ye Lorde declareinge his truth amongst y^{m} & ye next day wee passed on: for ye Lorde had saide unto mee: if y^{t} I did but sett uppe one In ye same Spirit y^{t} ye prophetts & Apostles was in y^{t} gave foorth ye Scriptures hee or shee shoulde shake all ye country in there profession ten miles about y^{m}. [And if they did owne God & Christ & his prophetts & Apostles: they must owne him or her.]

ffor all people had ye scriptures but was not in y^{t} same light & power {& spiritt} y^{t} they was in y^{t} gave foorth ye scriptures & soe they neither knew God nor Christ nor ye

prophetts nor ye Apostles nor Scriptures neither had they unity one with another {beinge out of ye power & spiritt of God}.

And soe wee passed on warninge people as wee mett y^m^ of ye day of ye Lorde y^t^ was comeinge upon y^m^ & as wee went I spyed a great high hill caled Pendle Hill & I went on ye toppe of it with much adoe Itt was soe steepe: butt I was moved of ye Lorde to goe atoppe of it: & when I came a toppe of it I saw Lancasheere sea: [& there a toppe of the hill I was moved to sounde ye day of ye Lorde] & ye Lorde lett mee see a toppe of ye hill In what places hee had a great people: & soe one ye hills syde I founde a springe[1] of water & refresht my selfe for I had eaten litle & drunk litle for severall days.

And soe att night wee came to an Inn & declared much to ye man of ye house & writt a paper to ye preists & professors concerneinge ye day of ye Lorde & howe God & Christ was come to teach people himselfe by his power & spiritt & to bringe y^m^ off all ye worlds ways & teachers to his owne {free} teachinge whoe had bought y^m^ & was there Saviour.

And ye man {of ye house} did spreade ye paper uppe & doune & was mightily affected with truth.

And ye Lord opned to mee at y^t^ place: & lett mee see a great people in white raiment by a rivers syde comeinge to ye Lorde: & ye place was neere [John Blayklinges[2] where Rich: Robinson[3] lived].

And ye next day wee passed on & att night wee gott a litle farnes {or brackens} & lay upon a common: & ye next morninge went to a tounde & soe there Rich: ffarnsworth parted with mee & then I was alone {againe}.

Soe I came upp Wensydale: & att ye markett tounde in y^t^ dale[4] there was a lecture on ye markett day: soe I went Into ye steeplehouse & after ye preist had donne I declared ye day of ye Lorde to ye preist & people: & turned y^m^ from ye darknesse to ye light & from ye power of Sathan unto God y^t^ they might come to God & Christs teachinge freely: & declared freely & largely ye worde of life to ye people & had not much persecution: & after passt uppe ye dales warninge people to feare God & declaring his truth to y^m^ & att last I came to a great house where there was a schoolemaster &

they gott mee Into ye house & I declared ye truth to y^m & askinge y^m questions about there religions & worshipps: & they had mee Into a parlor & lockt mee in: & saide I was a younge man y^t was madd & was gott away from my relations & they woulde keepe mee till they coulde sende to my relations but I convinced y^m of y^t & they lett mee foorth: & they woulde have had mee to have stayde: but I was not to stay: but admonished y^m & turned y^m to ye light of Christ by which they might come to see there salvation.

Soe in ye night I came to a litle alehouse where there was {a company} drinkeinge & because I woulde not drinke with y^m they gott uppe Clubbs & was strikeinge att mee in a rage: & when I had cooled y^m & warned y^m I walkt out upon ye common in ye night & one of ye fellows came out with [a bacch of] knifes [by his syde] & under pretence y^t hee woulde have whisperd with mee: but I kept him off & warned him to repent: soe ye Lord preserved mee by his power from him & hee went Into ye house againe & ye next morninge I passt away: & came through other dales & warned & exhorted people to repent & turne to ye Lorde & severall was convinct {& I came to one house a kinsman of Jo: Blayklinges & hee woulde have given mee money but I woulde not receive it}.

Soe I came through ye dales to Major Bosfeilds[1] where hee & severall more received mee there & some was convinced {& stands to this day: & I passed through Grysdale & severall other of those dales: where some was convinct}.

But before I came to Major Bosfeilds I came to a mans house one Tennants[2] & I was moved to speake to y^m & as I was turninge away from y^m I was moved againe to turne againe & to declare Gods everlastinge truth to him & hee was convinct & his family & lived dyed in ye truth: & after this I went Into Dent where many was convinct {alsoe}.

And from Major Bosfeilds I came to Rich: Robinsons: [& as I was passinge alonge ye way I askt a man which was Rich: Robinsons: & hee askt mee from whence I came & I tolde him from ye Lorde] & soe when I came in to Rich. Robinsons I declared ye everlastinge truth to him [& yett a {dark} Jealosye risse uppe in him after I was gonne to bed y^t I might bee some body y^t was come to robbe his house {& hee lockt all his doores fast}].

And ye next day I went to a seperate meetinge[1] at Justice Bensons[2]: where ye people was generally convinct: & this was ye place y^t^ I had seene a people comeinge foorth in white raiment: & a mighty meetinge there was & is to this day {neere Sedbarr which I gathered in ye name of Jesus}.

And in ye weeke day there was a great feare for hireinge servants: & I went to ye faire & declared through ye faire ye day of ye Lorde: & after I had donne I went Into ye steeplehouse yarde: & most of ye people of ye faire came to mee & aboundans of preists & professors: & there I declared ye everlastinge truth of ye Lorde & ye worde of life {for severall houres} & y^t^ ye Lord & Christ Jesus was come to teach his people himselfe & to bringe y^m^ of all ye worlds ways & teachers to Christ there way to God: & layde open all there teachers & sett uppe ye true teacher {Christ Jesus}: & how they was judged by ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles & to bringe y^m^ off ye temples made with hands y^t^ they y^m^ selves might know they was ye temples of God: & never a preist had power to open his mouth: butt at last a Captaine saide why woulde I not goe Into ye Church (& I saide unto him I denyed there Church) for y^tt^ was a fitt place to preach in {hee saide}: & there stoode upp a seperate preacher one ffrancis Howgill[3] y^t^ had not seene mee before: & soe hee began to dispute with ye Captaine but hee helde his peace: & then saide ff: H: this man speakes with authority & not as ye Scribes: & soe I opned to ye people y^t^ y^t^ grounde & house was noe holyer then another place {& y^t^ house was not ye Church butt ye people which Christ is ye heade of}: & soe after a while [y^t^ I had made a stand amongst ye people] ye preists came uppe to mee & I warned y^m^ to repent: & one of y^m^ saide I was madd: & soe they turned away: butt many people was glad at ye hearinge of ye truth declared unto y^m^ y^t^ day which they received gladly [& soe I passt away.

And I came Into a house: & there came in] on Capt. Warde[4] [& hee saide my very eyes peirced through him & hee] was convinced of Gods everlastinge truth & {lived} dyed in it & many more was convinced there att y^t^ time.

And ye next first day I came to fforbanck Chappele[5] where ff: Howghill & Jo: Audland[6] had beene preachinge in

ye morninge: & Jo: Blayklinge & others came to mee & desired mee not to reprove y^m publickely for they was not parish teachers but pretty sober men butt I woulde not tell y^m whether I woulde or noe though I had litle in mee to declare publickely against y^m but tolde y^m they must leave mee to ye Lords moveinges: & ye Chapphell was full of people & many coulde not gett in: & ff: H: saide hee thought I lookt Into ye Chappell but I did not: [& y^t I might have killed him with a crabbe aple] ye Lords power had soe surprised him.

Soe they had quickely donne {with there preachinge to ye people att y^t time} & they {& ye people} went to there dinners & aboundans stayde till they came againe & I went to a brooke and gott mee a litle water & soe I came & sate mee downe a toppe of a rocke [{for ye worde of ye Lorde came to mee I must goe & sett doune upon ye rocke in ye mountaine even as Christ had donne before}] & in ye afternoone ye people gathered about mee with severall [seperate] teachers: where It was Judged there was a{bove a} thousand people & all those severall [{separate}] teachers were convinct of Gods everlastinge truth y^t day: amongst whome I declared freely & largely Gods everlastinge truth & worde of life about 3 houres & there was many olde people y^t went Into ye Chapell & looket out of ye windowes & thought it a strange thinge to see a man to preach on a hill or mountaine & nott in there church as they caled it soe y^t I was made to open to ye people y^t ye steeplehouse & y^t grounde {on which it stoode} was noe more holyer then y^t mountaine & those temples & dreadefull houses of God as they caled y^m was not sett uppe by ye commande of God {nor Christ}: nor there preists as Arons preisthoode [& there temple was]: nor there tyths as theres was: butt Christ was come whoe ended ye temple & ye preists & ye tyths & Christ saide learne of mee & God saide this is my beloved son heare yee him for ye Lord had sent mee with his everlastinge gospell to preach & his worde of life to bringe y^m of all those temples tyths preists & rudiments of ye worlde y^t had gotten uppe since ye Apostles days: & had beene sett uppe by such whoe had erred from ye spiritt & pouer ye Apostles was in: soe that they might all come to know Christ there teacher there councelor there

sheaphearde to feede y^m & there bishope to oversee y^m & there prophett to open to y^m & to know there bodys to be ye temples of God & Christ for y^m to dwell in.

And soe I opned ye prophetts & ye figures & shadowes & turned y^m to Christ ye substans & then opned ye parables of Christ & ye thinges y^t had beene hid from ye beginninge & shewed y^m ye estate of ye Epistles howe they was written to ye elect: & ye state of ye Apostacy y^t has beene since ye Apostles days & howe ye preists has gotten ye scripture & are not in y^t Spiritt which gave y^m foorth: whoe makes a trade of there words & have putt y^m Into chapter & verse & howe y^t ye teachers & preists now was founde in ye stepps both of ye false prophetts cheife preists scribes & pharisees such as both ye prophetts Christ & his Apostles cryed against: & soe are Judged by ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles Spiritt & all y^t was in it coulde not owne y^m.

And soe turninge ye people to ye spiritt of God & from ye darknesse to ye light y^t they might beleive in it & become children of ye light & turneinge them from ye power of Sathan which they had beene under to God & y^t with ye Spiritt of truth they might be ledd Into all ye truth of ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles words.

And soe after ye meetinge was donne I passed away to John Audlands [& there came Jo: Story[1] to mee & lighted his pipe of Tobacco: & saide hee will you take a pipe of Tobacco sayinge come all is ours: & I lookt upon him to bee a forwarde bolde lad: & tobacco I did not take: butt It came Into my minde y^t ye Lad might thinke I had not unity with ye creation: for I saw hee had a flashy empty notion of religion: soe I took his pipe & putt it to my mouth & gave it to him again to stoppe him least his rude tongue shoulde say I had not unity with ye creation].

And from thence I came to Preston Patricke Chappell[2]: where there was a great meetinge appointed & I went Into it & had a large meetinge amongst ye people & declared ye worde of life & ye everlastinge truth to y^m & shewed y^m y^t ye ende of my comeinge Into y^t place was not to holde it uppe noe more then ye Apostles goeinge Into ye Jewish Synagoges & temples was & Dianas but to bringe y^m of all such thinges as they did: for ye Apostles brought ye Saintes

of ye true[a] temple & Arons preisthoode [& after they mett in houses]: & {tolde y^m} y^t there bodyes was ye temples of God & y^t Christ was there teacher.

And soe from thence I came to Kendall where a meetinge was appointed in ye tounde hall: & when I had declared ye truth & worde of life to y^m & shewed y^m howe they might knowe Christ & ye scriptures [& what woulde bee there teacher] & what woulde bee there condemnation I passed away after I had staide awhile in ye tounde: & severall was convinced there: soe one Cocks[1] mett mee in ye streete & woulde have given mee a wrole of tabacco {for people was much given to smoakinge tobacco} soe I accepted of his love but denyed it.

And from thence I came to Underbarrow to one Miles Batemans[2] & [as I came on ye way] severall people came alonge with mee & great disputinges I had with y^m especially with Ed: Burrough[3] & att night ye preist came & a many professors to M: Batemans & a great deale of disputinge I had with y^m.

And supper beinge provided for ye preist & ye rest I was not to eate with y^m but tolde y^m if they woulde appoint a meetinge the next day att ye steeplehouse & acquainte ye people with it I might meete with y^m: & a great deale of reasoninge they had about it: & some was for it & some was against it.

And in ye morninge I walkt out after I had tolde y^m concerninge ye meetinge & they was in much reasoninge & doubting of it & mee & as I was walkeinge upon ye toppe of ye banke there came severall poore people travailers y^t I saw was in necessity and they gave y^m nothinge but saide they was cheates but when they was gonne in to there breakefast Itt greived mee to see such hardeheartednesse amongst professors y^t I rann after ye poore people a matter of a quarter of a mile & gave them some money: & they came out again & seeinge mee a quarter of a mile off they saide I coulde not have gonne soe farr in such an Instant except I had winges: & then ye meetinge was stoppt they was soe filled with strange thoughts & y^t quite putt ye meetinge out of there mindes & they was against it: ffor they coulde

[a] *True* should probably read *Jewish* as in the Ellwood editions; immediately following, *true preist* has been altered to *Arons preisthoode*

not beleive I coulde have gonne soe farr In such a short space.

And then there came Miles[1] & Steephen[2] Hubersty moore simple hearted men & they woulde have ye meetinge: & I tolde y^m^ I rann after those poore people to give y^m^ some money & I was greived att there harde heartednesse y^t^ gave y^m^ nothinge.

Soe I went to ye [steeplehouse or] chapell att Underbarrow & ye preist came & a great meetinge there was & after a while ye preist fledd away: & many {of Crooke & Underbarrow} was convinced y^t^ day: & received ye worde of life & stands to this day under Christ [& Gods] teachinge.

And soe after I had declared ye truth to y^m^ some houres & ye meetinge was donne: ye Cheife Constable & some other professors fell a reasoninge with mee in ye steeplehouse yarde: & I took a bible & shewed & opned to y^m^ ye scriptures [& shewed y^m^ chapter & verse]: & dealt with y^m^ as one woulde deale with a childe [in swadling cloaths]: for they y^t^ was in ye light of Christ & spiritt of God did know when I spoake scripture though I did not mention chapter & verse after ye preists forme unto y^m^.

And from thence I passt with an olde man {James Dickisons[3]}: y^t^ was convinced of ye truth y^t^ day & dyed in ye truth: to his house & from thence I came to James Taylors[4] {of Newton in Cartmell in Lancasheere}: & on ye first day I went to one preist Camelfords[5] chappell & after hee had donne I began to speake ye worde of life to y^m^ & Camelforde was in such a rage & such a frett & soe peevish y^t^ hee had noe patiens to heare but stirred uppe ye rude multitude & they rudely haled mee out & strucke mee & punched mee & tooke mee & threw mee headelonge over a stone wall: but blessed be ye Lorde his power preserved mee {[ye kirke warden] was one Jo: Knipe[6] whome ye Lorde after cutt off whoe threwe mee doune headelonge over ye wall}.

And there was a youth y^t^ was writeinge after ye preist & I was moved to speake to him & hee came to bee convinct & became a fine minister of ye Gospell whose name was John Braithwaite[7].

And soe I went uppe to an alehouse where many people resorted betwixt ye time of there preachinge: & had a great

deale of reasoninge with y^m^ & shewed unto y^m^ howe y^t^ God was come to teach his people himselfe & to bringe y^m^ of such teachers as were Judged by ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles: & many received ye worde of life y^t^ time & standes to this day.

And ye afternoone I went about 2 or 3 miles to another steeplehouse or chappell {caled Lyndall} & when ye preist had donne I spoake to him & ye people what ye Lord commanded mee: & there was great opposers & they after came to be convinct: & after I came to one Capt: Sands[1] which hee & his wiffe: if they coulde have had ye worlde & truth they woulde have received it: but they was hypocrites & hee a very chaffy light man [& ye way was to streight for y^m^].

And when I had admonished him of his lightnesse & of his Jeastinge howe it was not seemely for a great professor as hee was: hee aunswered & saide hee had a son one his death bed did alsoe reprouve & warne him of it: butt hee neither obeyed ye admonishment of his son nor of ye spiritt of God in himselfe.

And from thence I came to Ulverston & soe to Swarth moore to Judge ffells[2].

And there came uppe preist Lampitt[3] which I perceived {had beene &} was {still} a ranter {in his minde} & I had a great deale of reasoninge with him: for hee (w)oulde talk of high notions & perfection & thereby deceived ye people: & hee woulde have owned mee butt I coulde not owne him nor Joine with him hee was soe full of filth.

ffor hee saide hee was above John & made as though hee knew all thinges but I tolde him howe y^t^ death reigned from Adam to Moses & hee was under y^t^ death & knew not Moses: for Moses saw ye paradice of God & soe hee neither knew Moses nor ye prophetts nor John: for y^t^ crooked nature stoode in him & ye rough & ye mountain of sin & corruptions.

And ye way was not prepared in him for ye Lord soe hee confest hee had beene under a crosse in thinges but now hee coulde sing psalmes & doe any thinge: & I tolde him now hee coulde see a theife & Join hande in hande with him: & hee coulde not preach Moses nor ye prophetts nor Christ nor John except hee was in ye same spiritt as they was in.

And soe Margarett fell[1] had beene abroade & att night [when shee came home] her children tolde her y^t^ preist Lampitt & I disagreed: & Itt struck somethinge att her because shee was in a profession with him: though hee hidd his dirty actions from them: soe att night wee had a great deale of reasoninge & I declared ye truth to shee & her family.

And ye next day Lampitt came againe & I had a great deale of discourse with him before Margarett fell whoe soone then discerned ye preist cleerely & a convincement came upon her & her family of ye Lords truth: & there was a humiliation day {shortly after within a day or two} kept att Ulverston & m: ff: askt mee to goe to ye steeplehouse with her: for shee was not wholely come off & I saide I must doe as I am ordered of ye Lorde butt I walked in ye feilds & then ye worde of ye Lorde came to mee to goe to ye steeplehouse after y^m^ & when I came ye preist Lampitt was {^a^singinge with his people^a^} & his spiritt & his stuffe was soe foule y^t^ I was moved of ye Lord to speake to him & ye people {after they had donne singinge: & ye worde of ye Lorde was to y^m^ hee was not a Jew y^t^ is one outwarde: butt hee was a Jew y^t^ is one inwarde: whose praise was not of man but of God: & howe y^t^ God was come to teach his people by his spiritt & to bringe y^m^ off all there olde ways religions churches & worshipps: for all there religions & worshippes & ways was but talkeinge of others mens words but they was out of ye life & spiritt y^t^ they was in y^t^ gave y^m^ foorth: & one Justice Sawrey[2] cryed take him away: & Judge ffells wife saide to ye officers lett him alone why may not hee speake as well as any other: & Lampitt saide for decepte lett him speake & soe att last when I had declared a pretty while ye Constable putt mee out}.

And this Justice {John} Sawrey [a rotten professor whoe was very full of hypocrisy & deceite & envy] hee caused mee to be putt out of ye steeplehouse: & I spoake to ye people in ye steeplehouse yarde [& after came uppe to Swarthmoore hall]: & upon ye first day after I was moved to goe to Auldenham steeplehouse & when ye preist had donne I spoak to ye preist but hee gott away & I declared to ye

^a...^a^ Altered in the same hand from *blusteringe on in his preachinge*

people ye worde of life & warned y^m to returne to ye Lorde & after I had declared ye truth & ye worde of life to y^m I passed to Ramsyde & there was a Chapell in which one Tho: Lawson[1] used to preach y^t was a high preist: & hee very loveingely spoake in ye morninge to his people of my comeinge in ye afternoone: & when I was come all ye country gathered thereaways: & soe I saw there was noe place more convenient {to declare to ye people there then in ye Chappell & soe} I went Into ye Chapell & all was Quiett & ye preist Tho: Lawson went not uppe Into his pulpitt but left all to mee & ye everlastinge truth was largely declared y^t day which reached & entred Into ye heartes of people & ye everlastinge day of ye eternall God was proclaimed [& all was Quiett] & received ye truth in ye love of it & this preist came to bee convinct & stands in truth & grew in ye wisedome of God mightily & remaines to this day mighty serviceable in his place & threw off his preaching for hire & his Chapell & came to preach ye Lord Jesus & his kingedome freely.

And after y^t some rude people thought to have donne him a mischeife & cast scandalls upon him butt hee was carryed over all.

And after I returned back to Swarth moore againe: & ye next first day I went to Dalton {steeplehouse} & after ye preist had donne I declared ye worde of life to ye people turneinge y^m from darknesse to light & from ye power of Sathan to God: & bringeinge y^m of there superstitious ways & there teachers made of man to Christ there way & to bee taught of him.

And from thence I went Into ye Iland of Wana[2] & after ye preist had donne I spoake to him who gott away & I spoake to ye people {ye truth [as it was in Jesus]} & ye people were somethinge rude.

And soe I went to look for ye preist att his house & hee woulde not bee seene but ye people saide hee went to hide himselfe in ye haymowe: & they went to look for him there but coulde not finde him there: & then they saide hee was gonne to hide himselfe amongst ye standinge corne but after they had looked for him there they coulde not finde him there neither: soe I came to James Lancasters[3] whoe was convinct in y^t Ilande & from there I returned to

Swarth moore again: where ye Lords power seised upon Margarett & her daughter Sarah & severall of y^m^ & then I went to Baecliffe where Leo: ffell was convinct & hee became a good minister[1] & severall others was convinct there: & came Into truth: & ye people coulde not tell howe to dispute as they saide but woulde faine have putt on some other to holde a talk with mee: but I bid y^m^ feare ye Lord & not in a light way to holde a talke of ye Lords wordes {but practise y^m^}.

[And as I was walkeinge I hearde olde people & worke-people to say: hee is such a man as never was hee knowes peoples thoughts] for I turned y^m^ to ye divine light of Christ & his spiritt y^t^ lett y^m^ see all there thoughts words & actions y^t^ was evill y^t^ they had thought or acted: with which light they might see there sinns & with ye same light they might see there saviour {Christ Jesus} to save y^m^ from there sinns & y^t^ there was there first steppe to peace to stande still in ye light y^t^ showed there sin & transgressions: & shewed y^m^ howe they were strangers to ye covenant of promise without God in ye worlde & in ye fall of olde Adam: & in ye darknesse & death & with ye same light they may see Christ y^t^ dyed for y^m^ whoe is there way to God & there redeemer & saviour.

And after this I went to a Chapell beyonde Gleeston which was built but never preist had preached in it: where all ye country uppe & doune came & a quiett peaceable meetinge it was where ye worde of life was declared amongst y^m^ & many was convinced about Gleeston & from thence I returned to Swarthmoore again.

And after I had stayde there a few days: & most of all ye family was convinct: I went from thence back againe Into Westmorelande.

And preist Lampitt had beene amongst ye professors att Kendall syde & mightily had Incensed y^m^ against mee: & tolde y^m^ I helde many strang thinges & soe I mett with them y^t^ hee had incensed & sate upp all night with y^m^ {at James Dickisons house} & aunswered all there objections & then they was throughly satisfyed both with ye truth y^t^ I had declared & disatisfyed with Lampitts lyes y^t^ hee had divulged soe y^t^ hee cleerly lost ye best of his hearers & folowers & they came to see his deceite & to forsake him.

And soe I passt on to Jo: Audlands and Jarwis Bensons & had great meetinges amongst those people y^t^ was convinct before & to Jo: Blayklinges & Rich: Robinsons & had mighty great meetinges there & soe uppe towards Grisdale.

And after this Judge ffell was come home & Margarett sent for mee to returne thither & soe I came through ye country back to Swarthmoore againe: & ye preists & professors & y^t^ Justice Sawrey had incensed Judge ffell & Capt: Sands much against ye truth with there lyes: & after dinner I aunswered him all his objections & satisfyed him by scripture soe as hee was throughly satisfyed & convinct in his Judgement.

And hee saide art thou y^t^ George ffox y^t^ Justice [Luke] Robinson aforesaid spoake soe much in commendation off amongst many of ye parlament men: for hee had saide y^t^ all ye preists & professors in ye nation was nothinge to him & I tolde him I had beene with Justice Robinson & Justice Hotham in Yorkesheere whoe were very loveinge & civill to mee & were convinct in there Judgements by ye Spiritt of God: & they did see over ye preists of ye nation soe y^t^ hee & many others now came to be wiser then there teachers [& came to bee taught of God & Christ: & soe outstript there teachers]: & then Judge ffell was satisfyed y^t^ I was ye man: & hee came alsoe to see by ye Spiritt of God in his hearte over all ye preists & teachers off ye worlde himselfe & did not goe to heare y^m^ for some yeere before hee dyed: for hee knew it was ye truth & y^t^ Christ was ye teacher of his people & there saviour: & hee wisht y^t^ I was a while with Judge Bradshaw[1] to convince him: & there came over y^t^ Capt: Sands a wicked man to incense him & hee was full of envy against mee: & yett hee coulde use ye Apostles words & say beholde I make all thinges new: & I tolde him then hee must have a new God for his God was his belly.

And then y^t^ envyous Justice Sawrey hee came to Swarthmoore alsoe & I tolde him his hearte was rotten & hee was full of hypocrisy to ye brim & severall people came alsoe & I discerned there conditions & spoak unto y^m^: & Rich: ffarnsworth & Ja: Nailor was come to Swarthmoore alsoe to see mee & ye family [& Ja: Nailor was under a fast 14 dayes]: & Judge ffell {for all there opposition} lett ye meetinge bee kept att his house: & a great meetinge was setled

there in ye Lords power to ye tormentinge of ye preists & professors {which has remained above 20 yeeres to this day[1]} : hee beinge satisfyed off ye truth: & after I had stayde a while & ye meetinge was setled I went to Underbarrow & had a great meetinge there & from thence to Kellett & had a great meetinge at Rob: Withers & many was convinct there where severall came from Lancaster & some from Yorke.

[And there was a Captain stoode uppe after ye meetinge was donne & askt mee where my leather briches[2] was & I lett ye man runn on awhile & att last I helde uppe my Coate & saide heere is my leather briches which frightens all y^r^ preists & professors.

And Margarett ffell had a vision off a man in a white hatt y^t^ shoulde come & confounde ye preists before my comeinge Into those parts {& a great dreade there was amongst ye preists & professors concerninge ye man in leather breeches}.

And another man had a vision of mee y^t^ a man in leather briches shoulde come & confounde ye preists : & this mans preist was ye first y^t^ was confounded & convinct.]

And on ye first day I went to Lancaster & had a great meetinge in ye street of souldyers & people & declared ye worde of life & ye everlastinge truth to y^m^ & shewed y^m^ there teacher Christ Jesus & all ye traditions y^t^ they had lived in : & all there worshipps & religions & y^t^ there profession was good for nothinge y^t^ lived out of ye life & power of y^m^ y^t^ gave foorth ye Scriptures & soe turned y^m^ to ye light of Christ ye heavenly man & to ye Spiritt of God in there owne heartes & where they might finde God & Christ & his kingedome {& knowe him there teacher}.

And soe in ye afternoone I went uppe to ye steeplehouse att Lancaster : & when I had declared ye truth to both preist & people & shewed y^m^ ye deceiptes they lived in & ye power & spiritt of God y^t^ they wanted : they haled mee out & stoned mee alonge ye streets till I came to Jo: Lawsons[3] house.

And one ye markett day before I spoake through ye markett in ye dreadefull power of God & declared ye day of ye Lord to y^m^ & against all there deceitfull merchandise & preacht righteousnesse & truth which they shoulde all walk & live in & follow after : & where they might finde ye spiritt

of God to guide y^m to it: & severall people came to my lodgeinge & many was convinct there & standes to this day {& a meetinge there was setled in ye power of God which stands to this day}.

And another first day I went to another steeplehouse by ye waters syde to one preist Whiteheade[1] & declared ye truth to ye preist & people in ye dreadefull power of God: & there was a doctor came to mee whoe was soe full of envy & saide hee coulde finde in his hearte to runn mee through with his rapier though hee was hanged for it ye next day: yett this man came to bee convinct afterwards & was loveinge to ffrends & some people was convinct y^t way & stoode faithfull to God & Christ & his teachinge.

And soe I returned backe Into Westmoreland again & spoak through Kendall upon a markett day in ye dreadefull power of God y^t people flew like chaffe before mee into there houses & warned y^m of ye mighty day of ye Lorde & how y^t ye Lord God was come to teach his people himselfe & many people tooke my parte & severall was convinct[2]: & some people att last fell to fightinge about mee & I went & spoake to y^m & they parted again {& ye first day after I had a mighty meetinge at Miles Batemans aforesaid where many was convinct}.

And I was moved to declare to ye people howe all people in ye fall were from ye image of God & righteousnesse & holynesse: & they was as wells without ye water of life: cloudes without ye heavenly raine: trees without ye heavenly fruite & in ye nature of beasts & serpents: & tall cedars & oakes & bulls & heifers soe they might reade this nature within as ye prophett described to people y^t were out of truth: & howe y^t they was in ye nature of doggs & swine biteinge & rentinge: & ye nature of bryars thistles & thornes: & like ye oweles & Dragons in ye night & like ye wilde asses & horses snuffeinge uppe: & like ye mountaines & rockes & crooked & rough ways: soe I exhorted y^m to reade these without & within in there nature: & ye wandringe starrs: reade y^m without & looke within all y^t was come to ye bright & morninge starr: soe as there fallow ground must bee plowed uppe before Itt beared seede to y^m soe must ye fallow grounde of there hearte be plowed uppe before they beare seede to God.

Soe all these names were spoaken to man & woman since they fell from ye Image of God: & as they doe come to bee renewed againe upp Into ye image of God they come out of ye nature & soe out of ye name.

And many more thinges of this nature was declared to y^m & they turned to ye light of Christ by which they was turned to Christ: by which they might see him there substans & there way salvation & free teacher.

And Jam: Naylor [hee travailed uppe & doune in many places amongst people y^t was convinct: & att last hee] & ff: Howghill were cast Into prison by ye malitious preists & magistrates {Into Apelby goale}.

And after I had travailed uppe & doune In those countryes & had great meetinges I came to Swarthmoore again.

And after I had visited ffreindes a while In those parts I hearde of a great meetinge of preists at Ulverstone att a lecture day & I went doune: & went Into ye steeplehouse in ye dreade & power of ye Lorde & when ye preist had donne I spoake amongst y^m ye worde of ye Lorde: which was as a hammer & a fire amongst y^m & though Lampitt had beene at variance with most of ye preists before yett against ye truth hee & they all Joined togeather: & ye mighty power of ye Lorde was soe over all: y^t preist Bennett[1] saide ye steeplehouse shooke & hee was afraide {& trembled & thought y^t} ye steeplehouse woulde fall on his head & went his ways out for feare: speakinge a few confused words: & ye Lords power was over y^m all though there was a many preists & they had noe power as yett to persecute.

And after I came uppe to Swarthmoore & there came uppe 4 or 5 preists & I asked y^m whether any of y^m coulde say they ever had a worde from ye Lorde to goe & speake to such or such a people: & none of y^m durst say soe: but one of y^m burst out Into a passion & saide hee coulde speake his experiences as well as I: butt I tolde him experience was one thinge but to goe with a message & a worde from ye Lord as ye prophetts & ye Apostles had & did: & as I had donne to y^m this was a nother thinge: & coulde any off y^m say they had such a commande or worde from ye Lord att any time: but none of y^m coulde aunswer to it: butt I tolde y^m ye false prophetts & false Apostles & Antichrist

coulde use ye words {& speake of other mens experiences} y^t^ never knew or hearde ye voice of God & Christ: & such as they might gett ye good words & experience of others.

And att another time there were severall preists att Judge ffells & hee was by: & I askt y^m^ ye same question: whether ever they had hearde ye voice of God or Christ to bid y^m^ goe to such or such a people to declare his worde {or message unto y^m^}: for any y^t^ coulde but reade might declare ye experiences of ye prophetts & Apostles.

And Tho: Taylor an auntient preist did ingeniously[a] confesse before Judge ffell y^t^ hee never hearde ye voice of God nor Christ to sende him to any people but hee spoake his experiences & ye experiences of ye saintes & preacht y^t^: which did astonish Judge ffell: for hee & all people did looke y^t^ they were sent from God & Christ: & soe this Tho: Taylor came to bee convinct att y^t^ time[1]: & travailed with mee Into Westmorelande: & wee came to Croslande steeplehouse: & there ye people was gathered & they woulde have had mee gonne Into ye steeplehouse & I saide Itt was noe matter: & there came another preist & a high Constable: & this was ye seconde day after Tho: Taylor was convinct: & ye Lorde opned his mouth there amongst ye people y^t^ hee begann to declare how hee had beene {before hee was convinct & like ye pharsee y^t^ was converted to ye kingedome brought foorth thinges new & olde to ye people} & tolde y^m^ how ye preists was out of ye way: which did torment ye other preists: & some litle discourse I had with y^m^ but they fled away: & a pretious meetinge there was & ye Lords power was over all & people was turned to God by his spiritt: with which they came to know Christ & God & ye Scriptures.

And soe I passed to severall meetinges visitinge freindes & had mighty meetinges in Westmoreland: & about this time ye preists begann to prophesy y^t^ within a month wee shoulde bee all scattered againe & come to nothinge.

[1652.] About this time Cristo: Taylor another minister Tho: Taylors brother was convinced alsoe of truth[2]: & they both became ministers of ye gospell & great sufferers they were: & they came to know ye worde of ye Lord & was

[a] Ellwood editions read *ingenuously*

commanded to goe to many steeplehouses & markets & places & preach Christ freely.

And about this time Jo: Audland & ff: Howghill & Jo: Cham[1] came foorth to bee faithfull ministers & Ed: Burrough {& Rich: Huberthorne[2] & Miles [& Steephen] Hubersty} & soe continued till there deaths {& Miles Halhead & severall others}.

[And ff: Howghill & Ed: Burrough dyed prisoners for ye Lords truth.

And multitudes was turned to ye Lorde & soe] after a time I returned Into Lancasheere againe: & went to Ulverston & though Lampitt had preacht & sayde y^{t} there was a people y^{t} did owne ye teachinges of God: & y^{t} men & women shoulde come to declare ye Gospell: & after Itt came to be fulfilled hee persecuted it & y^{m}: & I went to Lampitts house where there was aboundans of preists & professors gathered after there lecture & there I had great disputeinges with y^{m} concerneinge Christ & ye Scriptures which they were loath to lett y^{t} trade goe doune which they made of Christs & ye Apostles & prophetts words: but ye Lords power went over ye heads of y^{m} all: & his worde of life was helde foorth though many of y^{m} was exceedinge divelish & envyous.

And many preists & professors came to mee farr & nigh: which ye simpleminded & innocent was satisfyed: & sent away refreshed but ye fatt & full was fedd with Judgement & sent empty away.

And y^{t} was ye worde of ye Lord to bee devided to y^{m} & then Lampitt begann to rage when meetinges was sett uppe & wee mett in houses & saide wee forsooke ye temple & went to Jeroboams calfes houses: soe y^{t} many professors began to see howe hee was degenerated from y^{t} which hee formerly helde {& preacht}.

And it was declared both to professors preists & people how y^{t} there houses caled churches was more like Jeroboams Calfe houses which they had sett uppe {in ye darke times of popery which they helde uppe} which God never commanded: for y^{t} temple which God had commanded at Jerusalem Christ came to ende: And they y^{t} beleived in him there bodyes came to bee ye temples of God & Christ & ye holy ghoast: for y^{m} to dwell in y^{m} & walke in y^{m}: & all such

was gathered Into ye name of Jesus whose name was above every name: & there was noe salvation by any other name under ye whole heaven butt by ye name of Jesus: & these mett togeather in severall dwellinge houses which was not caled ye temple nor ye Church but there bodyes was ye temples of God & ye beleivers was ye Church which Christ was ye heade off: soe Christ was not caled ye heade of an olde house which was made by mens handes: neither did hee come to purchase & sanctifye & redeeme {with his bloode} an olde house which they caled there church but ye people: which hee is ye heade off[1].

ffor a great deale of worke had I with preists & people with there olde houses which they caled there churches which was made by mens hands: for ye preists had perswaded people y^{t} it was ye house of God & ye Apostle saide Christ purchased his Church with his owne bloode & Christ calls his Church his Spouse & his bride ye lambes wiffe: soe this title Church & Spouse was not given to an olde house butt to his church y^{t} was his people & true beleivers & ye Apostle saith whose house wee are: soe ye people are Gods house & dwellinge.

And after this off a lecture day I was moved to goe to Ulverston steeplehouse where there was aboundans of professors & preists & people.

And I went uppe neere to Lampitt whoe was blusteringe on in his preachinge: & one Jo: Sawrey a Justice of peace came to mee after the Lord had opned my mouth to speake: & saide If I woulde speake accordinge to ye scriptures I should speake & I stranged att him for speakinge soe to mee: And I tolde him I woulde speake accordinge to ye scriptures & bringe ye scriptures to prove what I had to say: for I had some thinge to speake to Lampitt {& y^{m}}: & then this Sawrey saide I shoulde not speake contradictinge his owne sayinge where hee saide I shoulde speake if I woulde speake accordinge to scriptures.

Soe off a sudden all ye people in ye steeplehouse was in an outrage & an uproare: y^{t} they fell upon mee in ye steeplehouse before his face: & knockt mee doune & kikt mee & trampeld upon mee before his face: & people tumbled over there seates for feare: & att last hee came & tooke mee from amongst ye people again: & led mee out of ye steeple-

house & putt mee Into ye hands of ye Constables & other officers hands & bid y^m^ whippe mee & putt mee out of ye tounde & then they led mee about a quarter of a mile some takeinge holde by my collar & some by ye armes & shoulders & shooke & dragged mee & some gott hedge stakes: & holme bushes & other staffs: & many freindely people y^t^ was come to ye markett: & some came Into ye steeplehouse to heare mee: many of y^m^ they knockt doune & broake there heads alsoe [& ye bloode rann doune severall people soe as I never saw ye like In my life: as I lookt att y^m^ when they was dragginge mee alonge].

And Judge ffells son[1] runninge after to see what they would doe with mee: they threw him Into a ditch of water & cryed knocke out ye teeth of his heade.

And when they had ledd mee to ye common {mosse} & a multitude of people followinge: there they fell upon mee with there staffes & hedgestakes & ye constables & officers gave mee some blowes over my backe with there willowe rodds & soe thrust mee amongst ye rude multitude: & they then fell upon mee as aforesaid with there stakes & clubbs & beate mee on my heade & armes & shoulders till they had mased mee & att last I fell doune upon ye wett common: & when I recovered my selfe again & saw my selfe lyinge on a watery common & all ye people standinge about mee I lay a litle still & ye power of ye Lord sprange through mee & ye eternall refreshinges refresht mee y^t^ I stoode uppe againe in ye eternall power of God & stretched out my armes amongst y^m^ all & saide againe with a loude voice strike againe heere is my armes my heade & my cheekes: & there was a mason a rude fellow a professor {caled} hee gave mee a blowe with all his might Just a toppe of my hande as it was stretched out with his walkinge rule staffe: & my hande & arme was soe nummed & bruised y^t^ I coulde not draw itt in unto mee againe: soe as ye people cryed out hee hath spoiled his hande for ever haveinge any use of it more {& I looket att it in ye love of God & I was in ye love of God to y^m^ all y^t^ had persecuted mee}.

And after a while ye Lords power sprange through mee again & through my hande & arme y^t^ in a minute I recovered my hande & arme & strength in ye face & sight of y^m^ all.

And then they begann to fall out amongst y^{m}selves: & some of y^{m} came to mee & saide if I woulde give y^{m} money they woulde secure mee from ye rest but I was moved of ye Lord to declare unto y^{m} ye worde of life: & showed y^{m} there false Christianity & ye fruites of there preists & howe they were more like heathens & ye Jewes & not like Christians.

And soe I was moved of ye Lord to come uppe againe through y^{m} & uppe Into Ulverston markett: & there meetes mee a man with a sworde a souldyer: sir saide hee I am ashamed y^{t} you should bee thus abused {for you are a man saide hee soe} hee was greived & saide hee woulde assist mee in what hee coulde: & I tolde him y^{t} it was noe matter ye Lords power was over all.

And soe as I walkt through ye people in ye markett there was none of y^{m} had power to touch mee.

[And this man with his sworde walkeinge after mee &] some of ye markett people abuseinge some freindes in ye markett & I turned mee about & I saw ye souldyer amongst y^{m} with his naked rapier: & I runn amongst y^{m} & catcht holde of his hande y^{t} his rapier was in & bid him putt uppe his sworde againe if hee woulde come alonge with mee: & soe hee came to ye toundesend with mee & I came uppe to Swarthmoore againe: & there they was dressinge ye heads & hands of freindes & freindely people y^{t} was broaken y^{t} day by ye professors & hearers of preist Lampitt.

And my body & armes was yellow blacke & blew with ye blowes & bruises {y^{t}} I received amongst y^{m} y^{t} day.

And within a few days after seven men fell upon this souldyer aforesaid & beate him cruelly because hee had taken my parte: for Itt was ye Custome of this Country to runn 20 or 40 people upon one man: & they fell soe upon ffreindes in many places y^{t} they coulde harrdely passe ye high ways: stoneinge & beatinge & breakeinge there heads.

And then ye preists began to prophesy again y^{t} within a halfe yeere wee shoulde bee all putt downe & gonne.

And about a fortnight after I went Into Wana & Ja: Naylor went with mee & wee stayde over night att a litle tound a this syde {caled Cockan} & had a meetinge {where there was one convinced} & after a while there comes a man with a pistoll: & ye people rann out of doores & {hee caled

for mee &} I went out to him & hee snapt his pistoll att mee but It woulde not goe off: & there was a great bustle with ye people about him {& some people tooke hold on him to prevent him from doeinge mischeife} & I was moved in ye Lords power to speake to him: & hee was soe struck with ye Lords power y^{t} hee went & hidde himselfe [in a cellor] {& trembled for feare}.

And soe ye Lords power came over y^{m} all though there was a great rage in ye Country.

And ye next morninge I went over in a boate to James Lancasters & assoone as I came to lande there rusht out about 40 men: with stafes clubbs & ffishinge poles & fell upon mee with y^{m} beatinge punchinge & thrust mee backwarde Into ye sea: & when they had thrust mee almost Into ye sea & I saw they woulde have knockt mee doune there in ye sea: I stoode uppe & went uppe Into ye midle of y^{m} againe butt they all layde att mee againe & knockt mee downe {& mased mee} & when I was doune & came to my selfe I lookt uppe & I saw Ja: Lancasters wiffe throweinge stones att my face & J: Lancaster her husbande was lyinge atoppe of mee to save ye blowes & ye stones off mee [1].

Soe att last I gott uppe in ye power of God over y^{m} all & they beate mee doune Into ye boate: & soe Ja: Lancaster came Into ye boate to mee: & soe hee sett mee over ye water.

And Ja: Naylor wee saw afterwards y^{t} they was beatinge of him for whilst they was beatinge off mee hee walkt uppe Into a feilde & they never minded him till I was gonne & then they fell upon him & all there cry was kill him kill him.

And when I came on ye other syde off ye water to ye tounde againe: all ye tounde risse uppe with pitch forkes fleales & staffes [& mucke hookes] to keepe mee out of ye tounde & cryed kill him knocke him in ye heade bringe ye cart & carry him away to ye grave yarde.

And soe they abused mee & guarded mee with all those weapons a pretty way off out of ye tounde & there [att last the Lords power beinge over y^{m} all] they left mee.

And then Ja: Lancaster went backe againe to look after Ja: Naylor: soe I was a lone & came to a ditch of water & washed mee for they had all dirted mee & wett {& mired} my cloaths face & handes.

Soe I walkt a matter of three miles to Tho: Huttons[1] where Tho: Lawson ye preist lodged y^t was convinct: & I coulde harrdly speak to y^m when I came in I was soe bruised & soe I tolde y^m where I left Ja: Nailor & they went & tooke each of y^m a horse & went & brought him thither y^t night.

[And I went to bed but I was soe weake with bruises I was not able to turne mee] & ye next day they hearinge of it att Swarthmoore they sent a horse for mee [& as I was rideinge ye horse knockt his foote against a stone & stumbled y^t] it shooke mee soe & pained mee [as Itt seemed worse to mee then all my blowes my body was soe tortured]: soe I came to Swarthmoore: & my body was exceedingely bruised.

And Justice Sawrey & Justice Thompson[2] of Lancaster graunted foorth a warrant for mee: but Judge fell comeinge home they did not serve it upon mee: for hee was out of ye country all this time y^t I was thus abused & cruelly used.

And soe hee sent foorth Warrants Into Wana: to ye Constables to apprehende all those riotous persons: & some off y^m fledd ye Country: & destruction is come upon many of y^m {since & James Lancasters wiffe came after to bee convinct & many of those bitter persecutors alsoe: & ye Judgements of God fell upon some of ye persecutors}.

And Judge ffell askt mee to give him a relation of my persecution & I tolde him they coulde doe noe otherwise they was in such a spiritt: & they manifested there preists fruites & profession & religion: & soe hee tolde his wiffe y^t I made nothinge of it & spoake as a man y^t had not beene concerned.

Butt ye Lords power healed mee againe & I went to Yelland where there was a great meetinge: & there came a preist in ye Eveninge with his pistoll in his hande under a pretence to light a pipe of tobacco: & ye maide tolde her master & hee clappes his handes a both sydes ye doore posts & tolde him hee should not come in there: & hee lookes uppe & spyes a great company of men over ye wall: & spyes on with a muskett & others with stakes.

Butt ye Lord God prevented there bloody designe y^t they went there ways {& did noe harme}.

And after this I went to Lancaster with Judge ffell to ye sessions where Jo: Sawrey {aforesaid & Justice Thompson}

had given foorth a warrant to apprehende mee: soe I appeared att ye sessions upon ye hearinge of it: but was never apprehended by there warrant [& there mett with Collonell West[1] another Justice].

And there appeared against mee 40 preists: & they chused one preist Marshall[2] of Lancaster to bee there orator: for two preists sonns & a preist had sworne against mee y^t^ I had spoaken Blasphemy.

Butt as I was goeinge a longe to Lancaster with Judge ffell: hee saide to mee hee had never such a matter brought before him before: & hee coulde not tell well what to doe in ye busnesse: & then I saide unto him when Paul was brought before the rulers & ye Jews & preists came doune to accuse him & layde many false Charges against him: Paul stoode still all y^t^ while: & when they had donne ye governor {ffestus & Kinge Agrippa} beckoned to him to speake for him selfe which Paul did & cleered himselfe of all those false accusations: & soe hee might doe by mee.

And soe when they were sett in there sessions they hearde all y^t^ ye preists coulde say & charge against mee: & there orator y^t^ sate by: & explained there sayinges.

And when they examined ye one of y^m^ upon his oath then they examined another: & hee was soe confounded y^t^ hee coulde not aunswer directly but saide ye other coulde say it: which made ye Justices say: have you sworne it upon your oath & now say y^t^ hee can say it & Itt seems you did not heare those words spoaken {yourselfe though you have sworne to it} & soe these witnesses was confounded amongst y^m^ selves [as in ye followinge relation may more fully appeare].

[Severall plotts & snares ye preists layde against mee & some of ye Justices y^t^ were in office & many sought after my life & lay in waite to have murdered mee.

And at last these preists & preists sons forged these thinges against mee which heere is some of y^m^: y^t^ was taken out of an olde torne booke: att a sessions helde at Lancaster: 1652.][a]

[a] Narrative continued on page 70.

[*The examination of George ffox att ye Sessions att Lancaster before Judge ffell & Coll. West & other Justices: 1652*[1].

Cor: West: Are you scholar and soe irrationall as to say That wee were talkeinge and after he said that hee was equall with god; sett some face upon what you have sayd; were you a partie to ye discourse, and can you remember one parte and forgett annother; hath not this M^r^ Smith shewed greate zeale, and sayd hee wished it were in his power to have disposed of George ffox.

W: If hee had had power hee said that hee would have made him to have forsaken his profession, and to have denyed that he had the spirit of god and if hee had had George ffox in his power hee would have taken away his life.

Smithe: I deny that I sayd that I would have taken away his life; But hee was callinge of mee Divele and Child of Perdition, and I asked him howe I became a divele: and he said that he was the Judge of the World. And I said if it were in my power I would have made him recall that word.

Cor: West: Did hee {say}: I George ffox am ye Judge of the Worlde.

Rowland Penney to Smithe: Thou said to mee, little didst thou thinke thou should have seene mee in y^t^ minde; when thou and I was in Scotland.

...Lawson: Hee said if hee had had him in his power hee would have taken away his life.

Judge ffell: First yee say that he was equall with god, and then yee say hee lett fall theise wordes that he was equall with God.

Judg ffell: To ye second Question That God taught deceipt.

Robert Withers: Hee spoke against all Teachers, but God himselfe that teacheth purely and perfectly.

Smithe: Wee were speakeinge of ye Bible and I affirmed it to be ye word of God and hee asked how I could witnes it, and I answered by itselfe and hee said that was without, and I said it was within, because Gods spirit wittnessed with myne.

Judge ffell: Thatt you confesse Gods spirit doth witnesse {but} where doth it witnesse in ye Churche or pulpitt: Goe on.

Smith: Upon that hee said God taught deceipt.

Judge ffell: Hee might say thou holds out deceipt.

Justice Sawrey: It was taken notice of by Robert Whithers, that he sayd god taught deceipt.

Robert Withers: I heard noe such word as I am a Christian.

Smithe: George spoke theise wordes, and Robert put forth his hand and said God forgive thee, and after Robert said hee means this That God teaches to knowe deceipt.

Judge ffell: It is not probable that any such wordes should followe. Now for a man to say y^{t} god teaches deceipt, there is noe dependance upon theise wordes.

Question: What say you to the third Question: That ye Scriptures....

Smithe: Hee asked mee what ye word was, I had a Bible...and hee said that was Antichriste.

Atkinson: Hee affirmed y^{t} ye Scriptures were carnall, and y^{t} it was Antichriste.

Thomas Rawlinson[1]*:* Hee said The Bible was a declaration of God.

Smithe: Hee was condemninge & callinge mee divele, and I asked him how comes thou to iudge soe, and hee said I am ye Judge of the World, and at that I was much troubled within mee.

Judg: ffell: And thereupon you would take away his life {woulde you}.

Smithe: I said if I had had power in mee I would have made him to have renounced theise wordes which were spoken.

Judge ffell: What say you to y^{t} that he was as upright as Christ.

Smithe: That hee said that he was as upright as Christe.

Judg ffell: You are a single Witnesse to that, & that {hee saide} God taught deceipt you are but a single witnesse to that also. So to three {of your accusations} heres {but} a single witnesse onely.

Geo: ffox: That was not soe spoken that I was equall with God, hee that sanctifyeth and hee that is sanctifyed

are {all of} one, they are one in ye ffather & ye Sonne, & of his flesh, & of his bone, this ye scripture doth witnesse, and yee are ye Sonnes of God, and ye ffather and ye Sonne are one &c.

Judge ffell: Equality showes Twoe distincte.

Do: Marshall: But he saith they are one they are equall.

J: ffell: But he doth not say That he is equall with God.

D: Marshall: But he saith he y^{t} sanctifyeth & them which are sanctifyed are one they are equall.

Judge ffell: I cannott tell what you should make of that, the same thinge cannott bee equall.

D: Marshall: Many may bee one.

J: ffell: But they are not equall, onenesse argues unitie, theres an unitie with God, and where there is an unitie, there may be equallity.

Answere to ye Question That God taught deceipt.

Geo: ffox: That is false, and was never spoken by mee, God is pure.

Q: What say you to that that ye Scriptures are Antichrist.

Geo: ffoxe: That is false. But they which professe ye Scriptures, and live not in ye life and power of them, as they did y^{t} gave them forth, that I witnesse to bee Antichriste.

Question: That he was the Judge of the World.

Answ: Geo: ffox: The saints shall Judge the World, the Scriptures witnesse it whereof I am one, and I witnesse ye Scriptures fullfilled.

Question: That hee was as upright as Christe.

Answere: As hee is soe are wee in this present World: That the Saintes are made the righteousnes of God.

Judge ffell: Hee that sanctifyeth & they y^{t} are sanctifyed are one, they are united.

Cor. West: All this is not to say That he is equall with God.

Geo. ffox: The ffather and the Sonne are one.

Mich: Altham: I beleeve that he will say That he is sanctifyed and then hee is equall with God. {Mark this preist whoe woulde make it to bee blasphemy to say ye Saintes are santifyed.}

Judge ffell: The words charged are not proved but by

a single Wittnesse; here was a warrant out against him chardgeinge him to bee guiltie of blasphemie, and here are none of ye wordes y^t^ he is charged with within the wordes of the Acte, and I am perswaded many of theise things are putt upon him.

Geo: ffox: As hee is soe are wee in this present World.

Do: Marshall: Art thou equall with God.

Geo: ffox: My Father and I are one, and as hee is soe are wee in this present world. {And is not this scripture speakinge of Christ, for if hee bee in his people is not hee one with his father.}

James Nayler: Dost thou aske him as a Creature or as Christ dwellinge in him.

Do: Marsh: I am sorrie that it is not involved within ye Act, for tis blasphemie it is fitt that it should bee added to ye Acte.

Cor: West: God hath ye Rule within himselfe, and wee must iudge accordinge to ye Rule; and wee are soe indulgent in dischargeinge our dutie, if wee meete with this or any man within our Rule, that wee should not dare to meete y^t^ God in ye face to spare him: and therefore I would not have you goe to conclude that wee will not iudge accordinge to the Lawe.

Do: Marshall: I professe before yee entred into any Examinaçons, if theise thinges were not within ye Acte, I am soe satisfyed, That they are soe diametrically against that which is gods glory, That it is pittie that they are not in ye Acte. {See how this preist sought for bloode.}

Geo: ffox: I have that spirit dwellinge in mee {of ye father which speakes to you}.

{Many more words were spoaken which are lost and torne out of ye booke.}[a]

Doct: Marshal: They may bee one and not equall.

Ja: Nayler: Freinde is there anythinge sanctified but ye Sonne, and if nothinge be sanctifyed but ye Sonne, and ye Sonne beinge one in all, then ye thinge sanctifyed is equall in all; And it is not of seedes but of one.

Do: Marshall: That is but one Christe.

[a] The rest of this page is absent, having, apparently, been cut off before the words in the last paragraph, which are in the writing of Thomas Lower, were written.

Ja: Nayler: And y^t^ one Christ is in all his Saintes.

Justice Sawrey: I conceive theise wordes are proved.

Judge ffell: If they were Consider if they bee within ye Acte: if you have committed an Error tis not good to insist in it.

Cor: West: The Law is Expressly in Causes of Crimination, That the Examinaçone should bee taken at lardge in paper.

Judge ffell: First goe to ye poynte of ye Witnesse, Whether there bee any more then y^t^ single man, can you make no Twoe Witnesses: yee have but one Witnesse and contradicted with many.

Justice Sawrey: Will you supersede the Warrant.

Judge ffell: Tis to bee understood that you would conforme to act accordinge to the Lawe. I aske this Question, when yee see you should have Twoe Wittnesses, and yee see there is but a single Wittnesse to three of the firste And for my part I thinke your proceedings have beene very illegall and uniuste; and contrary to ye Lawe of the Romans: And I thinke it was to give Countenance to your proceedings before that were uniuste: yee see here should bee twoe Wittnesses, and ye have but one, and yet will persist in it: And the Act is by the oathe of twoe or more Wittnesses: I conceive you may consider whether yee have dealt accordinge to iustice in this or noe: and soe it is cleare the Warrant which is out is very illegall: and whether this bee a suffitient Wittnesse or noe, a man that said hee would have taken away his life, if hee had had him in his power, and that but one, and there ought to have bene Twoe.

Cor: West: And it may bee remembred too That M^r^ Altham what hee said to Robert Withers, how hee was brought into this busines, hee .....][a]

[1][*Geo: ffox:* I speake not.....

D: Marshall: Now hee.....

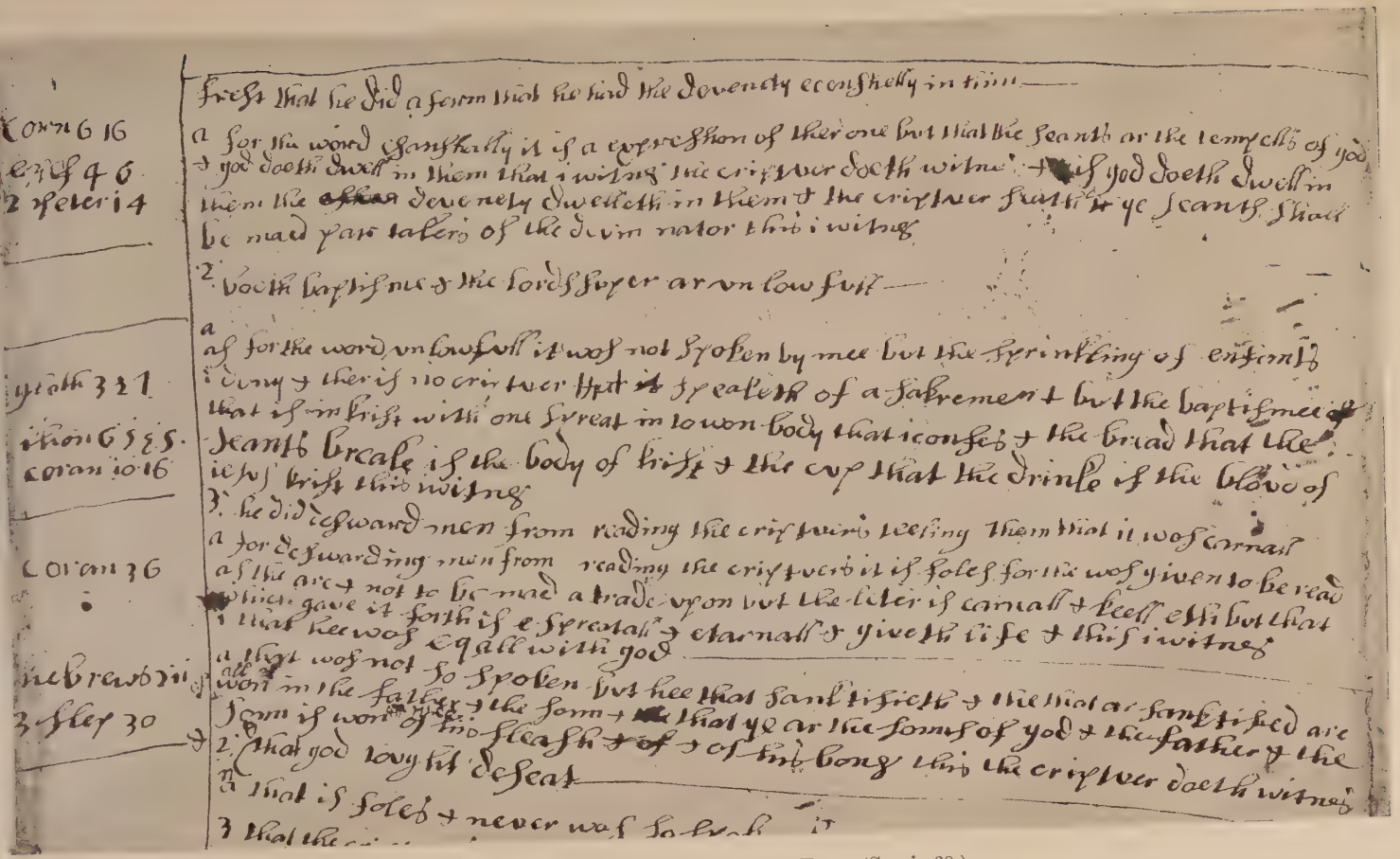
J: ffell: Will you not ta.....and he y^t^ is sa.....if wee doe not.....

Geo: ffox: He y^t^ is ioyne.....

[a] Remainder of page has been cut away.

Do: Marshall: I acknowledge.....it is union.....
Judge ffell: It is an ea.....
Geo: ffox: That same.....who reade ye Scr.....but y^t^ which gave.....there were.....y^t^ speakes from.....hee y^t^ takes.....Churches.....& walkes in.....
D: Marshall: The wor.....
Geo: ffox: The wo.....
Doc: M.: The word.....
Cor: West: Then any.....
M^r^ Jacques[1]*:* The Lett.....
Cor: ffell: Then he.....
M^r^ Jackques: I say.....
Cor: ffell: Fly not.....said, then.....
M^r^ Jacqs: I say not y^t^ ed.....
Cor: West: You ma.....
Judg: ffell & Cor. West: .....yee say ye.....
M^r^ Jackques: It is.....
M^r^ Schoolecroft[2]*:* .....with which.....
Cor. West: .....Joel & .....
M^r^ Jackques: I propo.....said the.....
Judge ffell: Yee.....
M^r^ Jackques: The sp.....
Judg ffell: I see.....
Maior Rippon: I d.....upon.....to ye pa.....before.....
.....cryinge Children without ye
.....was as a sheepe, dumbe.....uld seeke peace, and
.....he had never medled.
.....within and not soe
.....they disturbers
.....ripture and shall.....whether thou bee a.....
.....Antichriste.....christe they love.....blies.....
.....denyed it.....uphold such things
.....some Teachers.....to whom tribute
.....nnot M^r^.....bee not yee called M^r^
.....to ye Scriptures. .....inge but.....]

[3][first that he did aferm that he had the devenety ecenshelly in him.—
A. for the word esanshally it is a expreshon of ther one but that the seants ar the tempells of god & god doeth dwell in them that i witnes & the criptuer doeth witnes: &



Specimen of the Writing of George Fox. (See i. 68.)

if god doeth dwell in them the devenety dwelleth in them & the criptuer seath ye seants shall be maed partakers of the devin nator this i witnes—(2) corn 6: 16. epef 4: 6. 2 peter 1: 4.

2. boeth baptisme & the lords super ar unlowfull.

A. as for the word unlowfull it was not spoken by mee but the sprinkling of enfants i deny & ther is no criptuer that speaketh of a sakrement but the baptismee that is in krist with one spreat in to won body that i confes & the bread that the seants breake is the body of krist & the cup that the drinke is the bloud of iesus krist this iwitnes—glath (Gal.) 3: 27. ihon 6: 53—8. (2) coran 10: 16.

3. he did desward men from reading the criptuers teeling them that it wos carnall.

A. for deswarding men from reading the criptuers it is foles for the wos given to be read as the are & not to be mad a trade upon but the leter is carnall and keelleth but that which gave it forth is spreatall & eternall & giveth life & this i witnes—(2) coran 3. 6.

1. that hee wos eqall with god.

A. that wos not so spoken but hee that sanktifieth & the that ar sanktified are all of won in the father & the sonn & that ye ar the sonns of god & the father & the sonn is won {& wee} of his fleash & of his bons this the criptuer doeth witnes—hebrews 2: 11. 5 fles 30 (? Eph. 5. 30).

2. that god tought deseat.

A. that is foles & never wos so spoken by mee.

3. that the criptuers wos ante krist.

A. that is foles {& was never spoken by mee} but the which profes the criptuers Sperit & live not in the.....& pouer of them as the did which gave them forth that iwitnes to be ante krist.

4. that hee wos the iudge of the world.

Aneser: the seants (s)hall iudge the world the criptuer doeth witnes wherof i am won & i witnes the criptuer fulled —(1) coran 6: 2: 3.

5. that hee wos as upright as krist.

An: thoes words wos not so spoken by mee but as hee is so ar wee in this present world & that the saintes are mad the rightns of god that the seants are won in the father & the sonn that wee shall be like him the i of ihon

ye 2[a] that all teaching which is given forth by krist is to bring the seants to perfection even to the mesuer statuer & fuellnes of krist this the criptuer doeth witnes & this i doeth witnes to be fuelfled—(i) ihon 4: 17. epeshons 4: 1—13.

when wonce you deny the trouth then you ar given over to belevef lyes & speake evell of them which leaveth in the trouth & youer enveing & lies lay upon them the righteous woes imdes[b] are evenus & soes the sead of envi & makes others envies o ther for trembell be for the Lord ye hipkrits & mind the light of god in you which shew you the deaseat of youer hearts & obe that ther youer teacher desobeing that ther is your condamnashon hating that light yoou hat krist.]

[c]And soe I cleered all these thinges which they charged against mee {as aforesaid} & severall other people y[t] were att ye meetinge when they sayde I spoake those words they charged against mee: they wittnessed y[t] ye oath they had taken was altogeather false & y[t] noe words like those they had sworne against mee was spoaken by mee at ye meetinge: for Indeed there was att y[t] meetinge most of ye serious men of y[t] syde of ye country att y[t] time whoe were att ye sessions & had hearde mee att the meetinge aforesaid & att other meetinges.

And Coll: West stoode uppe whoe had longe beene weake & blesst ye Lord & saide hee never saw soe many sober people & good faces togeather all ye days of his life: & saide y[t] ye Lorde had healed him y[t] day & saide George if thou hast anythinge to say to ye people thou maist freely declare it in ye open sessions.

And soe I was moved of ye Lord to speake: & assoon as I begann preist Marshall there orator goes his ways: & this I was moved to declare y[t] ye scriptures was given foorth by ye spiritt of God & all people must first come to ye spiritt of God in y[m]selves by which they might know God & Christ of whom ye prophetts & ye Apostles learnt: & by ye same spiritt they might know ye holy scriptures & ye spiritt which was in y[m] y[t] gave y[m] foorth: soe y[t] spirit of God

[a] Perhaps the reference is to 1 John 3. 2.
[b] Perhaps *whose mindes* Neither writing nor meaning is clear.
[c] Narrative continued from page 62.

must bee in y^m y^t comes to knowe y^m againe by which spiritt they might have felloweshippe with ye Son & ye father & with ye scriptures & one with another {and without it they cannot knowe neither God nor Christ nor ye scriptures nor have felloweshippe one with another}.

And I had noe sooner spoaken these words but there was 6 preists burst out Into a passion {y^t stoode behinde my backe} & there was one preist Jacqes saide y^t ye letter & ye spiritt was Inseperable.

And I saide if soe then every one y^t has ye letter has ye spiritt & they may then buy ye Spiritt with ye letter of ye scriptures.

Upon this Judge ffell & Coll West reproved ye preists seeinge there darknesse: & tolde y^m y^t then they might carry ye spiritt in there pocketts {as they did ye scriptures} & then all ye preists rusht out in a rage against ye Justices because they coulde not have there bloody ends {upon mee seeinge they was soe confounded}.

And then Judge ffell spoake to {Justice} Sawrey & Thompson aforesaid & superseded there warrant & showed y^m ye errors of it [as followeth[a]].

And multitudes of people praised God y^t day: for it was a Joyfull day: & there was Justice Benson there out of Westmorelande whoe was convinct & major Rippan[1] whoe was maior of ye tounde of Lancaster {whoe was convinct alsoe}: & it was a day of everlastinge salvation to hundreds of people for ye Lord Jesus Christ ye way & free teacher was sett uppe: & his everlastinge gospell & word of life preacht {over ye heades of ye preists & such money preachers}.

And soe ye sessions broake uppe[2]: & severall freindely people & professors: spoake to ye preists in there Inns & in ye streets: & ye Lord opned y^t day aboundans of mouths to speake his worde {of life} unto y^m.

And they fell like an old rotten house & ye cry was amongst all people farr & nigh y^t ye Quakers had gott ye day {& y^t ye preists was falen}.

And many was made ministers of ye everlastinge worde of life {& of ye gospell at} y^t time {& they preacht it freely}.

And Tho: Briggs[3] was convinct y^t day & declared against

[a] No list of *errors* is now attached to the MS.

his preist Jacques: for before y^t^ time hee had discoursed with a freinde concerneinge truth: which freinde {one J: Lawson} helde perfection: & Tho: Briggs saide unto him dost thou holde perfection & hee uppe with his hande & {woulde have} strucke ye freinde a box in ye eare but att this day this T. B{riggs} came to bee convinct & became after a faithfull minister of ye gospell & stands to this day.

And I was in a fast this time & I was not to eate untill this worke of God was accomplished: & soe ye Lords power was wonderfully sett over all: & gave mee dominion over all to his glory {and his gospell was freely preacht y^t^ day over ye heades of 40 hirelinge preists} & I stayde two or 3 days in Lancaster afterwards & had some meetinges: butt ye rude {& baser sorte} people plotted togeather to have drawne mee out of ye house & to have throwne mee over Lancaster bridge but ye Lord prevented y^m^.

And then they Invented another stratagem after a meetinge was donn in Lancaster they brought doune a distracted man [in his wastcoate] & another man [in his wastecoat] with a company of birch rodds bounde togeather {like besomes} for y^m^ to have whippt mee with y^m^: but I was moved to speake to y^m^ in ye Lords mighty power which chained him & y^m^: which brought him like a lambe & I bid him throwe his rodds Into ye fire & burne y^m^ & hee did {soe & I made him confesse to truth & ye light of Christ Jesus &} soe ye Lords power came over all: soe as wee parted in love & peace.[a]

[{And about this time G: ff: gave foorth a paper Concerneinge ye worde & another to y^m^ y^t^ professe ye Scriptures to bee there rule as followeth.}]

[*G: F: concerning the word. 1652*[1].

In the begining was ye word, and none knowes this word, but who are come to ye begining. Now all people and Priests: who can witness this? who are come hither? who are come hither into the begining? what our hands have handled and what our eyes have seene, what was from

[a] Narrative continued on page 76.

ye begining: ye word of life, this declare we unto you: who knowes this word are pure, are made cleane through ye word, are washed by ye word, are sanctified by ye worde, are cut to pieces by ye word, and are divided asunder by ye word, and this word is a hammer, beating downe every thing y^t^ ye seed of God may arrise upp, and come to ye begining, and all who know this word are come into ye begining, it is as a fyre burning up all corruptions, and this is ye word y^t^ is nigh thee in thy heart; and this is ye word which all ye prophets spoke from; and this is ye word y^t^ became flesh, and dwelt among us, (saith ye Saints): And this is ye word of life which ye Apostles preached, ye substance of all figures tipes and shadowes, and this is ye word which makes all ye Saints one, y^t^ reconciles their hearts togather to ye Lord; this is ye word by which all things stands and remaines, and are upheld by his word and power, and this is ye word which doth endure for ever, all who are borne againe of ye Imortall Seed witnesses this word with me; and now ye word is made manifest ye same as ever was, which gathers together ye hearts of people, which divides assunder ye pretious and the vile, and of twaine hath made one, and this is ye word y^t^ lets see y^t^ all flesh is grasse, and this is ye word which was before any Letter was written; and all who have not this word, puts ye Letter for ye word, and are in Cains nature, envying and murdering, runing on swiftly {to evill}, and Cains sacrifice God doth not accept, and all ye preaching, and all ye praying, and all your reading, and all your singing and all your expounding, and all your churches and all your worships, and all your Teachers and all your Baptismes which are invented from ye Letter ye Carnall minde invents them; all this is for ye fyre, your profession must be gathered together in bundles, and cast into ye fyre for they are the workes of ye flesh; proceeding from ye first nature, and all you who Live in ye first nature not knowing ye word of God, but only the Letter; yee crucifye ye Just and ye gets up into ye Justs place; quenching ye Light within you; ye deceit transforming in his place; as Cain did when he slew his Brother Abell. He got up in his brothers place and said am I my Brothers keeper. Soe all you who crucifies ye Just: yee are as Cain, for it is ye righteous y^t^ God doth accept ye second

birth; as you read; Cains sacrifice God did not accept, but Abell ye second God did accept, for he was righteous, and Cain slew Abell because Abells workes was righteous; and Cains was evill. Now all you who are in ye first birth are Cain, in envy, manslayers, and your sacrifice God doth not accept: now all that comes to ye word comes before Cain was: all ye Prophets of ye Lord spoke from this word, and then ye false Prophets got ye true Prophets forme of words: but had not ye word, then the Lord sent his Prophets which had his word, to cry against the Prophets that speake a divination of their owne brain, & steale my word from their neighbor: and use their tongues and saith: the Lord saith, when ye Lord hath not spoken unto them, and as it was then, soe it is now, all ye Teachers of ye world speakes a divination of their owne braine, and not from ye mouth of ye Lord: ye Lord is against them: now I witness it by ye same word as ever was, and soe they draw people unto ye Letter, and tells them it is ye word, and to hearken to them, who speake their vaine Imaginations of it, soe they beare rule by their meanes over ye poore people, which ye Lord was ever against: for God is free, and will have his people soe, and his gosple is a free gospell & his mercies are free: & his grace is free, his gosple is free to every creature and his grace is free to every creature: his grace is not ye Letter, ye Gosple is not ye Letter, his glad tidings is not ye Letter, for many poore troubled soules may be under death and condemnation and have ye Letter, & these teachers of ye Letter, and there lye wounded but no peace, till Jesus Christ come ye glad tidings ye free Gosple, then will you witness with me y^{t} ye Gosple is a free Gosple, and not to be bought and sould for money, and ye grace of God is free: hoe every one y^{t} thirsteth, come to ye water of life, he y^{t} hath no money, come buy wine and milke without money and without price, and hearken diligently y^{t} your soules may Live, and I will make an everlasting Covenant with you: even ye sure mercies of David.

Soe all people consider, and see if you can witnesse your soules raised out of death, and you brought into this everlasting Covenant, soe who can witness their soules brought out of death, are come in to ye begining, but thou

that hast nothing but ye Letter, and art spending thy money and thy Labour and not satisfyed, spending thy money for y^t^ which is not bread, thou art following ye greedy dumbe doggs, which can never have enough. Baalls priests which have forsaken ye right way, goeing after ye error of Baalam, runing after ye way of Cain who loved ye wages of unrighteousnes, who ever slew ye just in ye particular, despiseth ye birth right[a] Cain like slaying the righteous, and who slayes it in ye particular, ye same nature slayes it in ye Generall where ye righteous seed guides and rules & is ye head, soe ye generation of Cain is but one: which is ye first birth; Now loving ye Light it will guide, it will guide you from all men y^t^ you need never looke at man more.

G. ff.]

[*To all y^t^ professe ye Scripture to bee y^r^ rule. 1652*[1].

To all you who professe the scriptures to bee your Rule & your touchstone to try with all, who fine men becase the will not put of there hatts at your sisies, & at your sessions, &· at your cowarts; when did ever any of ye heathenish kings, or magistrates, in all ages set up such lawes.

Reede the Chronickles throughout & give an example, also you may shew yourselves to out stripp all ye heathenish kings.

Where did ever Mosies, who was the Judge of all Israell, comand any people y^t^ came before him to put of there hatts & fine them if they would not bow to him; where did ever Sullamon who was A kinge comand any to put of there hatts and fine them if they would not doe it, where did ever David who was A kinge comand any likewise to put of there hatts which came beefore him & fine them if they would not doe it, here you may see how you out stripp all ye heathenish kings, who had not Receved ye law from god, but who had Receved the law from god, it said, thou shalt not bow downe to any, But the lord god: though there was A time y^t^ Jacob bowed to Esau, & there was A time y^t^ Israell bowed to Pharoah, & there was A

[a] An ancient copy of this piece has the interlinear insertion *Esau &*

time when Pharoah was distroyed, & his host, and Isarell songe over Pharoah, must Isarell bow then to Pharoah when he is distroyed, then came ye comand from god, when Isarell was brought out of Egipt sayinge thou shalt not bow, & hee y^t^ doth Respect persons transgresseth this law, many will bow to great men who have fine apparell & A great deall of ye earth, but not to A pore man, who hath not fine apparell, & there hee is A transgressor of ye law who Respects persons & comitts sin, & there was A time, that Hamon made gallowes, & who would not bow might bee hanged, & hee who had Receved the Righteous law, could not bow to him, and there was A time that Hamon was hanged himselfe, there was A time when Nebucednezer made an Image, & all y^t^ would not bow was cast into ye fire furnace, & there was A time that his kingdome might bee Rent, whose head was gould, whose brests was silver, whose bellye was brasse whose leggs was iron & feete part iron part clay, ye stone cut out of ye mountaine without hands, struck at ye feete of ye Image, & hee comes to bee heuen downe with ye stone cutt out of ye mountaine without hands, & Nebucadnezer canot understand his dreame, but Daniell who was A trembeler understood thee stone, & saw ye kindone & dominon y^t^ endures for ever, & saw his kingdome who would have had all to have bowed to him come as ye grasse to wither away, soe all carnall ones who stumbeles at this corner stone {take warninge att this}.]

[a][1652. And when ye Justices had beene in a rage against mee at Lancaster & sevrall petitions they had drawne uppe both in Westmoreland & Lancasheere & sent to ye parlament: as you may see in ye booke entituled truths defence[1] & ye aunswer to ye Westmorland petitions & in Sauls errand to Damascus with his perchett of letters[2].]

But when ye preists saw y^t^ they was overthrowne at ye sessions att Lancaster {as aforesaid} some of ye preists & envyous Justices Informed ye Judge Windham[3] against mee: & in ye open Courte ye Judge made a speech against mee att Lancaster assises: & Coll West beinge Clarke of ye

[a] Narrative continued from page 72.

Assises ye Judge Commanded him to graunt out a warrant for mee: & hee spoake to ye Judge boldely of my Innocency: & ye Judge commanded him againe either to write a warrant or goe off his seate: & hee tolde ye Judge plainely hee woulde not doe it hee shoulde doe it himselfe if hee woulde: & hee woulde offer uppe all his estate & his body for mee: soe hee stoppt ye Judge & ye Lords power came over all: & stoppt ye envy both in preists & justices.

And att night I comeinge into Lancaster at ye assises & hearinge of a warrant y^{t} was to bee graunted out for mee: I judgd it better to profer my selfe then they to seeke mee: I went to Judge ffells & Coll: Wests chamber & assoone as I came in they smiled att mee & Coll: West said what was I come Into ye Dragons mouth: soe I walkt uppe & downe ye tounde & noe one questioned mee nor medled with mee & stayde there till ye Judge went out of tounde.

And thus ye Lords blessed power y^{t} is over all carryed mee over all & gave mee dominion over all in his glorious worke & service for his great names sake.[a]

g f to john saro (Sawrey) the greatest percuter in the north of ingland this was sent to him 1652 whoe after was drounded[1]

ffreind

Thou was the Beginner of all the persecution in the north. Thou was the Beginner & Maker of all the people tumultuous. Thou was the first stirrer of them up against the righteous seede, the truth of God, and was the first strenghener of the hands of evill doers against the innocent and harmlesse, and thou shalt not prosper. Thou wast the first stirrerr up of Strikers, stoners, persecutors, stockers, mockers and Imprisoners in the north, and of Revilers, Slanderers, raylers, and false accusers and Scandallers. This was thy worke and this thou stirredst up, soe thy fruites declares thy spirit [what is stirred up, that before mencioned], instead of stirringe up the pure mindes in people, thou hast stirred up the wicked, malicious and envious, and taken hand with the wicked: thou hast made the peoples mindes envious,

[a] Narrative continued on page 79.

up and downe the Countrey; this was thy worke; but God hath shortned thy dayes, and limitted thee, and set thy bands, and broken thy Jaws, and discovered thy Religion to the simple and Babes, and brought thy deeds to the light; How is thy Habitation fallen, and become the Habitation of divels, & how is thy beauty lost, & thy glorie withered, how hast thou shewed thy end that thou hast but served God with thy lips, and thy heart far from him, and thou in the hypocricy: how hath the forme of thy Teachinge declared it selfe to bee the markes of the false prophets, whose fruites declares it selfe, by there fruites they are knowne: how are the wise men turned backward: read thy dayes, and take notice with whom thou hast taken part with all, that in thy conscience will tell thee, (the Ancient of dayes) this consider, how hath thy Zeale appeared to bee the blind Zeale, a persecutor, which Christ and his apostles gave noe such command to his to follow. How hast thou strenghtend the hands of the evill doers, & beene a praise to them, & not to them that doe well, how like a mad man and a blind man didst thou turne thy Sword backwards against the saints against whom there is noe law, how willt thou bee gnawed and burned one day when thou feeles the flame, & hast the plagues of god powred upon thee, when thou beginnest to gnawe thy tongue, for the paine, because of the plague; thou shalt have thy Reward accordinge to thy worke; thou canst not escape, the lords righteous Judgments shall finde thee out, the witness in thy conscience shall answer it. How hast thou caused the heathen to blaspheme, and gone on with the Mulltitude to do evill, & ioyned hand in hand with the wicked, how is thy latter end worse then thy beginninge, that art come with the dogge to bite [and devoure], thou art turned a wolfe to devoure the Lambs: how hast thou discovered thy selfe to bee a man more fitt to bee in a place to be nurtured, then to bee put in a place to nurtur: how was thou exalted and puffed up with pride: & now how art thou fallen downe with shame, that thou comest to be covered with that which thou stirred up & brought forth, Let not John Sawrey take the words of god in his mouth, till hee bee Reformed, Let him not take his name in his mouth till hee depart from iniquity: let him not make a proffession, (hee and his Teacher) of the Saints

words, except they doe intend [at the Markett Crosse] to proclaime themselves hypocrites, whose lives shewe another then the Saints [whoe is proclaimed theire and everywhere]; whose Church did make it selfe manifest to bee a cage of unclean birds, that they have the forme of Godlinesse; and not the power whoe have made them that bee in the power theire derision, youre by word and youre talke at youre ffeasts, & soe the unsavor the country about have smeld, and the unchristian Cariage; of whom all that feare god have beene ashamed, and to them thou hast beene agreife: in the day of account thou shalt know it in the day of condemnaçon; thou was mounted up, and set thy nest on high but never got higher than the ffowles, & now art runn with the ffoxes & ffallen into the earth, that ye earthlynesse and Covetousnesse hath swallowed thee up, and thy Conceitednesse would not carry thee through, in whom was found the selvish principle hee hath blinded thy eye and thy backe must bee bowed downe alwaies, thy Table is become a snare.

G: ff:

[a]And this persecutinge Jo: Sawrey att last was drouned [& ye vengans of God overtooke ye other Justice Tompson y[t] hee was strucke with ye deade palsey upon ye bench & carryed away off his seate {& dyed}].[b]

[{And about this time G: ff: gave foorth a paper to ye longe parlament & ye officers of ye army & another to ye generall & oficers of ye army & heades of ye nation: & another to ye worlde & another to preist Tatham & others as followeth.}]

[*g: ff: to ye longe parlament & oficers of ye army. 1652*[1].

To All the Magistrates and them in authority in these nations and ye dominions thereunto appertaineing for them to read this.

Yee Magistrates yee rulers who have knowne the power

[a] Narrative continued from page 77.
[b] Narrative continued on page 103.

of ye lord in giveing of you dominion below: keepe low: least yee abuse the power that yee once tasted of & waite for wisdome ye wisdome of god that in it & with it yee may be ordered to ye glory of god & not abuse his power for the mighty day of ye lord hath been seen in this age & hath brought forth much to his glory in giveing you victory over much & throwne downe much & sett yee above much y^t^ them that ye power of ye lord hath thrown downe of ye power of ye lord they may take notice now yee that have knowne this power the power of ye lord be not lifted up least ye same power throw you downe that hath throwne others downe befor you for ye same power throwes downe that which is exalted as befor it did.

Be not high minded but feare & be watchfull unto prayer least yee run into wantonnes & cry aha your owne hands hath done this & ye other I have done & this I have done & soe boast & take glory to your selves, & soe robb god of his honour and honour one another, such god will staine their honour & glory & deface it & bring it into contempt and overthrow it with ye same power he overthrew his enimies befor the same power overthrowes that who are Joyned together (as a harlot) & make yee to knowe that he raignes ye ruler of heaven and earth the creator of heaven & earth whose power is dreadfull, whose power is dreadfull in overturning shakeing downe removing & defaceing & takeing ye glory to himselfe & ye honour to whome it belongs & ye feare to whome it belongeth therfor boast not yourselves none of you but be watchfull and meeke & learne ye true humility which goes befor ye honour for it is an honour for a king to find out a mater & search it out & lett there not be an eye in none of you nor an eare amongst none of you that will respect persons or have persons respected for in such cases there will be a will that is brikle earthly changable wanting ye patience to Judge rightly selfish & stubornenes & preiudice & sideing to perties more then to truth & right Judgment is blinded in these & ye true measure is wanting & ye true weight to weigh withall & ye true measure to measure withall while there is preiudice in ye officers Judges Justices or rulers whilst he is passionate out of ye humblenes & humillity out of ye mercie out of ye patience in ye willfullnes in ye

stubornenes sturdynes highmindednes minding ye persons respecting that under this doth ye Just grone & under this doth ye Just feell ye weight which feells ye want of ye true measure & cryes for ye true measure & putts up petitions to ye lord who heres and answers the cryes of the oppressed & removes the oppresser & brings him to shame & contempt though for a time he hath a day of honour & glory but such ye lord of glory there day doth shorten often in turneing them out & cutting them off bringing his righteous Judgments upon them who rightly hath not Judged such god measures their wayes god gives to them measure & Just weight according to their workes therfor all yee rulers of ye earth be awakened with ye measure of god be awakened to righteousnes & to ye measure of god all take heed to give your minds up to god wherby yee may stand all in gods Counsell to receive that from god which shall never be shaken wherby with it yee may answere that of god in every man & be to ye lord a praise & a terror to ye nations aboute yee for true Justice & Judgment being sett up & being in the hands of such as have ye true measure to reach that of god in every man then that of god in every man shall answere his measure & haveing ye true weight to weigh things aright that of god in every man shall wittnes his weight to be Just & his measure not to shorte for he gives to every man his due & every man his weight here is equitty here ye righteous is glad ye righteous reioyceth ye evill doer y^{t} raigneth which is a terror to it from ye lord god of heaven & earth I am moved to charge all to be meeke to be humble to be patient & not to be rash nor to be heady nor to be feirce but to be gentle & feare befor ye lord god wherby you may receive his wisdome that in all Countries wherever yee come where yee are Judges Justices rulers & magistrates yee may be a praise in ye Country where yee are & where ever yee come & a good savour to ye lord god answering that of god in every man which will exercise the consience towards god & towards man for consience sake & not for wrath that all may come subiect to ye higher marke ye higher power which is above that power that abode not in ye truth but is out of ye truth out of ye life which is the light & that is ye power of darknes & there is ye

spirituall wickednes & there is ye rulers of darkenes out of ye truth which is out of the light that doth enlighten every man that cometh into ye world the light that every man is enlightened withall that cometh into ye world will wittnes to him ye higher power who a terror to him is if he doe evill & soe yee all knowing & comeing into ye higher power to which ye soule must be subiect.

Yee that are come to this yee are in that that is above ye spirituall wickednes that is above ye rulers of darkenes of ye world yee come to be on topp of all in ye whole world yee will be a dread & terror to all ye world yee will be in ye higher power yee will reach over nations tongues kindreds people & languages and sound a dread & terror over them all yee will be in ye higher power higher then ye powers of darkenes higher then the spirituall wickednes higher then all ye heathenish gods & rulers higher then the rulers of darkenes in the highest places of ye world and them all on top of them all & chaines them all & answers that of god in all & the fashions of it ye lusts of it which wars against ye soule marke which against the soule warrs {it Judges} therfor whose soule soever is subiect to ye higher power above the power of him that abode not in ye truth none of them that be here doth ye lust of ye divell that is out of ye truth but they are in ye power above him ye higher power which chaines overturnes brings downe brings under putts downe all ye powers of darkenes ye spirituall wickednes who are in ye higher power they are in the throne of god & they be in that which is honourable & in that which doth remaine they be in that which limitts and stopps & setts bonds to that which is out of ye higher power which comes under the Chaine ye bridle ye Yoake ye gage ye rule which would destroy devoure teare to peeces ye higher power over that hath dominion & all that warrs against ye soule to which ye soule must be subiect & where this rules there is peace & ye burden is taken of ye Inocent reioyceth ye simplicity is glad ye righteous praiseth & magnifieth god where this rules & where this rules such as be in it they knowe the kingdome of ye most high ruleing in men & his dominion hath noe end & his scepter of righteousnes & his throne is exalted & ye kingdome where there is noe end knowne seene & inJoyed who be in

this be in the honourable power throne dominion which hath noe end which moves throwes down & shakes all ye contrary which power reacheth to the seed of god & to that of god in every man who is here him cometh to knowe who upholds all things by his worde & power & comes under ye goverment of ye lord Jesus Christ & are ye help magistrats for him who hath all power in heaven & earth in his hand given to him whose kingdome is now sett up & setting up to whome all glory is given I will not give it to another saith ye lord god but to his sonn & such as are here they be in the higher power they seeks ye honour onely that comes from god & honours ye son & ye father such as receives honour one of another & honour themselves receive honour from men be such as be without the unbeleiveing not under Christs goverment therfor waite all in ye light which Christ Jesus hath enlightned you withall that with ye light yee may see Christ Jesus from whence it comes & receive power & may receive power from Christ who hath all power in heaven & earth given to him which if yee have ye light & doe not beleive in it which yee are enlightned withall which light letts you see marke ye light letts you see your deeds whether they be wrought in god or noe ye light doth lett yee see that comes to Christ him by whome ye world was made befor it was made this light will lett you see whether your workes be wrought in god but hateing this light which letts see it will be your condemnation soe stopp not ye eare against that which letts you see what you see what you have been & tells yee what yee have done & tells ye what yee have said & tells yee what wayes yee have walked in & what actions yee have acted & what deeds yee have comitted stop not ye eare against y^{t} but lett ye eare be open to that least yee remaine in ye uncercumcised & unconverted state & ye unhealed state in ye transgression strangers from ye life of god his covenant of light life & of peace therfor close not your eye which letts you see your words your wayes your actions for not closeing ye eye not stopping ye eare ye eye open ye eare open gods Counsell is heard god secretts is received out of ye transgression you come & healling yee wittnes of ye wisdome & ye secretts of ye lord god & ye renewing of your minde you will here come to wittnes &

that stirred & brought up y^{t} bringeth to stand in ye Counsell of ye lord god & to doe his will & ye eye being unclosed to that which letts you see & ye eare being unstopt to that which cryes to ye lord ye lords voice is heard which keepeth you tender & from hardnes of hearte & to you this is ye worde of ye lord god & with y^{t} yee answere y^{t} of god in every man, this shall stand for a wittnes to yee or against yee & yee that have knowne ye power of god take heed of getting out of it & then that nature which is gone out of it setts up such in authoritty as ye power hath throwne downe which are out of it least ye lord god sweep you both away with his power who Joyneth to that which ye power of ye lord formerly hath overthrowne ye oppressers which woulde have raigned which ye lord overthrew & would not have him to raigne therfor ye lord layd it as ye dust & as ye ground with his power therfor keepe yee in y^{t} power & if any of them come into repentance & doe accknowledge ye power which hath throwne them downe & removed & converted them then yee are in unity then yee are one in that which makes plain ye way of god & layeth downe mountaines y^{t} ye lord alone may be exalted & his house established on top of ye mountaines & none is worthy to have ye name of a magistrate that is proude pevish selfish Crabbed or that is wilfull or wicked or y^{t} is heady or high-minded for ye higher power is to chaine such from their Intents and mischeivious ends that they would doe & wronge the Inocent with their unrighteous Intents & such as touching Judgment are blind that be perverse & full of ambition & pride such forgetts god & he is not in their thoughts these feell not ye burden of ye oppressed these feell not ye burden that ye Inocent beares & grones under for such as be there be in that nature that burdens ye Just in particuler & in ye Generall befor whose eyes ye feare of God is not who makes a prey upon ye Just of whome ye lords eye behoulds who should be a terror to ye evill doer & a prayse to them that doe well which they all be that be in ye higher power befor whose eye is ye feare of god whose eye they behould that watcheth over y^{m} ye Allmighty with whom they have peace in acting things that is righteous that of god in every man answereing.

Now as Conserning preists & teachers who will not

preach without a sum of money of whome they looke for it of you & with petitions to you come or send which themselves have not heard ye voice of ye lord the worde of ye lord such as comes with petitions & have not heard ye voice of ye lord nor his worde which was in ye begining are to stand by ye worde commands them silence as it was in ye dayes of Jeremiah such ye higher power silenceth that usseth their tongues whose doubdts is for outwarde maintenance & takeing thought for that such are in ye state of ye Jentiles ye kingdomes of ye world & seeking for that & not for ye kingdome of god & ye righteousnes of it first which ye other things follow if this were found & a worde from ye lord received & his counsaill stood in people would be turned from their evill wayes there would be noe want for outwarde things but if they be preists & readers of ye law to ye people then they must have their pullpitt of wood & a thinge made ready to their hand & boast in other mens labours but this was not ye practise of ye Apostles but such are excluded out of that kingdome ye boasters are from their owne measures with which they should reach that of god in every man & such be they who would have ye mouth stopped & would stopp ye mouth of them that have ye voice of ye lord Imediatly from his mouth & speakes his worde by which all things was made without money or prise freely.

Soe as yee all magistrates be kept in ye feare of god & in ye higher power in ye true understanding & true wisdome which is pure gentle from above easy to be entreated it will bring you to ye true Instructions & there being in y^{m} it will bringe you to enstruct all others where ever you come or be in ye wisdome wayes of god peace righteousnes & truth & meekenes & patience wherby yee may all come to love as ye family of god and noe frowardnes nor bitternes but with wisdome & order rule ye Creatures by which they were Created by which they must all be Governed to ye glory of god ye Creator with ye wisdome by which all thinges are Created. G. ff.]

[*To Burton & Lampert & Ottways brother from G: ff: 1652*[1].

Ye word of ye Lord to y^ee^ O Burton[2].

I was moved of ye lord to come into thy asemblie at Sedburge I found y^ee^ in ye chiefest seat in ye asemblie: in ye steps of ye fareses which was against Christ as y^u^ may read Math 23, one y^t^ stands praying in ye sinagougs which our lord Jesus Christ cryd woe against who art one y^t^ would quench ye spirit which ye minister of god said quench not ye spirit & prove all things & thou cryd out to ye stocks with him {shew som scripture for y^t^ or else confese thou art in Cains way} here thou hast shewed to all ye people y^u^ art one of y^m^ y^t^ goes in Cains way as y^u^ may read Peter 22.[a] & Jud: {& art one of y^m^ y^t^ goes for gifts & rewards in Balaams way ye wages of unrighteousnes} & here with ye scriptures y^u^ art Judged & ye light condemned whose mouth must be stopt an evill beast a slow belly minds earthly thinges, as ye apostle speaks of, who lives in ye lust & filth, as y^u^ manifests it who art for condemnation & destruction who darst not say all thinges ye apostles said if any thinge be revealed to him y^t^ stands by (1 cor: 14: 30) let ye first hould his peace & then crye cary him to stocks, o blush y^u^ sot & be ashamed & cover thy lips & stop thy mouth for ever mencioning ye Apostles practice, who art one y^t^ beares rule by thy means which ye lord sent Jer(emiah) to cry against Jer: 5. & ye people love to have it soe who art one y^t^ seeks for thy gain from thy quarter, a greedie dumb dog which ye lord sent Esia to cry against & ye hirelinge which ye Lord sent Mica to cry against & such a one as ye lord sent Ezekell to cry against which makes a pray upon ye people & devoures y^m^, & heere thou art found amongst y^m^ which ye lord sent his holy profets to cry against: & heere with ye Scripture y^u^ art Judged & all people here seartch these scripturs & you will find this man amongst those which ye lord sent his profets & his sonn to cry against I doe comand & charge in ye presents of ye livinge god give over deceving ye people, to y^t^ in thy conscience I speake: I am

[a] This may be intended for 2 Peter 2.

ye light of ye world & doth enlighten every one y^{t} cometh into ye world saith Christ, y^{t} light which shewes y^{ee} sinne & evill is from Christ, it will let y^{ee} see y^{u} art a stranger to ye life y^{t} gave forth ye scripturs & this is thy condemnation ye light, & to y^{ee} this is ye word of god {when y^{u} art in thy torment} remember y^{u} was warned in thy life, now while y^{u} hast time prise it, when y^{u} art in ye lake Dives his end then remember me.]

[1][Ye word of ye lord to all you people y^{t} houlds up such a decever before mencioned read ye scripturs before mencioned & with them prove him try him, & then see whether you will owne such as ye lord sent his profits apostles sonne to cry against or ye profits sonne & apostles, to ye light which Christ Jesuse hath enlightned you with all in yo^{r} consciences I speake {y^{t} with it you may see yourselves & what you hould up} : there is your teatcher lovinge it[a] there is your condemnation hatinge it, & when your condemnation is come remember your warned in your life time, to y^{t} in your conscience I speake which never changes, which will witnese me eternaly & you condemne & it will teatch you when you are goeinge up & downe & lyinge in your bed & to you this is ye word of ye lord, & if you love ye light which coms from Christ & walke in it there is your way to salvation to Christ from whence it coms; but if you hate this light there is your condemnation ye light y^{t} hate it whose deeds is evill & hould up such teatchers as they who dwell in ye light crye woe against & to you this is ye word of ye lord & if you did love ye light you would com to see ye light of life & to abid in ye vine which is Christ & sitt under ye vine but you y^{t} hate ye light & folow oaths & drunckenese lyinge & scouldeinge & swearinge are for condemnation & are goeinge on into ye lake & ye fire y^{t} burnes exept you speedily repent & to you this is ye word of ye lord & if ever your eye com to see repentance you will witnese me a frend of your soale & your eternal good.]

[2]The word of ye lord god To y^{ee} o Lampert who art a decever surfeted & druncke with ye earthly spirit ramblinge

[a] Probably as above; the writing is very small and the letters in many places are only partly formed.

up & downe in ye scriptures ramblinge & blendinge thy spirit amongst ye saints conditions who had a profesey as thy father Balaam had who art erd from it as thy father did one [y^{t} is curst from Christ & ye living god] whose fruit hath withered I witnese it & many others which hath knowne thy fruit sees ye end of it y^{t} its withered & sees where y^{u} art in ye blind world blind leadinge ye blind a beast smotheringe & tumblinge in ye earth & lust & one y^{t} is erd from ye spirit of ye lord who art of ould ordained for condemnation, who art in ye seat of ye fareses, cald of men master, & stands prayinge in ye sinagougs, hath chiefest seat in ye Asemblies, in ye steps of ye fareses & in there way of thy fathers a hipocrite & hipocrits which our lord Jesus Christ cryd woe against, such with his light thou art comprehended & seene, which is thy condemnation eternaly to y^{ee} this is ye word of god, for in Christs way y^{u} art not but in ye fareses as y^{u} maist read Mat. 23, & all y^{t} owne Christs words may see y^{ee} there y^{t} y^{t} Christ which dyd at Jerusalem cryd woe against such as y^{u} art, & Christ ye same today yesterday & for ever, ye woe remaines upon y^{ee} eternaly & from under it thou canst never com: to y^{ee} this is ye word of god to y^{t} in thy conscience I doe speak which shall witnes me eternaly & y^{ee} condemn, & when y^{u} art in thy torment, thoug now y^{u} swelst in thy vanitie & livest in thy wickedness remember thou wast warned in thy life time when ye eternal condemnation is reatched over y^{ee}, y^{u} shalt witness this is ye word of ye lord god to y^{ee}, & if ever thy eye should see repentance y^{u} would witnesse me a frend of thy soule.

[1]And ye word of ye lord god to all yee people y^{t} folow Lampert who is a blind guid yee are such as are turnd from ye light of Christ within which he hath enlightned you withall you are such as folow y^{t} which Christ cry woe against y^{t} goes not in Christs way but in ye fareses way as you may read Math: 23 which our lord Jesus Christ cryd woe against he is ye same today yesterday & for ever which you owne not which folow such as he cryd woe against, but under a coler you make a profesion & Lampert a trad of Christ & ye saints words as his fathers ye fareses did make a profession of ye profits words & Moses words woe was

unto y^{m} which had not ye life, soe woe is unto you y^{t} have not ye life y^{t} gave forth ye scriptures as your fruits hath mad manifest for when ye Lord hath moved some to com amongst you freely you have knocked downe bet & puncht & hailed out of your sinagougs & asemblies & such a people serves y^{ee} O Lampert to make a pray upon, & there is thy fruits. O let shame shame strike y^{ee} & you all in ye face, who makest a profesion of his words thou & they & stoners & strikers & mockers & scofers, let all see if this be not a cage of uncleane birds spoken of in ye scripturs which who had ye life of ye scripturs spoke of & such a company of people thou deceivest & feedest y^{m} with thy fancies & make a trad of ye scripturs & takes y^{m} for thy cloake, but y^{u} art manifest to all ye children of light y^{t} cloake will not cover y^{ee} for thy sceirts are seene & thy nakednese apeares, & ye Lord mad one to goe naked amongst you a figure of thy nakednese & your nakednese before your destruction cometh as a figure amongst you y^{t} you might see y^{t} your naked from truth.

To ye light in all your consciences I doe speake which Christ Jesus doth enlighten you withall, it shew you ye time you have spent & all your evill deeds you have done in y^{t} time who folow such a teatcher y^{t} acts contrary to this light & leads you into ye ditch & when you are all in ye ditch together teatcher & people [to ye light in your consciences I doe speake which never changes], remember you was warned in your life time: & if ever your eye come to see repentance & owne ye light of Jesus Christ in you you will witnese me a frend of your soules & eternale good & owne your condemnation & y^{t} you must all owne before you com into ye new world where there is noe end, & this to be deare love to you, but you y^{t} hate ye light whose deeds be evill this light is your condemnation when your condemnation is come upon you remember you was warned & if you love this light it will teatch you walkinge up & downe & lyinge in bed & never let you speake a vaine word, but lovinge it you love Christ & hatinge there is ye condemnation of you all ye light & to you this is ye word of god from under it you can never pase & never escape ye terour of ye lord in ye state you are in, who hate ye light.

[1]To ye light in thy conscience I speake y^u^ child of ye devill y^u^ enime of righteousnese ye lord will strike y^ee^ doune [& strike y^ee^ dead] though now for awhile in thy wickednesse y^u^ may raigne: & ye plaugs of god is due who hardens thyselfe in thy wickednese againe ye pure truth of god, with ye pure truth of god thou art to be threshed downe which y^ee^ doth comprehend which is eternale & with ye light y^u^ art seene which is thy eternale condemnation & [a]y^t^ beast thy wife a hipocrite [& faresey] a murtherer of ye just, with y^t^ which is eternal shee is seene & comprehended her hart tryd & seartched & condemned[a], to ye light in conscience I doe speake which will witness me eternaly & let y^ee^ see y^t^ y^u^ art as a beast for y^t^ is a beast y^t^ is gone from ye truth, to light in y^ee^ I speak which never changes which shall condemn y^ee^ eternaly, which will let y^ee^ see y^t^ y^u^ art not borne (of) god & if ever thy eye see repentance y^u^ wilt witnesse me a frend of thy soule & eternale good.

[2][To y^t^ in thy conscience I doe speake frend which let y^ee^ see as a swine thou lives with out ye feare of ye livinge god & knowest him not, ye teror of ye lord y^u^ shalt never escape for it will all ways pursue y^ee^ {when y^u^ art in thy bed} & ye hand of ye Lord is against y^ee^, & to y^ee^ this is ye word of ye lord god who pufs in thy wickednese & swells in thy vanitie blearinge out thy tonge like a beast or a dog as y^u^ manifests thyselfe & Judges ye saints to be as vackabonds, {but from such a tree we looke for no other fruit}, but with ye eternale Judgment of god y^u^ art Judged eternaly an evil beast & soe stop thy mouth for ever for makinge a profession of god & of Christ who art a profane person {to y^t^ in thy conscience I speake} a cuning hunter as thy father Esau was, who despised his birthright as thou dost, therefore mind his end for thy end & way is his in ye way thou art goeinge in, & he sought it with teares & there was noe place of repentance found as y^u^ maist read in ye Hebrews: & to ye light in thy conscience I speake which shall witnese me eternaly & y^ee^ condemne eternaly: & when y^u^ art in thy

[a]...[a] Above appears to be the original reading of the MS., but there are several erasures. The Ellwood editions modify the wording and make it refer to both husband and wife.

teror & torment remember I warned y^ee^ in love to thy soule in thy life time, & when y^u^ art in ye fire with thy father Dives remember thou dost now bost I doe y^ee^ comprehend to y^t^ in thy conscience I speake which shall witnese me & against y^ee^ who art for Judgment & condemnation.]

[1]The word of ye Lord to y^ee^ Tatham[2] who art found out of ye doctrine of Christ, chefest place in ye Asemblie cald of men master stands prayinge in ye sinagouges in ye steps of ye phareses which our lord Jesus Christ cryed woe against in his way thou art not, but in ye way of ye scribes & fareses [out of his comand], I charge y^ee^ in ye presents of ye lord god as thou maiest read Mathew 23, there Christs words Judges y^ee^, ye scripture itselfe, thou art such a one sues men at ye law for tythes & profeses thy selfe to be a minister of Christ, which Christ never sent his to doe soe, neither did any of ye Apostles, & heare I charge y^ee^ againe in ye presents of ye livinge god to be out of there doctrine [& to be a foule & a lyar & not a wise man] & ye evill beast ye scripture speakes of, y^t^ minds earthly thinges which ye life of ye scriptures against, who art for destruction where thou standest, ye state y^u^ art in eternaly thou shalt witnese me, to y^t^ in thy conscience I speake, who art one y^t^ goes on in Caines way in envie, an enemie of god, from ye comand of god, & one y^t^ goes in Balaams way from ye spirit of god, for gifts & rewards ye wages of unrighteousnese, thou sonn of Balaam thou art worse then thy father, for he loved ye wages of unrighteousnese but durst not take itt, but thou takes it & sues men at ye law if they will not give the itt, which never did minister of Jesus Christ, therefore stoop thy mouth for ever & never make mention of them, or profesinge thy selfe any, with ye light thou art seene & comprehended [which is thy condemnation from them all], who art light and vaine & speakes a divinition of thy owne braine: & deceves ye people y^t^ in thy concience will witnese me & y^ee^ condemn who art one y^t^ beares reaule by thy meanes, which ye lord sent Jer(emiah): to cry against Jer. 5^th^ & so houlds up ye horible & filthy thinge comited in ye land, soe they are ye foulish y^t^ doe not tremble at ye word of ye lord, y^t^ houlds y^ee^ up [which ye lord sent Jer: to cry against Jer: 5]. & they are sotish children & have noe understandinge; they are

wise to doe evill, but not to doe good, which are deceved by yᵉᵉ [Jer: 4: 22], & such a one thou art yᵗ seekes for thy gaine from thy quarter, a greedie dumb dog yᵗ never hath enough as thy practize makes manifest, as ye lord sent Esia to cry against Esia 56: 11: 12: & thou art such a one as ye lord sent Ezekiell to cry against, which feedeth with ye fatt & cloatheth with ye wooll & makes a pray upon ye people, but ye lord is gatheringe his sheepe from thy mouth, yᵗ to yᵉᵉ they shall be a pray noe longer, thou enimie of god here this profesie is fullfild upon yᵉᵉ Ezeke 34, & thou art one of them I charge it upon yᵉᵉ in ye presents of ye living god a hirelinge they yᵗ doe not putt into thy mouth thou prepares war against them, who hates ye good & loves ye evill, which ye lord sent Mica to cry against Mica: 3, cover thy lipes & (s)topp thy mouth for ever thou child of darknese for with ye light thou art comprehended & seene to be amongst all them which ye holy men of god cryd woe against & in ye witchcraft & socery, with ye holy men of god there life thou art Judged to be amongst all them which ye lord sent his profitts to cry woe against, with ye same light of god which they was in will ye see and comprehend, thy race & compase is knowne & seene with ye light which is thy condemnation, to ye light in thy concience I speake which shall witnese me eternaly & condemne yᵉᵉ eternaly which art out of ye comands of Christ & out of ye doctrine & life of ye Apostles, thou art proved & tryed & to yᵉᵉ this is ye word of god & to yᵉᵉ itt shall be as a hamer fire & sword, & from under itt thou shalt never com,[a] who art with ye light to be condemned in yᵗ estate where thou standest, & if ever thy eye see repentance this thy condemnation thou must owne [to ye light in thy concience I speake].

[1][The word of ye livinge god to all yee people scatred abroad to ye light in all your conciences I doe speake which you are enlightned withall, Christ Jesus saith I am ye light of ye world & doth enlighten every one yᵗ cometh into ye world, & if you doe love ye light which comes from Christ & walke in the light, with ye light youle see Christ from

[a] Ellwood editions insert *unless thou repent*

whence ye light doth come, but if you doe hate this light which shewes you when you doe evill & your evill deeds ly sweare cousen cheate feight quarell, whore be druncke folow pleasures acordinge to ye course of ye world, scofe, mocke, raile & backebite, with ye light all these deeds you know to be sine & evill, soe with ye light which shewes you them, which comes from Christ, you are to be condemned which acts them: if you love it & walke in it you shall have ye light of life, & come to heare ye word which became flesh & to heare ye profit Moses spake of who said Acts: 7 like unto me will god raise up a profitt him shall you heare, when he was come ye noice came from heaven & said this is my beloved sune in whome only I am well pleased heare yee him, & god who at sundry times & in diverse manours spoke in times past to ye fathers by ye profitts, hath in these last days spoke unto us by his sune, whome he hath apointed heire of all things by whome alsoe he made ye world, Heb: 1. but yee y^{t} hate this light which Christ hath enlightned you withall heareth not the beloved sone of god, but such as he cryed woe against who are in ye steps of ye fareseis reade Mat: 23. chefest seats in ye asemblies & stands prayinge in ye sinagougs & caled of men master in ye stepes of ye fareses & seats out of Christs comands & soe not his ministers.

And you doe folow such as seeke there gaine from there quarter, greedie dumbe dogs y^{t} never have enough Esa: 56 & such as beare reaule by there meanes, & hould up ye horible & filthie thinge in ye land, & take away there meanes & they will not beare reaule & you doe folow such y^{t} are hirelings & they preatch peace to you, but if you putt not into there mouths they prepare ware against as you may read Mica: 3 which ye lord sent him to cry against them, & are ye sotish children foulish people, wise to doe evill but to doe good have noe understandinge, as you may read Jer: 4. & folow such as seeke for ye fleece & devoure you, which ye lord sent Ezekiel to cry woe against Ezeke: 34: but saith ye lord I will gather my sheepe from there mouths, they shall be a pray to them noe longer, & here with ye life of ye holy men of god are you Judged amongst such as they cryd against, & with ye light ye ar al sene y^{t} hould up such befor menshoned & men cales y^{m} ministers of Christ which ar found amongst y^{m} which ye holy men of god cried wo

against ; & with ye light ye ar al sene & with the light they ar al condemned, so cover your lips & stop your mouths for sham for ever saing such as ye ar ar ye minists of Christ whom ye lord sent his profits to cry against & his son with ye scripturs they ar all proved & seen & you y^{t} hould y^{m} up & such y^{t} receive gifts & rewards ye wagis of unrightousnes which ye lord sent his holy aposels to cry against which through covetnes & fained words mad marchandis of you hear with ye light & life of ye scriptur you & they sene & condemned with the light who hat ye light & act contrary to ye life & y^{t} profes ye scripturs to be your rule, with ye light they ar al sene to be strangers from ye life of god amongst such as ye holy aposels & profits cried against & you y^{t} folow such ar sili women y^{t} ar led captive & never abele to com to ye knowleg of the truth, sum ar learning twenty 03 –04 –06 yeares & upward ever learning & never able to come to ye knowleg of ye truth as you may red in Thimathy & Peter 22 & Jud: & you y^{t} folow such doth not hear ye son of god, hear with ye light you ar al sene y^{t} ye light to hould up such & folow such as do hat ye light which was in al agis cried against & conemned with the light this is ye condemation ye light in al those deds befor menshoned acted in y^{t} natur contrary to ye light & to you this is ye eternall word of god & hear is your teacher loving it ye light which comes from Christ which never changis which shewes your evell deds & al your daies & al your time & al your actones you have acted contrary to ye light which never changis with ye light ar al sene & condemned which never changes to it in you al I speak y^{t} with it you may al se Christ & com to witnes ye unchangebell presthod, & denie ye changebl y^{t} had comaund to take teytes, as ye saints did y^{t} witnesed him as you may red Ebrues: 7 so al who dweles in ye light which comes from ye unchangebl prest which ye light him sees & doth confese & deney ye changable as ye aposels did who said ye changabl prest is changed & ye law also as you may red Ebreues ye 7 so you y^{t} hould up ye changabel presthod ye doth take tythes & you y^{t} do take tyethes ar turned from ye light which comes from ye unchangabel prest Christ Jesus & Christ Jesus is not your way which turnes from ye light which comes from ye unchangable prest and turnes to ye changable

Judas is your way to pardishon & with ye light you ar condemned which comes from ye unchangabl, to ye light which comes from Christ in you all I speake, y^{t} you may se what way you walk in who is a frend of your soules & of your eternall good this is ye day of your visitation & salvation now ye have tyme prise it if you love ye light which comes from Christ hear is your way to salvation if you hat it hear is your way to destrucion & you y^{t} hates it hates Christ from whence it comes.]

[1][frend of ye truth, yeat thy minde goes out from ye truth & is stronge in ye flesh & ye deceipt, & livest in ye lust, which darkens ye understandinge, & therein y^{u} art out of ye feare of ye feare of ye lord, & art not in ye feare of him, but ye darke powre & ye prince of ye ayre is stronge in ye many strong houlds, wilt y^{u} find & see if y^{u} dost waite in y^{t} which is puer in y^{ee} as god hath given y^{ee} a measure of his spirit by which y^{u} dost aprehend things & see ye decepts, now ye minde goeing furth from y^{t} which lets y^{ee} see decepts which is pure ye simplicitie is insnared {& then god is not in thy thoughts with ye}... of perdiction in y^{ee} sitinge in ye temple of god where hee ought not to sitt now with ye brith of ye lord is descovered & with ye brightenes of his cominge he is consumed y^{t} man of sin in y^{ee} is revealed & soe y^{u} shalt witnese ye scripturs fullfild, but y^{u} must wait in y^{t} which is puer which will shew ye goeings furth of thy minde, which leads y^{ee} into disobedience & to sett up Baals preists without y^{ee} before god & y^{t} brings a distraction in ye minde where there is a haltinge betwixt tow, for all ye trubles are without in ye world in me yee shall have peace saith Christ. Now if y^{u} waitest in Christ & mindest him in y^{ee} {& there waitest for his apearing} & kepest within, & dost not folowe loe heares Christ loe theres Christ without y^{ee} y^{u} wilt have peace presently & witnese him who is ye substance of ye profits & apostles & the scripures mad manifest in y^{ee} to guide to ye father ye lord god of heaven & earth, & waitinge for ye spirit of ye lord within y^{ee} to guid thy minde y^{u} wilt find thy strenth dayly renewd they one spirit which gave furth ye scripturs & theres noe confusion {but perfect peace}, & this spirit baptiseth into ye one body, & this spirit is ye

unitie of ye saints tho they be absent in body yeat present in spirit, all beinge mad to drinck into one spirit & this spirit circumsiseth & puts of ye body of sinne: & yee are sanctified through ye obedience of ye spirit & so comes to witnes ye scripturs pure & cleare as they are without any mixture, as holy men posesed y^m & gave y^m furth, soe holy men poseseth y^m & gives y^m furth againe & witneseth y^m againe; o doe not read these things without nor louke at y^m to be hard but at ye love of god to y^{ee} in shewinge y^{ee} thy condition, for all ye scripturs weare given furth from an inward principle: & ye lord god of power blese & direct, there is a blesinge if y^u be faithfull & wait.

There must be y^t conceringe pore blind people & y^t concerninge families writen to be sent with this note.]

[*To ye heades & generall of ye army from G: ff: 1652*[1].

To ye heads & generall of this land to stand in ye counsaile of god y^t you may be directed by his wisdome which orders all things for by it all things weare made & if you make a law with your owne wills over ye consciences of men y^t god will throw downe you & your laws: for y^t which exerciseth ye conscience is ye pure light of god which leads up to god out of all filthines coruptions & uncleannes which ye law of god takes hould upon he or them y^t are contrary to a pure conscience, let every soule be subiect to ye higher powers for all powers are of god for conscience sake: now if a law be mad over ye conscience y^t is pure y^t law is against god & therefore {many kepinge there conscience cleare did sufer}, as god hath given to every one a light & a mesure to profit withall mind every one y^t which is of god in you to teatch you to walke to god & before him, & as it teatcheth you & inlightens your understandings it will teatch you how to direct others: & soe to Judge of things eternale, soe far as y^t is borne up in your understandings which is eternale, and as every one hath a mesure soe every one to prove his talent, & not limit god to learned men {as hath longe bene}, which hath learned but there naturale languages: soe there originale ground & religion is externale, there word & light is externale, & there gifts preatchings is an externale gift & they goe to you magistrats who hath an externale law to

uphould y^m in there externale ministerie for your law doth alter & change which is externale: now y^t which is externale with it to Judge things eternale, y^t canot be {but limit god}, for he y^t hath ye first gift of god hath y^t which is perfect, & y^t which is perfect is eternale, & such hath a diserninge to know ye gift of god from ye gift of man, & who are sent to preatch ye ever lastinge gospell hath y^t which is eternale, y^t which is ever lastinge hath noe end & he y^t Judgeth of these things is eternale, y^t can diserne ye ever lastinge gospell from words, & ye promise was y^t ye seed of ye woman should bruise ye serpents head, now y^u y^t can witnese ye head of ye serpent bruised in y^{ee} & ye seed of ye woman head in y^{ee}, which is Christ, witneses ye promise of god fullfild which is ye glad tidings to ye soule & ye soule comes out of death & hears Christ Jesus reveled within & this ministery is not of man nor by man but by ye will of god, which ye will of man knows not, for ye naturale man knowes not ye things of god: now every man in his first birth & state may see himselfe to be naturale & not able to Judge of ye things of god, ye spirituale man Judgeth all things yea ye depe things of god but this is ye second man, therefore all frends & felow creaturs take heed of Judging with evill thoughts; y^t minde y^t doth respect persons Judgeth with evill thoughts, & it is ye carnale part within, who is out of ye faith of our lord Jesus Christ which was without respectinge of persons, & therefore as god hath given you a measur of light within: let y^t guide your minds & kep you in ye feare of ye lord: & if you love y^t light & walke in it you love Christ & there is noe ocasion of stumblinge, & if you hat y^t light then you stumble at noneday & there is your condemnation: lovinge this light & brininge your works to this light, soe far as this light hath Judged you in particular soe far it may Judge in ye generale, for ye Judge is but one, & waitinge in ye light which keps you in ye feare of ye lord upon ye lord waitinge to be mad partakers of ye precious faith, for ye mistery of faith is held in a pure conscience, & walkinge in this light it enlightens your consciences & understandinges, walkinge in it you have union one with another for ye light is but one which will discover all imagned light false worships ways & churches & draw you up to ye church in god ye fountaine of light & there

faith is but one which purifies ye hart which stands in god which is a mistery held in a pure conscience & all whoe are in it are one if they be ten thousand, god almighty blese & direct you how to wait upon him & walke before him & be low & stand in ye counsaile of god y^{t} whatsoever you doe may prosper, if you goe out of ye counsaile of god you goe into prid high-mindednese opresion & grindinge ye face of ye pore; now your mind beinge guided by y^{t} which is pure it is crose to ye carnale which opreseth ye pure: in particular if it be not crost, & out of it riseth prid, if ye pure spirit of ye lord be ye head & guid, & if there be noe opresion within there is none without, for woe is to him y^{t} is covered but not with ye spirit of ye lord, therefore mind all what you are covered withall.]

[1][frend of ye truth of god & owner & lover of it whome god hath enlightened waite in y^{t} light in measure to guid thy mind to god ye fountaine of light over all which will kepe y^{ee} always in his feare & to stand in his counsaile & ye feare of ye lord is ye begininge of pure wisdome, for as ye hart is purified ye wisdome of god is put into y^{ee} whose wisdome orders all ye creation, there fore be low to waite for this wisdome of god to be put into y^{ee} to guide y^{ee} & ye lord god of power kepe blese & prosper y^{ee}, in ye measure of y^{t} which is of god to god & waitinge & loukeinge to ye light of god in y^{ee}, it will shew y^{ee} all thy thoughts & imaginacions; & when darkenese coms into y^{ee} through ye mind goeinge out from ye light & loveinge ye light y^{u} loves Christ & hateinge ye light y^{u} hats Christ, for he is ye light & there is thy teatcher ye light within y^{ee}, & there is thy condemnation ye light, & it will shew y^{ee} all temptations loveing it & walkeinge in it, there is noe ocasion of stumblinge, for all stumblinge is of beinge disobedient to it; & it will shew ye goeings furth of thy minde from god, o waite upon god for his power for there is a seed of god in y^{ee}, o take heed of thy owne wisdome for y^{t} y^{u} wilt find to be an enimie, or ye comprehendinge ye things of god in thy minde, but waite for ye power of ye most high god to throw downe & to shake downe all both reason & wisdome, for as ye earthly part is throwne downe in y^{ee}, ye pure seede is raised upp, soe ye sun of god within riseth through death to destroy death in

man, & raignes over death & ye most high god reaigneth & reauls & ye wisdome of ye world & man destroyd, o wait upon god to have these things fulfild within y^ee moved of ye lord & written from ye spirit of ye lord: o ye mighty day of ye lord is cominge & this is ye day of thy visitation & salvation, now y^u hast time prise it.]

[1][The death which hath passed over all men is but one, & Christ Jesus touke upon him not ye natur of angels but ye seed of Abraham, which ye death hath past over, now y^u y^t hath not ye same spirit y^t raised up Jesus Christ from ye death is none of his & all ye promises of god is to ye seed, which seed is but one which is Christ in you, who are of faith are of Abraham cald out of theire heithinish nature & worships & out of their native cuntry as Abraham was & are of Abraham & thousands to witnese it: one faith one seede.]

g ff to Ulverston 1652[2]

O People consider who bee within ye parishe of Ulverston: I was moved of the Lord to come into your publiq place to speake amonge you to ye directing of your mindes to God, beinge sent of the Lord That where you might find your Teacher, That your mindes might bee staid alone upon god, and you might not gad abbroade without you for a Teacher: ffor ye Lord god alone will teache his people, and is cominge to teache them, and to gather his people from Idols Temples and the customary worshipp which all ye world is trained up in: [and the Lord god alone wilbee ye teacher of his people], And god hath given to every one of you a measure accordinge to your abbillity, Lyar, Drunkard, Whoremonger and Theife and who followes filthy pleasures, you have all this measure in you, and this is ye measure that shewes you sinne, and shewes you evile, and shewes you deceipt, which letts you see lyeinge is sinne, theft, drunkennesse and uncleanenesse, All theise to bee the workes of darkenesse: Therefore minde your measure for nothinge that is uncleane shall enter into ye kingdome of God.

And prize your tyme while you have it, least ye tyme come that you say you had tyme when it is past: o why

will you dye, why will you chuse your owne waies, why will you followe ye course of ye world and why will you followe Envie, malice drunkennesse, and foolish pleasures: Knowe yee not in your Conscience That all theise are evill and sinne, and such as act such thinges shall never enter into ye kingdome of god: oh that you would consider and see the tyme you have spent, how you have spent it and see ye tyme that you doe spende and whom you doe serve ye wages of sin is death, doe not you knowe that whatsoever is above yea and nay is evill. Oh yee drunckards whoe live in drunckennesse doe you thinke to escape the fire and Judgment of god though you swell in vennom and lust awhile: but god will finde you out; and bringe you to Judgment therefore love ye light which Christ hath enlightened you withall who saith I am ye light of ye world and doth enlighten every one y^{t} comes into ye world one hee loves ye light and bringes hill[a] workes to ye light and there is noe occasion att all of stumblinge and ye other hee hates ye light because his deedes is evill and ye light will reprove him, thou that hates this light thou hast it thou knowes lieinge is evill, drunckenness is evill, Sweareinge is evill Whoredome, Theft, and all ungodlinesse and all Unrighteousenesse is evill, Christ Jesus hath given thee as much light as will let thee see this is evill and this light will teach thee if thou lovest it, it will teach thee holynesse and righteoussnesse, without which none shall see god, and hatinge this light it is your condemnation and here is Christs words true amonge you fullfilled thou that hats this light sett up hirelings and the Idols temples [without thee], and such Priests as beare rule by their meanes, and such shepherds as hould up such things, & such as is called of men maisters, and have ye chifest place in the Assemblies, which Christ cry'd woo against, Math. ye 23. and such as go in ye way of Caine in Envy and after ye error of Balaam for wadges guifts and rewards and theise have beene your teachers, and these you have held up, but who love the light ar Taught of God, and ye lord is coming to Teach his people himselfe and gather his from hirelings and such as seeke for theire gaine from Theire Qarter, and from such as beare rule

[a] So written, but doubtless intended for *his*

by theire means, ye Lord is openig ye eys of foolish people y^t^ y^e^ shall se such as beare rule over them, but all whose eys are shutt have eys and see nott but are foolish which hold up such things, therefore poore people as you love your owne soules consider the love of god to your soules while you have time and doe not turne the grace of god into wantonness, that which shewes you ungodliness and worldly lusts there is your teacher for saith the saints the grace of god is our teacher which taught them to live soberly and godlily in this present [evill] world, and yee that are not sober this grace of god hath appeared to you & you turne it into wantonness and soe setts up teachers without you who are nnot holy, are not sober, not godly, heare you are left without Excuse: when ye righteousness of god shall bee revealled upon you all who live ungodlily, therefor to ye light in you I speake y^t^ when ye Booke of Conscience is opened then shall you wittness mee and you all Judged out of it, soe god allmighty direct your mindes who loves honesty and sincerity y^t^ you may receive mercy in ye time of need, your teacher is within you, looke not forth, it will teach you lieinge in bed, goeing abrode to shon all ocasion of sinne and evill.

[*g ff to the foles christs & prest lampard of Ulverston in lanksher 1652*[1]

ffalse christs are they that are not the seed which is christ in the male & female: false christs are they that the seed bruises under & are inwardly ravenous. The wolf hath the sheeps clothing, that which clothed the sheep, whose fruits are bryars & thornes & thistles, these bee the false christs. Now mark thy fruits, whether they bee the fruits of the seed of the true christ or the fruit of the false christ, bryars & thornes which growes out of the earth; Now are not these the fruits of the false christ & not of the true christ the seed; so are not they known by their fruits; have not thy fruits now appeared bryars, thornes, inwardly ravenous; yea hast not thou & you had the sheeps clothing; but now are not your fruits appeared & manifest to the seed; how canst thou look upon thy self & thy fruits, but iudge thy self to bee the false christ, & one that is in the

steps of them that the true christ cryed wo against Math. 23. yea dost not thou make a trade of the sheeps clothing, the lambs, the babes words, & thou wolf wouldst worry them; hast not thou stirred up the wolves; Whose fruits have more appeared to bee the false christs than thine in the north part of this nation; But god hath limited thy bounds, & broke your Jawes, & stopt your waves, whose madnes, foolishnes & fury hath appeared. So never cry out of false christs thy self & your selves, who are manifest & found in the steps of all the false prophets, which the true prophets christ & the apostles cryed wo against, disapproved by them in all ages, as the scripture of truth declares; so with the life of the prophets, christ & the apostles, are yee found in the steps of the false christs, prophets & apostles.

Was not thou & thy church the beginner of all persecution in the north, the first raiser of lyes & slanders & scandalls & false reports, making of peoples mindes envious, deceiving the people, making them belieive lyes, stirring them up to bee evill minded, & raising of scandalls; hath not this been thy work; have not thy fruits declared it, & have not these been the fruits of the false christs, were not yee the first raisers of scandalls, & false reports, making of peoples mindes envious, deceiving the people, making them believe lyes, stirring them up to bee evill minded, & raising of scandalls; hath not this been thy work, have not thy fruits declared it; And have not these been the fruits of the false christs, were not yee the first raisers of scandalls, & false reports in the north; & think yee not that yee must gather your seed into your barn that yee have sowne, that you may bee rewarded according to your workes, that god will bee avenged, for his elects sake on you; But now are yee found & seen in whose stepps yee walk & yee may as well speak nothing as speak against truth, for that is over your heads: & your high wandering starres are fallen into the earth, & your pride is defacing & your beauty marred: And thou wandering star & filthy dreamer art reserved for blacknes & darknes, who art of old ordained for this condemnation by the light; who the high words hast spoken in hypocrisy: who hast professed the thing as the Jewes did, who hast said sons & daughters shall prophesy, & when the thing was come, said they were all mad men & full of new wine,

as the Jewes said, And the Jewes professed a christ was to come, & when hee was come said hee was the prince of divells: & thou hast professed, god would pour out his spirit upon all flesh, his sons & daughters should prophesy; now when the thing is come thou calls it a spirit of delusion.

Now thou mayest read thy unholy root, fruit, & unholy branches; & thou art grafting in the earth among thy den of dragons bryars & thornes.

But the light in all your consciences shall witnes mee & let you see what you are, & what you have done: So there is your teacher the light loveing it: & there is your condemnation hating it: for the lord is coming to teach his people him self, & to bring them off all the worlds teachers & churches & waies, to bee taught of god. I am the way to the father, saith christ, & to the church in god the father of our lord Jesus christ.]

[a]And from Lancaster I returned to Rob: Withers & from thence I went to Tho: Lepers[1] to a meetinge in ye eveninge: & after ye meetinge was donne which was a very blessed meetinge In ye evening I walked out a foote to Rob: Withers: & I was noe sooner gonne butt there came in a company of disguised men to Tho: Lepers with swords & pistolls: cuttinge & hackeinge amongst ye people off ye house: & putt out all ye candles: & ye people helde uppe ye chaires before y^m^ to save y^m^selves: & after a while they drove all ye people of ye house out of ye house [in ye night] & searched & lookt for mee: whoe was ye person onely they looked for: & layde waite in ye high ways which I shoulde have come in if I had ridden to Rob: Withers.

And soe when ye meetinge was donne they came in & thought to have founde mee in ye house: but ye Lord prevented y^m^ as abovesaid.

And soe when I was come to Rob: Withers some freinds came from ye tounde where Tho: Leper lived & gave us ye relation of this {& they were afraide least they shoulde come to search Rob: Withers house alsoe for mee to doe mee mischeife but they came not}.

[a] Narrative continued from page 79.

And ffreindes perceived they was some of y^m^ frenchmen & S^r^ Rob: Binleys[1] servants: for some of y^m^ saide in there nation they used to tye ye protestants to trees & whippe y^m^ & destroy y^m^: & these used often to abuse freindes in there meetinges & goeinge from there meetinges: for they tooke Rich: Huberthorne & severall others out of ye meetinge & carryed y^m^ a good way off in ye feildes & there bounde y^m^ & left y^m^ bounde in ye winter season {& one of his servants came to ff. fflemminges[2] house & thrust his naked rapier In att his doore & att his windowes: & there came a cousen off ff. fflemminges with a cudgell in his hande which was noe freinde: & hee bid him putt uppe his rapier but hee woulde not but vapored with it att him & was rude: & hee uppe with his staffe & knockt him downe [soe as hee made him sprawle one ye grounde] & hee tooke his rapier from him: & had it not beene for freindes hee woulde have runn him through with it & soe freindes preserved his life y^t^ woulde have destroyed theres}.

And after this I went to see Justice West & Rich. Huberthorne went with mee: & wee ridd uppe ye sands[3] where never noe man ridde before a very dangerous place: & swimmed over ye water {not knoweinge ye way nor ye danger of ye sands}: & came to Wests house: & when wee were come in hee saide to us did you not see two men rideinge over ye sands: I shall have there cloaths anon {for I am ye crowner} for they cannott escape drowneinge & wee tolde him y^t^ wee was ye men {& hee was astonisht att it & wondred howe wee escaped drowneinge}.

And then ye preists & professors raised a report & a slaunder {upon mee} y^t^ neither water coulde drowne mee: nor coulde they draw bloode of mee: & y^t^ surely I was a witch.

ffor when they beate mee with great stafes they did not much drawe my bloode but bruised my heade & body: & thus ye Lords power carryed mee over there bloody murderous spiritts in whome ye ground of witchcraft was y^t^ kept y^m^ from God & Christ.

Butt all these slaunders were nothinge to mee as knowinge y^t^ there forefathers ye Apostate Jews caled ye master of ye house Belzebub & these apostate Christians from ye life & power of God coulde doe noe lesse {to his

seede} [soe it was noe strange thinge for y^m^ to say soe of ye members of Christ whoe was heires of him.

And about this time Rich: Huberthorne was in a great fast: & after was very weake: Insomuch as people thought hee was dead & it was reported y^t^ hee was deade & severall freindes was sent for & before they gott to him ye Lordes power had soe raised him uppe y^t^ they mett him with a botle goeinge for water to drink soe y^t^ freindes did admire att ye wonderfull power & worke of God therein.]

And soe I came backe to Swarthmoore & visited freindes y^t^ aways: & brought ye Lords power over all ye persecutors & after this I went Into Westmorelande: where a company of men layde waite for mee with pikes & stafes att a bridge & they light off some freindes & misst mee but after they came to ye meetinge {with there pikes & stafes}: butt Justice Benson beinge there & many considerable people they was prevented from doeinge y^t^ mischeife they Intended [& ye Lords power stoppt y^m^] soe y^t^ they went away & did noe hurte but raged much.

And soe I came to Grayrigge where ye preist came to ye meetinge {att Alexander Dicksons[1] house which preist} was a baptist & a parish preist: & ye Lord confounded him with his power & some of his people stoode upon ye syde of ye house & tumbleld doune some milkeinge pailes: ye house beinge soe crammed: but after a while ye preist & his company went away beinge confounded: & raised a slaunder & saide ye Divell frightned him & took a syde of ye house doune where wee was in ye meetinge: which was all lyes butt such as served ye preists & professors {turne} to feede upon {& they printed it in a booke}[2].

And another time this preist came to another meetinge [a toppe of ye hill] & fell a Jangelinge first hee saide ye scriptures was ye worde of God: & I tolde him they was ye wordes of God but not Christ ye worde: & bid him prove it by scripture what hee saide: & then hee saide Itt was not ye scripture & soe sett his foote upon {ye bible & saide Itt was but copyes bounde upp togeather} & a great deale of unsavory words came from him not worth mentioninge: soe wee had a blessed meetinge {afterwards} & ye Lords power & presence was felt amongst us & hee went his ways: & then after hee sent mee a Challenge to meete

him at Kendall: & I sent him worde I woulde meete him in his owne parish: & hee neede not goe as farr as Kendall: soe wee sett ye houre & mett & aboundans of rude people was gathered to it: & some of his members baptised people: & they Intended to have donne mischeife y^{t} day butt God prevented y^{m}.

And when wee mett I declared ye day of ye Lord to y^{m}: & turned y^{m} to Christ Jesus: & hee out with his bible & saide Itt was ye worde of God: & I tolde him it was ye words of God butt not God ye worde: his aunswer was hee woulde prove ye scriptures to bee the God before all ye people: soe I had a man y^{t} coulde write to take doune both what hee saide & what I saide [as may bee larger seene in my booke of letters].

Butt when hee had spoaken a great while & coulde not prove it for I kept him to ye scripture for chapter & verse for it: & keepinge him to prove y^{t} one thinge hee had asserted: & in goeinge to prove y^{t} one error hee runn Into 20: & ye people gnashed there teeth & saide hee woulde have mee anon.

Butt when hee coulde not prove it: then hee saide hee woulde prove it a god: & thus ye Baptist preist teared himselfe till hee sweate and broiled himselfe & his company: all beinge full of wrath & I hept his assertions one ye heade of him & y^{m} all soe y^{t} at last they went away confounded & coulde prove nothinge y^{t} they asserted.

ffor I tolde y^{m} what ye scriptures saide of y^{m} selves: they was ye words of God but Christ was ye worde.

And soe ye Lords power came over all {& confounded there mischeife which they Intended against mee} & freindes was established in Christ & the people saw the folly of there teacher {y^{t} were his followers}.

{And} after this I came through ye country visitinge ffreindes: & preist Bennett of Cartmell had sent a challenge to dispute with mee: & upon ye first day I came to his steeplehouse & there found him preachinge & when hee had donne I spoake to him & his people but ye preist woulde not stande to tryall butt went his ways: & a great deale of discourse I had with ye people: & when I came foorth Into ye steeplehouse yarde: & was discourseinge with ye professors & declareinge of ye truth unto y^{m} one of y^{m} setts

his foote behinde mee & two off y^m^ runn against my breast & threw mee doune against a grave stone wickedly & malitiously seekinge to have spoiled mee. butt I gott uppe againe & was moved of ye Lorde to speake to y^m^ & there was one Roper one of ye bitterest professors ye preist had was very firce & Zealous in his contention & soe I went uppe to ye preists house & a many people followed after mee & I desired him to come foorth seeinge hee had chalenged mee butt hee woulde not att all come out or bee seene.

And this Roper[1] after came to bee convinct of Gods eternall truth: & became a fine minister & continnued faithfull to his death: soe ye Lords power came over y^m^ all which was very great.

1653. Soe I came to Swarthmoore againe & went to a meetinge att Gleeston: & there was another professor & hee chalenged a dispute butt I went to ye house where hee was & caled him foorth but hee durst not medle: soe ye Lords power came over him alsoe.

And soe after a while I visited many meetinges in Lancasheere: & th... James Milner[2] & Rich: Myer[3] went out Into Imaginations & a company folowed y^m^ & they sent for mee & I was Moved of ye Lorde to shew y^m^ there goeinges foorth: & they came in againe [& dyed in truth].

And about this time I was in a fast about 10 days: & as Judge ffell & Coll: Benson was in Swarthmoore hall I was moved to tell y^m^ as they was talkeinge of ye news in ye news booke of ye parlament: &c: y^t^ before y^t^ day fortnight ye longe parlament shoulde be broaken uppe & ye speaker shoulde bee pluckt out of his chaire.

And y^t^ day fortnight Coll: Benson came againe & was speakinge to Judge ffell {& saide} y^t^ now hee saw George was a true prophett for Olyver had broaken uppe ye parlament by y^t^ time[4].

[And many opninges I had of severall thinges which woulde bee large to utter.]

And James Milner & some of his company had true openinges att ye first: but after gott uppe Into pride & soe runn out: but they after came to see there folly & condemned it.

And after I went to a meetinge att Arnesyde where there was a many people: & I was moved of ye Lorde to

say to Rich: Myer amongst all ye people: prophett[1] Myer stande upp upon thy leggs for hee was sittinge doune: & hee stoode uppe & stretcht out his arme which had beene lame a longe time: & saide: bee it knowne unto you all people & to all nations y^{t} this day I am healed.

And after ye meetinge was donne his ffather & mother coulde hardely beleive Itt was made whole: & had him Into an house & took off his doublett: & then they saw Itt was true: & hee came to Swarthmoore meetinge & there declared how ye Lord had healed him.

And after ye Lord commanded him to goe to York with a message from him: butt hee disobeyed ye Lorde: & ye Lorde strucke him againe soe as hee dyed about 3 quarters of a yeere after.

And great threatninges there was in Cumberland y^{t} If ever I came there they woulde take away my life butt when I hearde of it I went Into Cumberlande {to one Miles Willingtons[2]} Into ye same parish but they had not power to touch mee.

And also about this time Anth: Pearson a great persecutor of ffreindes [att Apelby] hee was convinct [(over whose heade they carryed a sworde when hee went to ye bench)]: & comeinge over to Swarthmoore I beinge at Coll Wests they sent for mee {& I came & Coll West saide goe George for it may bee of great service to ye man}: & ye Lords power reacht him: & about this time ye Lorde opned severall mouths to declare {ye truth} to preists & people: soe y^{t} severall was cast Into prison.

And after this I went againe Into Cumberlande & Anthony Pearson & his wiffe & severall freindes went alongst with mee to Bootle.

And upon ye first day I went Into ye steeplehouse & Anthony Pearson went on to Carlisle sessions for hee was a Justice of peace in three countyes: & soe when ye preist had donne I begann to speake: but ye people was exceedinge rude & strucke mee & beate mee in ye steeplehouse yarde & one gave mee a very great blow over ye wrist {[with his full strength] soe y^{t} people thought hee had broaken my hande to peices}: & soe ye Constable was very serviceable to keepe ye peace: & woulde have sett some of y^{m} y^{t} strucke mee by ye heeles: soe I went to Joseph Nicholsons[3]

house: & ye Constable went a litle way with us to keepe ye rude multitude off us: & in ye afternoone I went upp againe: & ye preist had gott another high preist y^t^ came from London to helpe him.

But before I went Into ye steeplehouse I sate a litle upon ye crosse & freindes with mee whoe were all moved of ye Lorde to goe into ye steeplehouse: & after a while I went in after y^m^ And there stayde till ye preist had donne: whoe gathered uppe all ye scriptures {y^t^ spoake} of ye false prophetts & Antichrists & decevers & threw upon us: butt when hee had donne I recollected all those scriptures againe & brought y^m^ backe upon him: & ye people fell upon mee in a rude manner: & ye Constable charged y^m^ to keepe ye peace: & then all was quiett: butt ye preist begann to rage & saide I must not speake there & then I tolde him hee had his houre glasse by which hee had preacht: & haveinge donne ye time was free for mee as well as for him for hee was butt a stranger.

And soe I opned ye scriptures to y^m^ & lett y^m^ see y^t^ those scriptures described y^m^ & there generations y^t^ spoake of ye false prophetts & Antichrists & deceivers which belonged to y^m^ y^t^ were founde walkinge in there stepps & bringeinge foorth there fruites & not unto us: & howe they were out of ye stepps of ye true prophetts & ye Apostles: & soe shewed it cleere by ye fruites & markes & stepps y^t^ they were of those y^t^ those scriptures spoake of {& not us}: & all was quiett whilst I declared ye truth & ye worde of life to ye people & I directed y^m^ to Christ there teacher.

Soe when I had donne I came foorth & both ye preists were in such a frett & rage y^t^ they foamed att ye mouth for anger against mee[1] but ye Lords power came over y^m^ all: & I went doune againe to Jos: Nicholsons house: & ye next day there was a rude wicked man woulde have donne violens to a ffreinde but ye Lords power stoptt him.

And I was moved to sende James Lancaster to appoint a meetinge att one Jo: Wilkinsons steeplehouse whoe had three parishes under him: & was a preist in great repute & esteeme & soe I staide att Bootle in Millom[2] till hee came backe againe.

And some of ye gentry In y^t^ country had made a plott against mee & as I was in ye feilde they came to ye house

where I came from & they lighted on Jam: Lancaster but did not much abuse him: but they came to Jo: Nicholsons house & had given a litle boy a rapier & hee shoulde have donne ye mischeife: but I beinge in ye feildes & they not findinge mee in ye house after a while they went there ways.

And soe I walked uppe & doune in ye feildes y^t^ night & did not goe to bed as very often I used to doe: & ye next morninge wee passed away: & ye next day wee came to ye steeplehouse where Ja: Lancaster had appointed ye meetinge & there was a dozen souldyers & there wiffes which was come from Carlile: & all ye country people came in like as to a fayre: & I lyinge shorte att a house sent all freindes before mee & there was some wicked women in a feilde harde by ye house & I saw they was witches & I was moved to goe unto y^m^ & declare unto y^m^ there conditions & y^t^ they were in ye spiritt of witch craft.

And then I walkt doune towards ye steeplehouse where I founde Jam: Lancaster speakeinge under an yewe tree & Itt was full of people soe as I feared they woulde break it doune. And I lookt upp & doune for a place to stande upon to speake unto ye people for they lay like people att a leagre all upp & doune: & after a while y^t^ I was discovered & I saw y^t^ there was noe place convenient to speake to ye people from a professor came to mee & askt mee whether I woulde goe Into ye Church & I tolde him yes.

And soe ye people rushed in after mee & when I came in ye pulpitt & house was soe full of people y^t^ I had much to doe to gett in: butt they y^t^ coulde not gett in stoode about ye walls.

And when ye people was setled I stoode uppe & ye Lorde opned my mouth to declare his everlastinge truth & his everlastinge day: & to lay open all there teachers & there rudiments traditions & Inventions y^t^ they had beene in in ye night of Apostacy since ye Apostles days: & to turne y^m^ to Christ there teacher & to sett uppe & direct y^m^ to his worshippe: & where to finde ye spiritt & truth y^t^ they might worshippe God in & opned Christs parables to y^m^: & directed y^m^ to ye spiritt of God in them y^t^ woulde open ye scriptures & parables to y^m^: & how all might come to knowe there saviour & sett under his teachinge & come to

bee heires of ye kingedom of God & largely did I declare ye worde of life to y^m^ for about 3 houres time & all was still & quiett & satisfyed: [turninge y^m^ from ye darknesse to ye light & ye power of Sathan unto God] soe y^t^ every one might come to knowe whoe there teacher was Christ Jesus & ye Lorde God as ye prophetts & ye Apostles & ye true church did & soe to knowe both God & Christs voice by which they might see all ye false shepheards & teachers they had beene under & see ye true shepheard preist Bishoppe & prophett Christ Jesus whome God commanded y^m^ to heare.

And after I had more fully declared ye worde of life to y^m^ [{then is heere mentioned}] I walkt foorth from amongst ye people & ye people passt away mightily satisfyed [& Anth: Pearson was att ye meetinge which was come from ye sessions]: & there was a professor foloweinge of mee & praiseinge & commendinge of mee & his words was like a thistle to mee & att last I turned about & bid him feare ye Lorde: & there was 4 preists gathered togeather which came after ye meetinge was donne & one preist Larkam[1] saide: Sir why doe you Judge soe saide hee you must not Judge & I turned to him & saide: ffreinde does not thou discerne an exhortation from a Judgement: for I admonished him to feare God & dost thou say I Judge him.

And soe I {manifested him in discourse with} him to bee amongst ye false prophetts {& covetous hirelinges} & hee & ye two preists gott soone away & severall people was moved to speake to y^m^.

And then preist Wilkison[2] y^t^ was preist of y^t^ parish & two other parishes in Cumberlande when they was gonne hee began to dispute against his owne conscience severall houres till generally ye people turned against him: & hee thought to have tyred mee out butt ye Lordes power tyred him out & ye Lords truth came over all & many hundreds was convinct y^t^ day & received ye Lord Jesus Christs free teachinge with gladnesse: & many stands to this day & has dyed in truth under Christs teachinge.

And ye souldyers was convinct & there wives & continnued with mee till ye first day: & on ye first day I went to Cockermouth steeplehouse where the preist Larkam [ye preist y^t^ first opposed mee as aforesaid] lived: & when

ye preist had donne I began to speake & ye people began to bee rude: & ye souldyers tolde y^m^ wee had broaken noe law & then they was quiett.

Soe I begann to speake to ye preist & layde him open amongst ye false prophetts & hirelinges att which worde ye preist gott his ways {& saide hee calls mee hirelinge} which was true enough for all ye people knew it.

And some of ye great men of ye tounde came to mee & saide: Sir wee have noe learned men to dispute with you: I tolde y^m^ I came not to dispute but to declare ye way of salvation & ye way of everlastinge life: & soe I declared largely ye way of life & truth {to y^m^} & directed y^m^ to there teacher: y^t^ had dyed for y^m^ & had bought y^m^ with his bloode: & when I had donne I passed away about 2 miles to a nother great steeplehouse of Wilkisons y^t^ stoode in a feilde[1] & ye people was mightily affected & woulde have putt my horse in ye steeplehouse yarde & I saide noe ye preist claimes y^t^: carry him to an Inn.

And when I came Into ye steeplehouse yarde I saw people comeinge as to a fayre: & abundans was already gathered in ye lanes & about ye steeplehouse: & beinge very thirsty I walkt about a quarter of a mile to a brooke & gott a litle water & refresht my selfe.

And as I came uppe againe I mett ye preist Wilkison & as I was goeinge by him Sir saide hee will you preach to day: if you will says hee I will not oppose you not in worde or thought: but I saide oppose it if thou wilt I have somethinge to speake to ye people: & thou carryed thy selfe foolishly ye other day & spoakest against thy conscience & reason soe as thy hearers cryed out against thee: soe I went away & left him: for hee saw It was in vaine to oppose ye people was soe affected with ye Lords truth soe I came Into ye steeplehouse yarde: & not seeinge any convenient place to speake over to ye people: & a professor came againe & askt if I woulde not goe Into ye Church {as he caled it} & I saw y^t^ woulde bee ye convenierist place to speake unto ye people from: soe I went in & stoode uppe in a seate after ye people was setled: & ye preist came In but did not goe uppe Into his pulpitt: & soe I declared Gods everlastinge truth & worde of life for about 3 houres to ye people & all was quiett & brought y^m^ all to ye spiritt

of God in y^m selves by which they might knowe God & Christ & ye Scriptures & to have heavenly felloweshippe in ye spiritt: & showed y^m howe every one y^t comes Into ye worlde was Inlightned by Christ ye life with which light they might see there sinns & Christ there saviour whoe was come to save y^m from there sin with which light they might see there preist y^t dyed for y^m there shepheard to feede y^m & there great prophett to open to y^m: soe with ye light of Christ they might see Christ always present with y^m whoe was ye author of there faith & ye finisher thereof.

Soe opninge ye first covenant & sheweinge y^m ye types & ye substans & bringeinge y^m to Christ ye 2^d covenant & howe they had beene in ye night of Apostacy since ye Apostles days: but now ye everlastinge Gospell was preacht againe y^t brought life & immortality to light & ye day of ye Lorde was come & Christ was come to teach his people himselfe by his light Grace power & spiritt And many 100s was convinct y^t day.

And after I went to a village & many people accompanyed mee & I was setting in a house full of people & declareinge ye worde of life unto y^m: I cast my eye upon an uncleane woman & tolde her shee was a witch: & I was moved in ye Lords power to speak sharpely to her & soe shee went out of ye roome: & people tolde mee y^t I had descovered a great thinge: & all ye Country lookt upon her to bee a witch.

And alsoe att another time there came in such an one Into Swarthmoore hall In ye meetinge & I was moved to speake sharpely to her & tolde her shee was a witch alsoe & ye people confessed to ye same thinge & saide all ye Country lookt upon her to bee such an one alsoe.

And there came in another woman & stoode a litle off from mee & I cast my eye upon her: & I saide shee had beene an harlott: for I perfectly saw ye condition & life of ye woman: & ye woman aunswered & saide: many coulde tell her of her outwarde sinns but none coulde tell her of her Inwarde: but I tolde her her hearte was not right before ye Lorde {& from ye inwarde came ye outwarde}: but after this woman came to bee convinct of Gods truth & remained {a freinde}.

Soe from y^t village we came uppe to Tho: Bewleys [1] [butt

when night came I walked out & layde out all night]: & from thence haveinge some service there for ye Lorde I passed to a markett tounde where I had a meetinge at ye crosse[1]: & all was pretty quiett: & when I had declared ye truth unto y^m & turned y^m to Christ there teacher: wee passt away & had another meetinge upon ye borders[2] in a steeplehouse yarde: where many professors & Contenders came but ye Lords power was over all: but after ye worde of life was declared some received ye truth there & att ye markett tounde aforesaid: & from thence wee passed Into Carlile.

And ye pastor of ye baptists came to mee there to ye Abby with most of his hearers where I had a meetinge & declared ye worde of life amongst y^m: & many of ye baptists {& souldyers} was convinced.

And after ye meetinge was donne ye pastor came & askt mee what must bee damned beinge a highnotionist & a flashy man: & I was moved of a sudden to tell him y^t which spoake {in him was to bee damned} which stoppt ye pastors mouth: & ye wittnesse of God was raised up in him[3]: & I opned to him ye state of election & reprobration y^t hee saide hee never hearde ye like in his life.

And after I went uppe to ye castle amongst ye souldyers & they beate a drum & caled y^m togeather: & I turned y^m to ye Lord Jesus Christ there teacher: & warned y^m of doeinge any violence to any man & y^t they might shew foorth a Christians life & turned y^m from ye darknesse to ye light & from ye power of Sathan unto God: & I lett y^m see what was there teacher & what woulde bee there condemnation: & had noe opposition but from ye serjant whoe afterwards came to bee convinct.

And on ye markett day I went uppe Into ye markett to ye crosse & ye magistrates had threatned & sent there serjants {& ye magistrates wiffes saide} y^t if I came there howe they would plucke ye haire off my heade & y^t ye serjants shoulde take mee uppe yett neverthelesse I obeyed ye Lord God & went upon ye Crosse: & there declared unto y^m y^t ye day of ye Lord was comeinge upon all there deceitefull ways & doeinges & deceitfull merchandise: & y^t they was to lay away all couseninge & cheatinge & keepe to yea & nea & speake ye truth one to another: soe I sett

ye truth & ye power of God over y^m: & ye people beinge thronge ye serjants coulde not gett to mee soe I passt away quietly after I had declared ye worde of life to ye people: & many people & souldyers came to mee & some baptists y^t were bitter contenders y^t one of there deacons cryed out ye Lords power beinge over y^m: & I sett my eyes upon him & spake sharpely to him in ye power of ye Lorde & hee cryed dont peirce mee soe with thy eyes keepe thy eyes off mee.

And on ye first day after I went Into ye steeplehouse[1]: & after ye preist had donne I spoake ye truth to y^m & declared ye worde of life amongst ye people: & ye magistrates desired mee to goe out of ye steeplehouse but ye preist gott away: but I still declared: & tolde y^m I came to speake ye worde of life & salvation from ye Lord amongst y^m & a dreadefull power of ye Lord there was amongst y^m in ye steeplehouse y^t ye people trembled & shooke: & they thought ye steeplehouse shooke & thought it woulde have falen doune y^t ye magistrates wiffes was in a rage & tore & rent to have beene att mee but ye souldyers & freindely people stoode thicke about mee.

Att last ye rude people of ye citty risse & came with stafes Into ye steeplehouse & cryed doune with these roundeheaded rogues & threw stones: butt ye governor sent a file or two of musketeers Into ye steeplehouse & commanded ye souldyers all out: & ye souldyers tooke mee by ye hande very freindely & saide they woulde have mee a longst with them then: & soe when wee were in ye street all ye tounde was of an uproare. And ye governor came doune: & ye souldyers for standinge against ye tounds people some of y^m was cast Into prison & for standinge by {& for} mee.

Soe there came ye Leiutenant y^t had beene convinced & had mee to his house where there was a baptists meetinge & there freindes came alsoe & wee had a very quiett meetinge: & they hearde ye worde of life gladly & received it.

And ye next day I went to a baptists house & ye officers & Justices & magistrates of ye tounde was gathered togeather {att ye hall} & they graunted a warrant for mee {& sent for mee}: & I went uppe to ye tounde hall to y^m where a many was gathered: & many rude people there was y^t had sworne strange thinges against mee: & a great

deale of discourse I had with y^m^ & shewed y^m^ the fruites of there preists preachinge: & howe voide they were of Christianity though such great professors but without possession[1].

And soe after a longe examination they sent mee to prison [as ye circumstances & farther relation thereof heereafter followeth].[a]

[*g ff to loson of Carly 1653*[2]

Oh Lawson[3] oh Blood sucker oh Esau who would slay the Righteous, and slayeth them in thy hart, who swallowes upp ye earth lord Esau who would slay Jacob, & persecute him, but hee is preserved out of thy hands oh thou cunning ffox who seeks to devoure ye lambs of Jesus Christ, oh Herod hard hart who would see Jesus but to destroy him: but god will throwe the downe thou oppressor of ye Just, oh thou serpent who art painted outwardly with the saints words but a murtherer, and killer of ye Just, oh thou viper who art in the viperous generaçon full of venome, spueing it forth, against the Righteous seed, harken to y^t^ in thy Conscience, which should exercise it, it will lett y^ee^ see howe thou hast spent thy tyme, for to y^t^ doe I speake which shall eternally witnes mee when ye booke of conscience is opned, and condemne y^ee^ when it doeth aryse. Therefore Cumber not ye ground, Cumber not ye ground doe not call this rayleing language for if thou knowest the letter, it speaks the same. This I am Moved to write y^t^ thou mayst see thy selfe, y^t^ while thou hast tyme thou may repent.

Nether count this hard language nor rivile at it, its the love of ye lord god to thee.]

[*g ff triall at Carly 1653 publeck leter*[4]

Dear brother my dear & tender love unto thee in the Lord Jesus presents it selfe unto thee, hopeing in the lord that thou abids in the truth & in the love of it, and those

[a] Narrative continued on page 124.

that are sufferers for it as thou hast shewed thy selfe heretofore, and I am sure thou needs not be ashamed of it for it shall stand when all the deceitfull devices of man shall fall, though all the powers of the earth combine themselves & gather togeather against ye Lord & his anoynted, yet will he be glorified in his saints & in the destruction of his enemies as they shall find and see when it will be to late.

I sent thee up A note from my dear brother George & Robert Widders & likewise ye warrant, by which the persecutors of the truth did aprehend him, & I did expect to have hard something from thee concerning him before this, the iudges at the Assizes would not suffer him to come before them, but did revile him & scofe towards him behind his backe, and did give what incorragement they could to ye Justices to exersise their cruelty upon him he was then in the Jelors house, but kept close up in ye Assize weeke; & no freinds suffered to goe to him both Collonell Benson & Justice Pearson was denyed, but all drunkards & lude persons was suffered to goe in: the next day after ye iudges went forth there was command to the Jelor that he should be put in the common Goall amongst theeves & murderers, & the most odious place that ever man was put into, & there he is now, Lawson that is the shereffe of the county is his greatest enemy & was one of them that was the greatest cause of his committment though he had no power to act then, he being the sheriffe of the county, but all such uniust actions is suffered, & all such tyranes is upheld by those that are in Authority, and the truth only suffers & is imprisoned by them never was the like horrible blaspheming of god & dissembleing with him as in these dayes by those that professe A god in words & in all their actions fights against him {which is blasphemie indeed which they soe much speake on}, & his truth & the spreading abroad of it; O let all profession & great words and boastings of light & high formes, let them all blush and be ashamed before the lord, who will not be mocked with them, though they falsely pretend that they stand for liberty of conscience & propigation of the Gospell & keepes those men in Authority under them, who watches & lyes in waite for an opportunity to destroy those whom ye Lord sends forth to preach the

everlasting Gospell some the stone some they beate & shamefully use, & ever when they can have any collour casts them into prison, most part of the Goalls in the North part of England hath some friends of the truth in as Yorke Carelile Apulby Lancaster, now be ye iudges your selves ye pretenders of liberty of conscience & consider what liberty you give to tender consciences which never committed any offence to any man but for conscience sake; O how dare you professe reformaçon when cruelty & tyrany rulles in ye Land; oh looke backe & see if ever there was the like in all ye Kings or Bishops time since queen Maryes dayes that slew the Marters, that soe many Goalls was furnished with prisoners meerly for conscience sake, or was there ever any that suffered for conscience, that was put among theeves & murderers, or scarce ever was there except it was popish preists or Jesuits that ever was kept in prison, but they either spoke treason againe king or State, or gave some other offence more then meerly conscience, which no man can ever accusse any of these iustly with, but meerly they suffer for ye truthes sake & by the Immediate moveing of the lord doe speake against ye abominations of the times, & the filthy deceites of the Idolatrous worshipes which is holden up, which is abominable to the Lord: but hee is comeing to confound & throw downe that filthy Idoll which they call their worshipe which is odious in his sight, he will destroy it by the spirit of his mouth & the brightnesse of his comeing ye decree is gone out from ye Lord distruction is comeing upon it & all the upholders of it there let ye powers of the earth stand out as long as they can the woe & the curse is upon them that strives with there maker & he will overturne them root & branch, they shall not escape the Judgement of God, for he is the same God that ever he was & he will not give his glory to another, & now his glory suffers by the persecuters of the truth, but he is comeing who rules with A rod of Iron which shall dash to peeces all his enemies but who may abide the day of his comeing or who can stand when he appeares for terrible will he be to his enemies.

Dear hart I cannot but let thee know ye cruelty of these tyrants, Oh these Acts and pretences that they have to act by is odious to all that hath but common honesty.

That the state should pretend love to the truth and yet suffer such things to be of force that all bloody persecutors may have their wills soe fare as ye lord gives them power upon those that lives in ye truth: They intend banishment to George or else to ye takeing away of his life if it be in their power now at their sessions for the Judges left him to them to proceed against according to ye Acte & Lawson was in hopes to have gotten his life now taken away at ye sissezes & gave it out that he would come to be tried for his (life), though that they had nothing to ly against him at all but what they had gotten their false witnesses to swear & there was nothing that they swore that is within the Act yet they thurst soe for his Blood, that their wills will be their lawes if the Lord doe not prevent them by some meanes or instruments that he will raise up, doe what ye lord moves thee and what he makes way for thee for it is no mans strength nor power y^{t} we looke at but the lord alone who is ye same to us that he was to Daniell in ye midst of ye Lions & the three children in ye firy furnas, the same power doe we dwell & stand in & ye same power will deliver us out of the hands of all bloody persecutors & it is but to make up their iniquity & to fatt them for distruction for that is their porçon that that he spoke there before them A thousand will wittnesse the same thing with him & subscribes their names & lay downe their lifes & is not afraid of no men whatsoever everlastii g praises be to our father for ever.

Here is some hints of ye passages that Justice Pearson & Justice Benson tooke of the proceeding of those they call iudges but it may be they will hereafter send them more at large, he that runes may reed their iniustice their baisnesse was observed in all the Country where they come which is little credite for them that set them A worke now I have let thee know how things is, I am discharged and let my heavenly father worke how he will, & by whom he will, & as thou acts for the truth thou shalt be preserved by the lord of truth, and if thou neglect any opportunity that is offered to thee, the lord will require it at thy hands, ffor he takes strict notice of you though you may take liberty to your selves yet never any pretended such high things for god as you doe which is the highest dissembleing with the

lord which he will be avenged of, let your high formes & great professions consider now who is parsecuted for the truth who it is that persecutes them, they have long stooden in their formes but never was there any persecution till now that the power of truth is made manifest which will confound & breake to peeces all their formes, now doth the lord of glory suffer indeed in his saints by those that professes him in words & denyes his power but their power is limitted & he will recover his glory out of their hands which shall be to the confusion of all his enemies and to his exaltation of his great name upon the earth, they shall find the lord of the vinyard is comeing to looke for fruits & will reward every man according to the deeds for the keeper of Israell neither slumbers nor sleepes but takes notice of all the actions words thoughts & Intentions of his enemyes soe let them act what they can their compasse is knowne their time is but short.]

[*J: Stubes to m ff of g ff at Carly dongon 1653*[1]

Deare sister in the truith of god

My love presents it selfe unto y^{ee} and to the rest of thy famyly I read y^{m} dayly y^{u} are soe written in my heart.

Geo: and I are well, and kept in our ffathers will with great boldnesse though the enemyes rage be great, some threats mee, and some hath beat mee, soe I witnesse in some measure y^{t} perfect love casts out feare, they straitned soe much as that they tooke pen and inke from George, & the under Goaler beat him in prison, and alsoe they beat thre of our ffriends y^{t} came out of Westmereland, for lookeing in att ye window, Justice Pearson, comeing ye same day and heareing of there Cruelty, Committed ye under Goaler to prison and there hee is till hee find surety for his good behaviour, hee hath alsoe left a warrant with John Stubbs to deliver To the Sheriffe, and ye Goaler to sett George att liberty: as they will Answere it To ye Contrary, wee are to deliver it to ye Sheriffe or ye Goaler upon Monday when there is a Coppy of it taken.

There was ffriends about Cockermouth sent George for his Table 14^{s} 6^{d} but it was not received but sent backe

againe: by the next oppurtunity I shall give y^ee^ accompt of the warrant: And soe tyme permitts not to write any more att present, but ffarewell.

Thy Brother in
the lord

Sep^t^. 11^o^ 1653. Tho: Rallison.

They brought a fidler in to George because hee would not dance, they beat him.

I have bought him a shirt.

pretious heart:

fforgett not ye requests of one who soe earnestly write to y^ee^ in his last to present him in thy prayers to ye Mercy seat, where hee himselfe cannot have recoursse, because hee knowes nothing but Blacknesse and darknesse, all his Imaginary light is put out.

Thy distressed ffriend
Jo: Stubbs[1].

Coll: Bensons wife remembers her selfe to y^ee^, she passeth away this day Towards her owne house, not forgetting her deare love to thy family.]

G: ff: paper to ye Justices at Carlile y^t^ cast G: ff: in prison & persecuted ffrends. 1653[2].

ffriends Thomas Craston & Cuthbert Studholm[3].

Your noyse is come up to London what havock what Imprisonment is come up before ye sober people what Imprisonment what bridling what Making havock and spoyling the Goods of people have you made within these few yeers, unlike men as though you had never read scriptor to bee men y^t^ minded y^m^ is this the End of Carliles Religion, is this the End of your ministry and is this the End of your church Christiannity profession, you have shamed itt by your folly and madness and blinde Zeale was it not alwayes the worke of ye blinde Guids watchmen and Leaders and false prophetts to prepare war against them y^t^

would not putt into thire mouthes and have you not binn the priests pack horses and Executionners when they spurr you up to beare ye Swoard against ye Just doe you not Runne on against Creatures that cannot hould up such as always ye scriptures did testifie against, yet will you lift up your unholy hands and call upon god with your poluted lips and pretend afast which is full of strife and debate.

Did your harts never burne within you was you never come to Question your Condition are you wholy given up to doe the Divills Lusts persecute where is your loveing Ennimies where is your Entertaying strangers where is your overcoming Evell with good where are your teachers that cann stopp ye Mouthes of gainesayers and Convince Gainesayers and such as oppose them selves have you noe ministers of ye spirit noe souldirs with Spirittuall weapons hanging forth Christ Cullers but all ye Draggons the murderers ye persecutors Arme of flesh Caynes weapons Cheife preists Counsells Judas multitude with soards and staves Sodoms Company Rageing aboute Lotts house like preists and princes against Jerymy [who cryed against them y^{t} would bee ruled by thire meanes] like the Draggon beast and greate whoare and false church which should cast into prison and Kill and persecute whose weapons are you bearing should not ye false church ye whoare make marchandize of [Beaves and] Cattle and oyle to the very soules of men and hath not all this binn since the true church went into the wildernesse read Revelations ye 12th doe you not Reade and see what a spiritt you are of and what apitt you are in bottomles and have you not Dishonored the place of Justice and Authority what turned your swoard backwards like mad men who are aprayse to the Evell Doer and would bee aterror to the good with all force and might to stop the way of Justice doeth not the Lord thinke you behould your actions, how many have you wronged how many have you prisoned persecuted and putt out of your sinagoges are you them y^{t} must fulfill ye prophicy of christ Matthew ye 23th John 16th Read the Scriptures and see how unlike you are to the prophetts Christ and his appostles and what a visage you have like unto them that persecuted ye prophetts Christ and ye apostles and found in their stepes wresling with flesh and Bloud

and not with principallitys and powers and sprittuall wickednes [[a]in high places[a] but flesh and bloud] and your teachers prisoning and persecuting for outward things and you their Exicutinors which have not binn the like in all the nation, the havock made the spoyling the goods of people taking Away thire oxen beaves sheepe Corne woole and houshold goods and give them to the preists, them that have donne noe worke for them more like moss troopers then ministers of the gospell, they take y^m from freinds sueing y^m in your Courts and fineing them because they will not breake the Commands of christ y^t is because they will not sweare and thus you acte against them that Doeth not lift up ahand against you and as much as you turne against them you Turne against christ but hee is Risin that will pleade their Cause and you cannot bee hid for your workes is come to light and ye End of your ministry is seene what it is for, for means, and yee have Dishonnored the truth ye Gospell and are them that make it chargeable, you have lost your Glory you have Dishonored your Selves persecution was Ever blind and madd Read the apostle what hee saith of him selfe when hee was in your nature Exalltation and pride and your lifting up your Selves have Brough you to this not being humble not Doeing Justice nott loveing mercy and when such as have binn beat and brused by your Rude Company (to whome you are apraise) have come and layd things before you y^t you might have Done Justice preserved and keept peace (you as knowing they would nott sweare) have putt an oath to them and this have binn your Trickes and Cover whearby you would not doe Justice to the Just but by this meanes have gone on still further to Encoradge the Evill Doer but the lord sees your harts if you was not men past feeling you would feare and treamble before him the god of the whole Earth who is Risin who will stayn your Glory and Marr your pride and Deface your Beautey and lay it in the Dust though you may swell in your pride and Glory in your shame and Make a Mock of gods Messengers that is become your prey (that reproves sinne in the gates) for atime, you will feele the heavy hand of god and his Judgments att last.

[a]...[a] These words have a line through them.

ffrom alover of the truth (and of your soules) and Righteousnes but awittness against all such as make a trade of the prophetts [words] christ and the Appostles words and are founde in ye stepts of them that persecuted the prophetts christ and ye appostles life who will persecute them y^t^ will not hould you up and put into your moueths and give you meanes, for tithes was before ye law and tith is in the law and tithes since the dayes of the appostles have binn [a]all since the falle[a] now christ who comes to End the law and End the warr redeemes men out of the ninthes againe (they shall Rayne upon the Earth and knowe the Election which was before the worle began), and tithes now since the dayes of the appostles have binn sett up by the papists by them y^t^ went forth from ye appostles into the world soe sett up by the falce church that made marchandize of people since the true church went into the wilderness but now is the Judgment of the Greate whoare come and ye beast and falce prophett ye old Draggon taken and cast into ye fire and the lambe and saintes shall have the victory and now is christ come who will make war in Righteousness and Disstroy with ye swoard of his Mouth all these Inventers and Inventions y^t^ have binn sett up since the dayes of the appostles and ye true church went into the wilderness and ye Everlasting gospell shall bee preached againe which is the power of god to all nations and Kindreds and Toungs in this the lambes day which you shall Appeere before to Judgment and you have noe way to Escape the first and last the bigining and the Ending the Alpha and Omega hee {hath appeared} y^t^ was Dead is a live againe and lives for Evermore.

[b]And ye two Joalers were like two beare heards: & when ye heade goaler had mee uppe Into a great chamber & tolde mee I shoulde have what I woulde in y^t^ roome but I tolde him hee shoulde not expect any money from mee: & y^t^ I woulde not lye in none of his beds nor eate none of his victualls.

And then hee putt mee Into a nother roome where I gott a thinge to lye one after a while.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *only, since the false Church got up*

[b] Narrative continued from page 116.

And ye Assises came on: & all ye news was & crye in ye country y^t^ I was to bee hanged & ye high sheriffe saide one {Sir Winfred} Lawson y^t^ hee woulde guarde mee to my execution & stirred y^m^ much uppe to take away my life: & they was all in a blacke darke rage & they sett 3 musketeers upon mee: on att my chamber doore & another att ye stayres foote and another att ye streete doores & woulde lett none come att mee except one to bring mee some necessary thinges.

And att nights they woulde lett upp preists about 10 a clocke att night they woulde bringe in droves off y^m^ & exceedinge rude & divellish they were but ye Lorde in his power gave mee dominion over y^m^ all: & I lett y^m^ see both there fruites & there spiritts.

And great Ladys & countesses came to see a man y^t^ they saide was to dye [& ye preists woulde temptingely aske what must I die for there sinns which manifested y^t^ they was in ye nature of y^m^ y^t^ crucifyed him y^t^ dyed for ye sinns of ye worlde]: & there was a company of bitter Scotch preists & presbyterians made uppe of envy {& malice whoe were not fitt to speake of ye thinges of God: they were soe fowle mouthed}.

And soe when they was contriveinge both Judge Sheriffe & Justices of puttinge mee to death ye Judges Clarke started a question {to y^m^} y^t^ confounded y^m^ all: after which they had not power to call mee out before ye Judges[1]: butt they continnued in there rage & gave order y^t^ I shoulde bee put in ye dungeon amongst ye mosse troopers: & soe they did: where men & women was putt togeather & never a house of office: in a nasty & very uncivill manner which was a shame to Christianity: but ye prisoners was made all of y^m^ very loveinge to mee & some of y^m^ were convinced as ye publicans & harlotts {of olde were}: soe y^t^ they were able to confounde a preist y^t^ might come to ye grates to dispute.

And Justice Bensons wiffe[2] was moved of ye Lord to come to visitt mee & to eate noe meate but what shee eate with mee att ye barrs of ye {dungeon} window: a good honnest woman whoe after was Imprisoned her selfe {att Yorke} for speakinge to a preist when shee was great with childe & had childe in prison: & shee continnued a good freinde till shee dyed.

And whilst I was in ye dungeon a litle boy one James Parnell[1] about 15 yeeres olde came to mee & hee was convinct & came to bee a very fine minister of ye worde of life & turned many to christ: & att last hee was Imprisoned himselfe in Colchester & ye goaler was cruell with him & made him climbe uppe & doune {for his victualls} Into a place caled litle ease {or ye oven} where they kept him & hee fell doune ye roape breakeinge & broake his heade soe as hee dyed & then ye wicked Independant preists made a booke of it & saide hee fasted himselfe to death: which was all lyes.

Butt I continnued in ye dungeon amongst ye prisoners whoe were exceeding lowsy[2]: & ye litle parlament[3] hearinge y^t a younge man was to dye for religion att Carlile: they writt doune {to ye Sheriffe & magistrates} [a]butt Itt came after I was sett at liberty[a]. But ye goaler continnued exceedinge cruell soe y^t hee beate frends & freindely people exceedingely with great cudgells [as if hee had beene beatinge a packe of wooll].

And I coulde gett uppe to ye grate where sometimes I tooke my meate & ye goaler was offended & came in a rage with his great staffe: & hee fell a beatinge of mee though I was not att ye window att y^t time: & cryed come out of ye window though I was farr enough of it: & as hee strucke mee I was made to singe in ye Lords power & y^t made him rage ye more: & then hee fetcht a fidler & brought Into ye dungeon & sett him to play: & when hee playde I was moved in ye everlastinge power of ye Lord God to singe: & my voice droned y^m & strucke y^m & confounded y^m y^t made y^m give over {fidlinge} & goe there ways.

And ye governor & {Justice} Anth: Pearson came doune & Itt was such an Ill savor & a shame to ye magistrates y^t ye goaler shoulde doe such thinges: y^t they caled for ye goalers Into ye dungeon: & they came doune Into ye dungeon to mee & they bid ye goalers finde suretyes for ye good behaviour & soe they putt ye undergoaler Into ye Dungeon with mee amongst ye mosse troopers whoe had beene such a cruell fellowe.

And many preists y^t came to mee woulde bee askinge

[a]...[a] These words have a line through them.

questions & sayinge ye scriptures was ye worde: & I askt y^m howe many gods there was {& they saide one}: & I askt y^m whether y^t God was not ye worde & they woulde say yes: & soe I lett y^m see howe they did confounde y^mselves: for there was not a prisoner but was able to confute y^m.

Soe after a while I was sett att liberty by ye Justices & ye Lords power came over y^m all.[a]

[*A paper of g: ffs: to ye magistrates in ye longe parlaments time. 1653*[1].

ffreinds

Is it not knowne throughout ye nation the people of god which are of the seed of god.....scorne called quakers are peaceable people & meete peaceably & is knowne to the cheife magistrates of the nation y^t they doe not fight with carnall weapons nor draw out the carnall sword but theire weapons are....., & y^t they are against murderous plotts, now for you to busy yourselves to come with armed men upon simple inocent people to make a pudder & a noise with a strange kind of warrant dated the 2^d May like men beeside your senses or witts, unrationable, & to call theire meetinge tumultuous which was not soe, & for saying the meeting was preiudiciall ye doth but shew y^t you are preiudiciall to the Comonwealth, which is to protect theire meetings, & had any tumultuous people come to disturbe them you should have executed the Law, & kept peace if you were true executors of it, for them who you in scorne call quakers theire meetings are peaceable, but often tumultuous people & preiudiced people have assaulted them & you partiall have not executed the law on one side as well as the other, for the law doe not respect persons nor a particculer people, for when some of them have beene moved of the lord according to scripture & true doctrine & come into the assembly of the preists & something have beene revealed to them, & bidden the other hold his peace, or after hee have done, spoke, preists & people have beene all of heapes & all tumultuous (which lets us see y^t you have neither true

[a] Narrative continued on page 134.

Church nor true ministers nor true order neither as you may reade in the 14th chap^{t} of the first of Corinthians) & it may bee send them to prison or hale them out (though wee seeke the reveng of noe mans person); but did you not see hundreds of tumultuous people in streetes at pleasures, yea many hundred in many of your greate townes, most streets full, are those Civill meetings, gapeing shouting & makeing a noyse, looke through all your greate townes at such idle times, & see if there bee not many y^{t} come out of many townes & it may bee Countries for pleasures, & if all those hundreds y^{t} meete together to play (allmost streetes full) it may bee swearing lying curseing & at vaine sports & talkes & jests, now if all these met together in the feare of god & stood up & declared the lords secrets for them y^{t} feare him & to them hee reveals them, would you send a guard of soldiers & Cunstable to fetch them away, to make a disturbance amongst them & call them a tumultuous meeting, doe you heere put a difference beetweene the precious & ye vile, the holy & prophane, the godly & ye prophane, them y^{t} feare the lord & them y^{t} feare him not, or turne your sword backward, are not those blind men y^{t} doe soe: who is it y^{t} feares the lord y^{t} can say otherwise, but who is it y^{t} can say otherwise but y^{t} there was a plott among you against the inocent whose warrant was dated ye 2^{d} May soe long beefore the meeting, is not this takeing counsell against the lord & against his anointed, whose cords hee breakes to peices & is not your Cords broaken to peices, the lord open your understandings & let you see what you are doeing & whose worke & open your understandings & forgive your iniquity y^{t} you may doe iustly & justice & walke humbly beefore him, & bee a praise to them y^{t} doe well & a terror to them y^{t} doe evill, for them y^{t} doe well are led by the spirrit of god & in it worship him, & there comes into the service of god & in the spirrit they meete & in it have unity, which is the bond of peace, & them y^{t} doe evill goe from the spirrit of god soe the powers of wickedness & darkeness & powers of flesh gets up then, which the higher power goes upon, which higher power is higher then all the powers of wickedness & darkeness & powers of ye flesh which is in transgression, over which the higher power goes with terrour to them y^{t} doe evill, which goes from ye spirrit of

god in them, which spirrit of god the higher power answeres, which cutts downe the Contrary y^t^ goes from it, soe yee y^t^ bee soldiers minde a soldiers place, doe violence to noe man & accuse noe man falsely, for violence is not righteous just nor truth nor equity, if you doe falsely accuse you goe from the witness of god in yourselves, & if you doe violence you goe from the witness of god in yourselves, & then you will turne against the lambs of Christ & god, hee will plead theire cause, & soe the lord forgive you & let you see your worke, what worke you are doeing.

(And indeed it was reported y^t^ some of the soldiers were pretty Civill) now you y^t^ bee Justices take heed of malice & envy & preiudice, but mind soberness & gravity, seasonedness & soundness, y^t^ you may bee of good report among them y^t^ feare god & to them y^t^ doe well a praise & to them that doe evill a terrour, then in your generation you wilbee a blessing, but on the contrary you wilbee a stinck & ill savour, & in acting against the just you leave the uniust & the world which lyes in wickedness wilbee on your parte which ever hated Christ & loved not the Children of light, but hated them, & they loved theire owne, & soe if wee were of the world the world would not hate us, but wee are not of the world, therefore the world hate us beecause christ have chosen us out of the world & prepared a place for us, the habitation of rest, therefore doe the world hate & not heare us beecause wee testify against the world & the workes y^t^ are evill, but they y^t^ are of god heare us: but they y^t^ are not of god heare not us: now the apostles & christ were looked upon as tumultuous (by them, who had theire ministers established & tythes, temples, pulpits & synagougs), & makers of insurecçons, which when indeed they were the makers of insurections & tumults against the apostles & heard [?] not with patience, & they were in tumultuous meetings in the synagouges & temple which haled out of the synagouge & temple & prisoned & beate & whiped, those were called tumultuous meetings or meetors—those y^t^ went into synagouges & the temple to draw people of the temple synagouges tythes pulpitts preists types figurs shaddowes, & they mett together y^t^ come of the temple tythes preists to christ the everlasting preisthood, & these had theire meetings in severall houses or places, & these all

were to speake one by one, if any thing was revealed to him y^t^ stood by, y^t^ they all might learne, bee comforted & edified & this was order in the Church of god never looked upon as tumultuous meeting by god the prophets, Christ nor his apostles throughout scripture: & soe these Temples tythes preists pulpitts schooles Colleeges was set up by the pope, the popes names are to the Colleeges & steeple houses yet & is marked on the topp or the end of them yet with the Cross & soe they were set up by tumultuous people y^t^ drunck the blood of the martyres the prophets & the saints & imprisoned them stocked them stoned them & made inquisiçons whose reliques appeare now against them y^t^ meete peacably though moved to cry against deceit, see there is the man of sin that must bee tormented beefore his time, but the righteous are glad the day of the lord is appeareing & sprunge, & y^t^ which Christ said should come John saw was come (& the whole world gon after it) which made warr with the saints but now over it the Lambe & saintes have victory.]

[*G: ff: to such as seeke for ye worldes honnor. 1653*[1].

Behould you Rulers & harken proud men & women who have let in ye spirit of ye world into your hearts whereby you are lifted up in ye earth, Heare what truth saith you have gained Riches, & you seeke worldly glory, An evill Covetousnes to your selves. And these Idols being set up in your owne hearts to be worshiped, you rage & wonder why ye Children of light will not worship your gods you have set up, & fall downe before ye glory of this world in you, soe you are angry. But why are you soe blind to thinke y^t^ such who have denyed to bow to ye same spirit & pride in themselves & have through ye Crose obtained power from above to cast out ye same Idolls out of their owne hearts, & can they bow to them in another, Nay ye day is come & ye Children of light have found ye liveing god to worship, & there is none besids him to us. And now in vaine is ye Idols preached, we cannot worship with you, however you be tormented, It is of God to famish ye worlds Idols, & he alone will be worshiped who is mighty to save, what have

we to doe any more with Idoll vanity. Pride cannot save us, nor can ye worlds glory preserve in ye houre of temptation though we should bow thereto, we cannot trust in uncertaine riches, nor may we take counsell at silver or gold, flocks or heards, we have proved your Idolls & knows what is in them. And we have found them distroyers & not saviours, whatever your glory promises you (who most seeke it) we know in its right hand is a lye, flattery & falsehood, & all who loves it comes short of ye glory of God. Humility is our glory, & he is our saviour who saith learne of me for I am lowly & ye shall find rest to your souls & this we have proved & we find his words truth, & all loftynesse a lye, so haveing found ye truth, ye truth hath made us free, free from pride, fre from vaine glory, fre from y^{t} spirit y^{t} puts it on & would have it worshiped, fre from ye maners of ye Gentiles, who exercise Lordship in y^{t} nature which is out of ye light & doctrine of Christ; soe ye truth haveing made us free in y^{t} liberty we stand fast, & may not be Intangled againe with your yoake of bondage nor ye manners of ye Gentiles.

And then you say its our pride & stobornnes & many such accusations you cast on us. Alas what darkenes is this, & how have you lost your Judgment, what is Mordeca become prouder then Hammon with you, Is he proud who denys to worship pride, & he y^{t} would be worshiped free, Is not this to put light for darkenes & darkenes for light, to condeme ye Inocent, to hide ye offender, come downe to y^{t} of God in your consciences & let y^{t} Judge & let pride be seene & ashamed where it is.

And then you plead scripture & say Let every soule be subiect to ye higher powers, And be subiect to every Ordnance of man for ye Lords sake &c: Now this we say also & ownes ye scriptures, But mans pride is not ye higher power: In humility we find a power above pride, higher then opression, higher then mens wills, higher then ye Lusts of ye Eye, yea higher then all y^{t} in man would exalt against it, soe we deny ye lower, y^{t} we may subiect our soules to y^{t} which excelleth, & which is Ordained of God.

And to every Ordnance of man we are subiect for ye Lords sake, But should we bow to ye spirit of pride we should betray ye Lord & give his honour to another, & y^{t} is

not for ye Lords sake, so what we see for ye Lord & of him in every ordnance of man, we subiect to for ye Lords sake, & what is against him, for his sake we deny, & with him suffer under it, as witnesses for him against it.

Soe we give Ceser his due, & Custome to whom it belongs, but all glory & worship to god alone to whom it is due.

But say you y^{t} worship we plead for is Civill, not religious; but where doe you read in scripture of Civill worship, we find honour all men in ye Lord & y^{t} which is in ye Lord is religious, & y^{t} which is not in ye Lord is Idolatrous, Is there any thing honourable in man but ye Image of god which is spirituall & he that worships where y^{t} is not worships ye beast or y^{t} which is worse, ye Devill.

And if any bow to y^{t} of god in man how comes it not to be religious, & yet you say for conscience sake, & not religious, & is not y^{t} religious y^{t} bindes ye conscience, soe your distinktions will not gaine worship from them who knows god & his Image, & ye beast & his Image in their severall apearances, And by this are they known for ever, He thats from above seekes not honour from man but y^{t} honour which is of god alone, gods presence in him makes him honourable in ye hearts of all y^{t} loves god, soe god gives him grace & glory & honour, but ye other must have none from god, who abids not in y^{t} which is honourable & soe becomes as ye beast, seekeing honour by force from such as he hath power over, & rage if he cannot have it, & this nature hath noe right to it, though ye false prophet Joyne with him to plead for it, who must into ye lake togather, & all y^{t} worship ye beast & his Image must drinke of ye wine of ye wrath of god powered out without mixture, as saith ye scripture.

Soe you y^{t} are in place to rule & seeke for honour, seeke first y^{t} which is honourable & none can hould you from honour, & know it is ye gift of god onely to such as honour him & not themselves: seeke y^{t} glory & honour y^{t} hath Imortalitie & eternall life which is obtained of god by continuance in well doing, seeke Humility y^{t} goes before honour, exalt Justice, set up rightiousnes, & truth, in Judgment, hould forth gods sword to all people under you & not your owne wills, then you honour god & he will honour you, seeke first ye kingdome of god y^{t} he may rule in your owne

hearts over your pride, over your passion, over lust, over covetousnes, over respect of persons, & over all unrightiousnes, soe shall you set up ye higher power in you for every soule to be subiect to, which y^{t} of god in every conscience shall answer to, then are you ministers of god, & he shall add to you y^{t} honour which is of god, which is spirituall, which is Imortall, binding every Conscience & soule in subiection to your athority which all y^{t} resist receive damnation to themselves, & this is religious & an ordnance of god, & receives not its honour from man, but from god alone, who hath ever honoured holy men & women y^{t} ruled for god, with god, as you may read in ye scriptures, who never needed to seeke it from men while they retained god, But Saul when god was departed from him through covetousnes & disobedience, cryed honour me before ye people, who had lost ye kingdome of god, had lost his honour, had lost y^{t} which binds ye conscience, & to which ye soule is {not} to be subiect, who cryed honour me before ye people, from whom god was departed, who had departed from god, who sought honour to himselfe without god, ye kingdome of god being rent from him, his honour departed; soe you y^{t} would have honour seeke god, & retaine him, exalt his kingdome in your hearts, & he will add honour thereto, but if you be disobedient & your owne soules be not subiect to ye higher power, then another power rules, to which ye rightious soule cannot subiect for conscience sake; Then gets up he y^{t}s out of gods kingdome & crys honour me before ye people, & this is he y^{t} sought Davids life, & seeks ye life of his seede, who is disobedient, who is covetous, who is gredy of honour, who is a murthered, who keeps not ye word of god nor abode in ye truth, to keepe downe pride, & vaine glory, Then ye false prophet crys worship this, soe such as be out of ye faith of Christ, disobediente to ye law of god & in respect of persons, such as be flatterers, lyars, scorners, fighters, suers, drunkards, swearers, & such as be out of ye kingdom of god, whose soules are not subiect to ye higher power for conscience sake, such bow & worship with putting of hats & bowing of knees to ye person,...ye soule of such is not subiect to ye power y^{t} is of god for conscience sake, yet such is ye Darkenese of many rulers as to account that subiection to Authoryty, whilst such

whose soules doe truely bow to ye power of rightiousnes, Justice & equitie where ever it is, without flattering where it is not, are condemned for unmannerlynes, disorder & suffer as disobedient to Authoritie.

But to y^t^ of God in every Conscience doe we apeare whether such rulers exalt ye power which is of god & seeke his honour or their owne.

And soe as you honour god, with god shall you be honoured, but seeke it as egerly as you will without him It will fly from you, though flattery you may obtaine which will corrupt your Judgment, & let in upon you everlasting dishonour; wherefore turne to ye Lord with your whole hearts & seeke his glory alone, That he may put upon you his spirit of humility & rightious Judgment, y^t^ you may be covered therewith as with a garment, soe shall you frely have our soules subiection, which now in secret morns for you with prayer & teares before god & openly suffers under you for a testimony against you.

And now you that are not in place to rule & seekes to be worshiped of us, what is it you would have us bow to in you or upon you. Gladly would we see humilitie apeare in you, & behould you covered with ye spirit of god that in our soules we might subiect thereto & soe in ye Lord honour you. But should we bow to your gold & silver lace, your costly aparell, or earthly riches, To that of god in you all we apeare if we should not worship Idolls, & breake ye law of god, for which doing, how we should be excused before god at ye day of account let such as feare god more then man Judge.]

[a]And then after a time I went to Tho: Bewleys & there came a baptist teacher to oppose mee: who was convinced & Rob: Withers beinge with mee was moved to goe to Colbecke steeplehouse: & ye baptist teacher went alongst with him ye same day & they almost killed Rob: Withers & tooke ye baptist sworde from him & beate him sorely: & they sent Rob: Withers to Carlile goale: & ye baptist aforesaid had ye inheritans of an Impropriation but hee went home & gave it uppe: & Will: Dewsbury went to another steeplehouse

[a] Narrative continued from page 127.

harde by: & they almost killed him they beate him soe: butt ye Lords power was over all & heiled y^m^ againe & Rob: Withers after a while was sett at liberty alsoe.

And soe I went Into ye Country & had mighty meetinges & ye everlasting Gospell & ye worde of ye Lord flourisht & thousands was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ & to his teaching & severall y^t^ tooke tyths as Impropriators denyed ye receiveinge of y^m^ & delivered y^m^ uppe to ye parishoners: & soe I came uppe Into Westmoreland & at Strickland heade I had a large meetinge & att other places: where a Justice of peace out of Bishopricke one Henery Draper[1] came uppe & a many Contenders: & y^t^ day many freinds went to ye steeplehouses to declare ye truth to ye preists & people & ye Lords power was over all.

And soe I came through freindes visitinge ye meetinges till I came to Swarthmoore againe & then I hearde y^t^ ye baptists & professors in Scotland had sent to mee to have a dispute & I sent to y^m^ y^t^ I woulde meete y^m^ in Cumberland att Tho: Bewleys where I went but none came.

And another time as wee was passinge from a meetinge & goeinge through Wickdon[2] one a markett day: there was a guarde sett with pitch forkes & there was some of ye neighbors with us & they kept us out of ye tounde & woulde not lett us passe through ye tounde: under a pretence of preventing ye sicknesse: when there was noe occasion for any such thinge: & soe they fell upon us & had like to have spoiled us & our horses: but ye Lord did prevent y^m^ y^t^ they did not much hurte: & soe wee past away.

And another time as I was passinge betwixt olde Tho: Bewleys & Jo: Slees[3] some rude fellows lay in waite in a lane & exceedingely stoned & abused us: but att ye last through ye Lords power wee gott through them: & had not much hurte: but this was ye fruites of ye preists teachinge which shamed Christianity.

And after I had visited y^t^ Country & freinds I went through ye Countryes Into Bishopricke & had large meetinges & had a very large meetinge att Justice Pearsons house where many was convinced: & soe I passed through Northumberland to Daban[a] water[4] where there was great

[a] Altered, in another hand, to *Darran*

meetinges & ye preists threatned to come but none came: & ye everlastinge worde of life was freely preacht & freely received & many hundreds were turned to Christ there teacher.

And there came many to dispute in Northumberland & pleaded against perfection but I declared unto y^m y^t Adam & Eve was perfect before they fell & all y^t God made was perfect & ye Imperfection came by ye Devill & ye fall: & Christ y^t came to destroy ye Devill saide bee yee perfect: butt on of ye professors saide y^t Job saide what shall mortall man bee more pure then his maker: ye heavens are not cleere in his sight God charged his angells with folly: but I shewed him his mistake y^t Itt was not Job which saide soe but those which contended against Job: for Job stoode for perfection & his Integrity & they was caled miserable Comforters: & they saide the outwarde body was ye body of death & sin: butt I lett y^m see there mistakes & howe y^t Adam & Eve had a body before ye body of death & sin gott Into them.

And man & woman woulde have a body when ye body of sin & death was putt off againe: when they were renewed uppe Into ye Image of God againe by Christ Jesus as they was in before they fell.

Soe many glorious meetinges wee had in ye Lords power & soe wee passt to Hexam: where wee had a great meetinge a toppe of a hill where ye preist came not though hee had threatned: & all was quiett: & ye everlastinge day & renouned truth of ye everlastinge God was sounded over those darke countryes {& his son sett over all}.

And all y^t had made a profession of ye son of God now ye day was come they might receive him: & as many as did receive him to y^m hee woulde give power to become ye sons of God as hee had donne to mee: & hee y^t had ye son of God hee had life eternall: & hee y^t had not ye son of God lett him professe all ye scriptures from Genesis to ye Revelations hee had not life.

And after y^t all was turned to ye light of Christ: by which they might see him & receive him & knowe where there teacher was: & ye everlastinge truth largely declared wee passed away through Hexam peaceably & soe came

Into Gillslande[a] {where some in that} country {were very theeivish}[a]: where a freinde spyed ye preist & went to speake to him & hee came doune to our Inn & ye tounds people came about us: & soe ye preist saide hee woulde prove us deceivers out of ye bible but could not finde noe scripture for his purpose: soe hee went Into ye Inn & after a while came out & brought y^t^ Scripture: ye doctrines & commandements of men touch y^m^ not & tast y^m^ not for they perish with ye useing: which poore man was his owne condition for wee was persecuted because wee woulde not tast nor touch nor handle there doctrines which wee knew perished with ye useinge.

Soe I askt him what hee caled ye steeplehouse: oh: saide hee ye dreadefull house of God ye temple of God: & I lett him & ye poore darke people see y^t^ there bodyes shoulde bee ye temples of God: & Christ never commanded these temples but had ended y^t^ temple att Jerusalem which God had commanded: & soe ye preist gott away: & ye people began to tell us y^t^ they feared wee woulde take there purses or steale there horses: & Judged us like y^m^ selves whoe are naturally given to theiveinge & ye next day wee came through y^t^ country Into Cumberlande againe where wee had a generall meetinge of many thousands of people a toppe of a hill[1] heavenly & glorious itt was: & ye glory of ye Lord did shine over all: & there was as many as one coulde well speake over there was such a multitude & there eyes were kept to Christ there teacher & they came to sitt under there vine y^t^ a freinde afterwards ff: Howghill[b] in ye ministry went amongst y^m^ & when hee was moved to stande uppe amongst y^m^ hee saw they had noe need of words: for they was all sittinge doune under there teacher Christ Jesus: soe hee was moved to sett doune againe amongst y^m^ {without speakeinge any thinge}[2].

And soe great a Convincement there was in Cumberland Bishopricke Northumberland & Yorkeshere & Westmorland & Lancasheere & ye plants of God grew & flourished soe by ye heavenly raine & Gods glory shined upon y^m^ y^t^ many mouths ye Lord opned to his praise yea to babes & suckelinges hee ordained strength.

[a]...[a] The words were, originally, *a thievish country* The alterations are in a contemporary handwriting which appears several times in the MS.

[b] The words *or two* stood previously in the place of *ff: Howghill*

[1]And the preists & ye professors they prophesyed mightily against us {about this time} for before they prophesyed wee should bee all knockt doune within a month {as aforesaid} & then after they prophesyed within halfe a yeere: & then there prophesyes not comeinge to passe: they prophesyed y^t^ wee woulde eate on another out: for many times after ye meetinges many tender people y^t^ had a great way to goe: & ye houses not haveinge beds they stayde att ye houses & lay in ye hay mowes: & Cains feare possest y^m^: y^t^ when wee had eaten one another out: y^t^ wee shoulde all come to bee maintained of ye parishes ere longe & y^t^ they woulde be troubled with us.

But after this when they saw y^t^ ye Lord blest & Increased ffreindes: as hee did Abraham both in ye feilde & in ye baskett: & att there goeinges foorth & comeinges in riseinges uppe & lyienges doune: & y^t^ all thinges begann to be blest unto y^m^: then they saw ye faileinges of all these there prophesyes: & y^t^ it was in vaine to curse where God had blest.

Butt att ye first convincement when freinds coulde not put off there hatts to people nor say you to a particular but thee & thou: & coulde not bowe nor use ye worldes salutations nor fashions nor customes: & many freindes beinge tradesmen of severall sortes: they lost there custome at ye first: for ye people woulde not trade with y^m^ nor trust y^m^ & for a time people y^t^ were tradesmen coulde hardely gett money enough to by breade butt afterwards when people came to see freinds honesty & truthfulnesse & yea & nea att a worde in there dealinge & there lifes & conversations did preach & reach to ye wittnesse of God in all people & they knew & saw y^t^ they would not cuzen & cheate y^m^ for conscience sake towards God. And y^t^ at last they might sende any childe & bee as well used as y^m^selves att any of there shopps.

Soe then ye thinges altered soe: y^t^ all ye enquiry was where was a draper or shopkeeper or taylor or shooemaker or any other tradesman y^t^ was a quaker then y^t^ was all ye crye Insoemuch y^t^ freindes had double ye trade beyonde any of there neighbors: & if there was any tradeinge they had it Insoemuch y^t^ then ye cry was of all ye professors & others: If wee let these people alone they will take ye tradinge {of ye nation} out of our handes.

And this hath beene ye Lords doeinges {to his people} which my desire is y^t^ all may bee kept In his power & spiritt faithfull to God & man: {first} to God in obeyinge him in all thinges & {secondely in doeinge unto all men} y^t^ which is Just & righteous true & holy & honnest to all men & women in all things y^t^ they have to doe with or to deale withall with y^m^ y^t^ ye Lord God may be glorifyed in there practiseinge truth holynesse godlynesse & righteousnesse {amongst y^m^ in all there lifes & conversations}.

[^a^And this was from ye yeeres 1652 to 1656 & since.^a^]

And after I was putt out of Carlile prison I was moved to goe to preist Wilkisons steeplehouse againe: & was in ye steeplehouse before him: & when hee came in I was declareing ye truth to ye people: & wee had a meetinge harde by where one Tho: Stubbs[1] was declareinge ye worde of life to y^m^ y^t^ there was not many people in ye steeplehouse: for ye best & most of his hearers were turned to Christs free teachinge: & ye preist came in & opposed mee: and there did wee stay all ye day: for when I began hee opposed mee: & soe if any law was broaken: hee broake it: & hee thought to have wearyed mee out: & hee shamed when his people was halinge mee out y^t^ wee might see his fruites which Christ spoake of: they shall hale you out of ye synagoges: & then they woulde leave mee alone & there did hee stand till It was most night Jangelinge & opposeinge {of mee & woulde not goe to his dinner} but att last ye Lords power & truth came soe over him y^t^ hee packt away with his people: & soe ye Lords power & truth came over y^m^ all & after I went to freindes y^t^ was turned to ye Lord Into there meetinge [& about this time many of ye steeplehouses was empty for such multitudes of people came to Christs free teachinge & knew there bodyes ye temples of God].

And soe after ye great meetinge in Cumberland as aforesaid I passt out of Cumberland: through ye countryes where I had great meetinges with ffreindes & of ye worldes people & I establishtt y^m^ upon Christ ye rocke & foundation of ye true prophetts & Apostles butt not of ye false.

^a...^a These words have a line through them.

[[1]And after I came out of Carlile prison aforesaid I went Into ye Abby chamber: & there came in a madd woman y^{t} sometimes was very desperate: & shee fell doune of her knees: & cryed putt of your hatts: for grace grace hangs about thy necke: & soe ye Lords power runn through her y^{t} shee was sensible of her condition & after came & confesst Itt to freindes.

And I came to another place In Cumberland: where a mans wiffe was distracted & very desperate: attempting att times to kill her Children & her husbande but I was moved of ye Lord God to speake to her: & shee kneeled doune of her bare knees & cryed & sayde shee woulde worke of her bare knees if shee might goe with mee: & ye Lords power wrought through her: & shee went home well.

And in Bishopricke whilst I was there they brought a woman tyed behinde a man y^{t} coulde neither eate nor speake & had beene soe a great while: & they brought her Into ye house to mee to Anthony Pearsons: & I was moved of ye Lord God to speake to her: y^{t} shee eate & spake & was well: & gott uppe behinde her husbande without any helpe & went away well.

And as I came out of Cumberland one time I came to Hawkes heade: & lighted att a freindes house: & there was younge Margarett fell[2] with mee & Will: Caton[3]: & Itt beinge a very cold season wee lighted & ye lasse made us a fire her master & dame beinge gonne to ye markett & there was a boy lyinge in ye cradle which they rockt about 11 yeeres olde: & hee was growne almost double: & I cast my eye upon ye boy: & seeinge hee was dirty: I bid ye lasse wash his face & his hands & gett him uppe & bringe him unto mee.

Soe shee brought him to mee & I bid her take him & wash him againe for shee had not washt him cleane then I was moved of ye Lord God to lay my handes upon him & speake to him: & soe bid ye lasse take him againe & putt on his cloaths: & after wee passt away.

And sometime after I caled att ye house: & I mett his mother but did not light: oh stay says shee: & have a meetinge att our house for all ye country is convinct by ye great miracle y^{t} was donne {by yee} upon my sonn for wee had carryed him to Wells & ye Bath & all doctors had given

him over for his grandefather & father feared hee woulde have dyed & there name have gonne out haveinge but y^t^ son: but presently after you was gonne {says shee} wee came home & founde our son playinge in ye streets: therefore saide shee all ye country would come to heare if I woulde come backe againe & have a meetinge {there}: & this was about 3 yeeres after y^t^ shee tolde mee of it & hee was growne to bee a streight full youth then: & soe ye Lord have ye praise.

Butt as wee was turneinge from ye house & comeinge towards Swarthmoore wee overtooke many rude markett people who did stone us & abuse us: but ye Lords power carryed us over y^m^ all soe as wee had noe harme.]

And soe when ye Churches was setled in ye north: & ye Lord had raised uppe many & sent foorth many Into his vineyarde to preach his everlastinge gospell: as ff: H. & E: B. to London: J: C{ham} & J: Audland to Bristow through ye countryes Rich: Huberthorne & G. Whitehead[1] towards Norwich: & Tho: Holmes[2] Into Wales: y^t^ a matter of 70 ministers did ye Lord raise uppe & sent abroade out of ye north Countryes.

And there was a preist att Rexam in Wales one ffloyde[3]: hee sent two of his preachers Into ye north to try us & see what a manner of people wee was: but they were convinced both by ye power of ye Lord & turned to Christ: & they staide a time & went backe againe: & one of y^m^ stands a fine minister for Christ to this day: one John appe John[4]: but ye other did not continnue {a freinde}.

And ye preists began to bee in a mighty rage att Newcastle & att Kendall: & uppe & doune in most countryes: & one Gylpin[5] y^t^ had sometimes come amongst us att Kendall whoe rann out & which ye preists made use of att times against us but ye Lords power confounded y^m^ all.

And about this time O: P: oath was to bee tendred to ye souldyers [when ye longe parlament was turned out]: & many of ye souldyers was turned out because in obediens to Christ they coulde not sweare[6]: as J: Stubbs for one: whoe was convinct when I was in Carlile prison: whoe became a faithfull minister: & travailed much in ye service of ye Lord in Holland Ireland Scotland Legorne Rome Aegypt America & ye Lords power preserved him over ye heads of ye

papists though many times {hee was} in great dainger of ye Inquisitions.

And ye rest of ye souldyers y^t^ had beene convinced in there Judgements but comeinge not Into obedians they tooke O: Ps. oath & they went Into Scotland to a garrison: & ye garrison thought they had beene there enimyes & they shott att y^m^ & killed {many of} y^m^ which was a sad Judgement.

And ye Lord God cutt off two of those persecutinge Justices at Carlile: & ye other after a time was turned out of his place & went out of ye tounde.

And soe after when I had visited ye Churches in ye north & all was setled under Gods teachinge & ye glory of ye Lord shined over y^m^: I passt from Swarthmoore to Lancaster & soe through ye countryes visitinge freindes till I came to Senderland greene[1] where there was a meetinge appointed 3 weekes before: & soe left ye north fresh & greene under Christ there teacher {where this followinge paper was given foorth to ffreindes in ye ministry}.[a]

G: ff: to ffreinds in ye ministry. 1654[2].

All freinds every where know ye seed of god which bruseth ye seed of ye serpent and is a top [of ye seed] of the seed of ye serpent which seed sins not but bruseth ye serpents head which tempts to sin and doth sin [to] which seed gods promise [is] [to] gods blessinge is to which seed is one in the male and in the female where it is the head hath brused the head of ye other to the begininge you are com, and the yonger is knone and he that is servant to the yonger, and the promise of god fullfilled which is to the seed and fullfillinge and the scripture coms to be opened, the flesh of christ knone who took upon him the seed of Abraham accordinge to the flesh, ye everlasting preisthood knowne ye everlasting covnant [knowne the first preisthod seene, which offered ffor the sin, which could not continew by reason of death, which was above the seed, which was the clensinge of the flesh, but] christ taks upon him the seed[b] him that is without father without mother begining of

[a] Narrative continued on page 147.

[b] Ellwood editions insert *of Abraham, and is a Priest after the Order of Melchizedeck*

dayes marke, or end of life, this is the preist that ever lives he that is the covnant of life of lite and peace, and the everlasting offering heere is knone once ffor all, which offering overthows that nature that offered which the preisthood rose out of that could not continew by reason of death. And heere is the other offreing knowne the everlasting offeringe which perfects for ever them that are sanctified which offering blotted out the handritetinge of ordinences triumphs over them, above all princepalities and powers assends, now he that hath the sperit of Jesus sees this and heere is the love recived of god that doth not reioyse in iniquity but repents from it.

So this is the word of the lord god to you all ffreinds every where abrod scattered know the power of god in one another and in that reiose, ffor then you reioyse in the Crose of christ, him who is not of the world which Cross is the power of god to all them that are saved soe you that know ye power & feele the power you feele the Cross of Christ you feele the gospell which is ye power of god unto salvation to every one that beeleeveth, now hee that beeleeves in the light beeleeves in the everlasting covenant in the everlasting offering comes to ye life of ye prophets and Moses comes to se Christ the hope the mistery which hope perisheth not but lets you see the hope that perisheth which is not this mistery & the expectation in the other hope fades, & where this hope is wittnessed the Lord comes to be sanctified in the heart and you come to the beegning to Christ the hope which perisheth not but the other hope & the other expectation that perisheth, soe all of you knowe the perishing of the other & the faileing of the expectation and that which perisheth not that you may be ready to give a reason of this hope with meekenes & feare to every man that asketh you, Christ the hope the mistery that perisheth not, the end of all perishing things the end of all changeable things the end of the decaying covenaunt, the end of that which waxeth old and doth decay, the end of the prophets & Moses the righteousnes of god, Christ Jesus the son, his throwne you will knowe heires with him you will bee who [a] makes kings brings [a] to knowe his throwne & his

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *makes his Children Kings and Priests to him, and brings them*

power there is no Justification out of the light, out of the light out of Christ, Justification is in the light, here is the doer of the will of god here is the entering into the kingdome: now beeleeving in the light becomes A childe of light and heres receiving the wisdome which is Justified of her children, here beeleeveing in the light you shall not abide in darkenes but shall have the light of life & come every one to wittnes the light that shines in your hearts which light will give you the light of the knowledge of the glory of god in the face of Jesus Christ, with which light you will see him reigne who is the prince of life, of peace, which light turnes from him that is out of the truth & abode not in it where there is not the peace; freinds bee not hasty, for hee that beeleeves in the light makes not hast, here the grace is received by which you come to be saved, the election is knowne which obtaines the promise, the will is seene that wills, the minde is knowne that runnes which obtaines not, but stopps & dulls, now that with the light beeing seene & judged & stoppt, the patience is here knowne which the Crowne obtaines and the Imortallatie come to light, soe all them now that act contrary to the light and in it doe not beeleeve to Justification, they doe not come.

And all freinds if you goe from the light, from wayteing to have the promise of god fullfilled to the seede whereby you may knowe Christ reigne you there bring on your selves Changeable Garments & comes to weare the Changeable Garment, & the strange flesh, which leades to Adultery which the lawe goes upon which shutts out of the kingdome and out of this will doth proceed the worke that is bult upon him which worke is for the fire where you come to suffer the losse, therefore the light love which doth that condemne, and receiving ye power from the Lord with which you stand over that, and doe it condemne, feeleing & seeing that which gives you the victory over the world, and to see out of time beefore time, & againe freinds knowe Abraham that must obey the voyce of Sarah that beares seede, which casts forth the bond woman and her son, doe not goe forth, there will the wildenes lodge, knowe that which beare the wilde son & its mother, not Sarah, for the promise is to the seede not of many but one, which seede is Christ & this seede[1] now you come to witnes stand on the topp of all, yea the heade

of the serpent, & soe all, as I sayd beefore, who this comes to feele & wittnes comes to the beeging & this to all the seede of god the Church that it you may all come to knowe, where there is no blemish, nor spott nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, which is that which is purchased with the Blood of Jesus, & to the father presented out of all that doth defile, which is the pillar & the ground of truth, and none comes to this but such who come to the light, which from Christ doth come who purchased this Church, they which goe from the light are shutt out and condemned though they profess all the Scripture declared forth from it, therefore walke in the light that you may have fellowshipp with the son & with the father and come all to wittnes his image his power and his law which is his light, which hath converted your soules & brought them to submitt to the higher power, above that which is out of ye truth, that you may knowe here the mercy & truth & the faith that workes by love, which Christ the Authour of is, who lighteth every one of you [a]which is perfect[a] & that which the ministers of god received from god is that which is perfect & that which they are to minister is for the perfecting of the saints till they all come into the unity of the faith, unto A perfect man soe this is the word of the lord god to you every one in the measure of life wayte that with it all your mindes may bee guided up to the father of life, the father of spirits, [with your hearts Joyned together up to god the father of spirits] all to receive power from him & wisdome that with it you may be orderd to his glory to whom be all glory ffor ever, al keepe in the lite & life that Judgeth downe that which is contrary to the lite & life.

So the Lord god almity be with you all and keepe you meetinge every where being guided with that of god, with that you may se the Lord god among you, him who lighteth every man that cometh into the world by whom the world was made that men that be come into the world might believe, he that doth not the light condemns him, he that beliveth coms out of condemnation so this light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world which they that hate it stumble at it which is the light of men.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *which Faith gives the Victory. Now that which gives the Victory, is perfect.*

All ffreinds that speake abrode se that it be in the life of god ffor that begets to god, the ffruts of that shall never weather and this sowes to the sperit, which is in prison, and of the sperit reaps life, and the other to you this is the word of the Lord God sowes to the flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption and this you may se all ye world among these seedsmen what may be reapt in the ffeild that is the world, thereffore in the sperit of ye lord god waite which cuts out and downe all this the roote and branches of it, so in that waite to recive power, and the lord god allmity preserve you whereby you may come to ffeele the light which comprehends time and the world and it fferdoms[a] which beleiving in gives you the victory over the world: and heere the power of the lord is recived which subdues all the contrary and puts of the garments that will steaine and polute with which life you com to reach the light in every man which christ enlightens every man that cometh into the world withall and heare things of christ cometh to be knone and the profe[b] of christ heard keepe in the light the covenant of peace and walke in the Covenant of life there is that which maketh mery over the wittnese of god and there is that which maks merry in the Lord, which reioyceth over that which reioyceth over it of that take notise you who be in the light such the Lord doth beatify whose trust is in his strength and the Lord doth se such and them that be in his light but such as be from the light whose eyes are after there abominations and Idols, which eyes are to be blinded and there beatifiinge Idols and there abominations distroyed and with the light condemned which they have made from the life in there owne strength, which is with the lite seene and overthrowne with the power of god. And if that you can change my covenant which keeps the day in its season and the night in its season marke my covenant the light if you can change this then may you change the covenant of god with his seede so al freinds that be to the light turned which cometh ffrom him by whom the world

[a] So written. An ancient MS. containing this paper, endorsed by George Fox (Swarthmore MSS. ii. 2) reads *it fathom*, as also do the Ellwood editions of "The Journal."

[b] Ellwood editions have *Voice* but *proofe* appears in several contemporary copies of this paper.

was made beffore it was made christ Jesus the saviour of your soules [with which light you come to se him which coms from him with which light you will se all sin and evell and corruption that are contrary to it and] standinge still in that light you wil se your salvation which is wals and bulwarks against that the light discovers waiteing in the light you will recive the power of god which is the gospell of peace that you may be shod with it and know that in one another which raiseth up the seede of god and sets it over the world and the earth and the affections and lusts crusified and the truth coms to regne which is the girdle.

[a]Butt before I came to Sunderland greene wee past through Halifax a rude tounde of professors: & came to one Tho: Taylors[1] whoe had beene a captaine where wee mett with some Janglers but ye Lords power was over all: for I travailed in ye motion of Gods power.

And when I came to Sunderland greene there was a mighty meetinge some thousands of people as Itt was Judged & many persons of quality was there as captaines & other officers: & there was a generall convincement: & ye Lords everlastinge power & truth was sett over all & noe opposition.

And there was {one} Rice Jones & his company whoe fell a prophesyinge {against mee} y^{t} then I was att ye highest & y^{t} after y^{t} time I shoulde fall doune as fast: & hee sent a bundle of raileinge papers[2] from Nottingham Mansfeilde Clauson & ye toundes thereabout full of Judgeinges against ffreindes for declareinge ye truth in ye marketts & in ye steeplehouses: which I aunswered: & his & there prophesy came upon y^{m}selves for soone after they fell to peices: & many of there folowers came to bee freindes & stands to this day: & in ye Lords blessed power his truth Increased & has Increased & I was prerserved in ye everlastinge seede y^{t} never fell nor changhes: & R: Jones turned a swearer: for hee tooke ye oaths which was putt to him: & disobeyed ye Commande of Christ.

And many such false prophetts has risen against mee but ye Lord has blasted y^{m} & will blast y^{m} all whoe rises against ye blessed seede & mee in it: my confidens is in ye

[a] Narrative continued from page 142.

Lord y^t^ whoesoever did I sawe there ende & howe ye Lord woulde confounde y^m^ before ye Lord sent mee foorth.

And att night wee had a great meetinge againe in Tho: Stacyes[1] house: ffor people came from farr: & coulde not soone departe & ye high sheriffe of ye County tolde Capt: Bradforde[2] y^t^ hee had Intended to have come uppe with halfe a dozen of his troopers to ye meetinge butt ye Lord prevented him & stoppt him.

And soe I stayde some meetinges thereaways & after passt uppe & doune In Yorkesheere as farr as Holdernes to ye Lands ende visitinge ffreindes & ye churches of Christ which were finely setled under Christs teachinge: & came att last to Capt Bradfords house where many raunters came from Yorke butt they was confounded: & there came ye Lady Mountague[3] whoe was then convinct & lived & dyed in ye truth.

[4][1654.] And I came againe to Tho: Taylors within 3 miles of Halifax where there was a large meetinge: & there came about 200 people from Halifax & many rude people & butchers: & several of y^m^ had bound y^m^selves with an oath to have killed mee before they came out: & one man of y^m^ {a butcher} had killed a man & a woman: & they came in a very rude manner & made a great disturbans in ye meetinge: & Itt beinge in a close: Tho: Taylor stoode uppe & saide unto y^m^ if they woulde bee civill they might stay & if not hee charged y^m^ to begonne off his grounde butt they was ye wirse & saide they woulde make it like a common & yelled & made such a noise as if they had beene come to a beare beatinge & thrust ffreindes uppe & doune & ffreinde(s) beinge peaceable ye Lords power came over y^m^ all: though severall times they thrust mee off from ye place I stoode on with ye crowdeinge of ye people togeather against mee & still I was moved {of ye Lord} to stande uppe a gaine as I was thrust doune.

And att last I was moved of ye Lord to say: y^t^ if they woulde discourse of ye thinges of God lett y^m^ come uppe to mee one by one: & if they had any thinge to say or any thinge to object I woulde aunswer to y^m^ one after another: & then they was all silent & had nothinge to say: & then ye Lords power came soe over y^m^ all & reached ye wittnesse of God

in y^m y^t they was all bounde by ye power of God: & a glorious powerfull meetinge wee had & his power went over all: & ye mindes of people was turned by ye spiritt of God in y^m to Christ & God there teacher & soe ye powerfull worde of life was largely declared y^t day soe y^t in ye life & power of God wee broake uppe our meetinge.

And those rude company went there ways to Halifax: and ye people askt y^m why they had not killed mee accordinge to ye oath they had sworne: & they malitiously sayde I had soe bewitched y^m they coulde not doe it: & soe ye Devill was chained: butt freindes tolde mee y^t they used to come & breake stooles & chaires & make fearefull worke butt ye Lords power had bounde y^m & presently after y^t Butcher y^t had killed ye man & woman aforesaid & y^t was one of those y^t had bounde himselfe with an oath to kill mee killed another man & then hee was sent to Yorke goale: & another of ye Butchers aforesaid y^t had sworne to kill mee: y^t used to putt his tongue out of his mouth to ffreinds when they went by him hee dyed with his tongue soe swolene out of his mouth y^t hee coulde not gett it Into his mouth {againe till hee dyed} & severall strange {& sudden} Judgements came upon many of these conspirators against mee which woulde bee to large to declare: but Gods vengans from heaven came upon ye blood thirsty whoe sought after bloode ffor all such spiritts I layde before ye Lord & left y^m to him to deale with y^m whoe is stronger then y^m all: in whose power I was preserved & carryed on to doe his worke & ye Lord has raised a fine people in those parts y^t hee hath drawne to Christ & gathered in his name: whoe feeles Christ amongst y^m {& setts under his teachinge}.

And soe I passt through ye countryes till I came to Balby & severall freindes from thence went with mee Into Lincolnsheere where I had formerly beene & some went to ye steeplehouses & some to ye seperate meetinges.

And there came ye sheriffe of Lincolne[1] & severall with him to ye meetinge: & hee made a great contention & Jangelinge for a time butt ye Lords power strucke him y^t hee received ye worde of life & was convinct {& severall others y^t did oppose}: [& hee & his wiffe {&] they} did abide in ye truth till they dyed.

And great meetinges & convincements there was in those parts & many was turned to ye Lord Jesus & came to sitt under his teachinge: & left there preists & there superstitious ways & ye day of ye Lord flourished over all.

And there came on S^r^ Rich: Wrey[1]: & hee was convinct & his brother & his brothers wiffe: whoe dyed in ye truth though hee afterwards runn out.

And after I had visited those countryes I came Into Darbysheere & ye sheriffe of Lincolne came with mee Into Darbysheere [where two of Judge ffells daughters mett mee].

And wee had some opposition in one meetinge but ye Lords glorious power gave mee dominion over all.

And att night there was a company of bailiffes & serveinge men plotted togeather & came in ye night & caled mee out & I went out to y^m^ & some ffreindes with mee & they were exceedinge rude & violent: & had Intended to have carryed mee away in ye night with y^m^ & to have donne mee a mischeife but ye Lords power chained y^m^ & went over y^m^ soe y^t^ att last they went away.

And ye next day Tho: Aldam went to ye knights house whose servants some of these men were & layde before him ye bad cariage of his servants: & ye knight seemed to rebuke y^m^ & did not alowe of there {evill} cariage towards us.

And soe wee came after this Into Notinghamsheere to Skegby where wee had a great meetinge of all sortes of people & ye Lords power went over all: & all was quiett & ye people was turned to ye spiritt of God by which they came to receive his power & to sitt under Christs teachinge there saviour: And a great people ye Lord had y^t^ aways.

And then I passt towards Kidsley parke where there was a many ranters came: but ye Lords power stoppt y^m^.

And then I went uppe Into ye Peake Country towards Tho: Hammersleys[2] where there came all ye ranters in ye country & high professors & ye ranters opposed mee & fell a swearinge & when I reproved y^m^ for swearinge then they woulde bringe scripture for it: & saide Abraham & Jacob & Joseph swoare & ye preists & Moses & ye prophetts swoare: & ye Angell swoare.

And I aunswered & saide unto y^m^ I confesst all these did soe as ye scripture recordes it butt I saide againe to y^m^

y^t^ Christ saide before Abraham was I am: & hee says sweare nott att all.

And Christ ends ye prophetts & ye first preisthoode & Moses & reignes over ye house of Jacob & Joseph whoe saith sweare nott att all.

And god saith I bringe furth my first begotten Into ye Worlde lett all ye Angells worshippe him to witt Christ y^t^ saith sweare nott att all [{as in Mathew ye 5^th^}].

And for mens swearinge to end there strife Christ destroyes ye Devill & his workes whoe is ye author of strife hee saith sweare nott att all: & God saith this is my beloved son heare yee him in whome I am well pleased soe ye son is to bee hearde whoe forbidds swearinge & ye Apostle James y^t^ did heare ye son of God & preacht him & followed him hee forbidds all oaths as in Jam: ye 5^th^.

And soe ye Lords power & his son was sett over all & ye worde of life was fully & richly preacht & many was convinct y^t^ day.

And y^t^ Tho: Hammersley hee served as foreman of a Jury without swearinge: & ye Judge did confesse: hee had beene Judge soe longe butt never hearde such an upright verdict as y^t^ Quaker brought in: & much might be spoaken of these thinges butt time would faile to declare y^m^ but ye Lords power & truth came over all whoe is worthy of {all} praise & glory for ever.

And after this I came through Darby sheere visitinge freinds: And then came to Swanington in Leistersheere where there was a generall meetinge: & many ranters came & other professors & baptists & great Jangelinges there had beene with y^m^ & ye preists in y^t^ tounde: & severall freindes came from severall parts to y^t^ meetinge as Jo: Audland: & ff: Howghill & Ed: Pyott[1] from Bristoll: & Ed: Burrough from London & severall was convinced in those parts: & ye ranters y^t^ came to ye meetinge made a disturbans & was very rude butt att last they was confounded & ye Lords power came over y^m^ all.

And ye next day Jacob Bottomley[2] came from Leister a great ranter but ye Lords power stoppt him & came over y^m^ all.

And there came a preist alsoe butt hee was confounded by ye Lords power: & ye preists & professors & ranters

& baptists & people was all very rude about this time: & stirred uppe ye rude people.

And wee sent to ye ranters to come foorth & try there God & there came aboundans whoe was rude as aforesaid: & sunge & whistled & danced but ye Lords power soe confounded y^m y^t many of y^m came to be convinct.

And after this I came to Twy Crosse & there came some ranters againe & they sunge & danced before mee but I was moved in ye dreade of ye Lord to speake to y^m & reprove y^m & ye Lords power came over y^m soe as some of y^m was reacht & convinced & received ye spiritt of God & are come to bee a pretty people {& lives & walkes soberly in ye truth of Christ}.

And I came to Anth: Bickeifes[1] in Warwickesheere where there was a great meetinge: & severall people & baptists came & Jangled but ye Lords power came over y^m.

And after this I went to Dreyton in Leistersheere to visitt my relations: & assoone as I was come in ye preist had gotten another preist & had given notice to ye country: & hee sent doune to mee y^t I must come uppe to y^m for they coulde not doe any thinge till I came.

And I haveinge beene three yeeres away from my relations & knew nothinge of there designe & Intentions: but att last I went uppe Into ye steeplehouse yarde: where ye two preists aforesaid was: & they had gathered aboundans of people.

And when I came there they woulde have had mee goe Into ye steeplehouse & I askt y^m what I shoulde doe there: & they sayde Nathan: Steevens {ye preist} coulde not beare ye colde: & I tolde y^m hee might beare it as well as mee: & att last wee went Into a great hall & there was Rich: ffarnesworth with mee: & a great dispute wee had with those preists concerneinge ye practise of ye preists howe contrary they were to Christ & ye Apostles: & ye preists woulde knowe where tyths was forbidden or ended: & soe I shewed y^m out of ye Heb: ye 7^{th} howe {not onely tyths but} ye preisthoode y^t tooke tyths was ended & ye lawe was ended & disanulled by which ye preisthoode & tyths was {made &} commanded to bee paide: & then ye preists stirred uppe ye people to some lightnesse & rudenesse: &

I knew this preist from a childe soe I layde open his condition & ye manner of his preachinge & howe hee like ye rest of ye preists did apply ye promises to ye first birth which must dye: but ye promises was to ye seede: not to many seedes but ye one seede Christ whoe was one in male & female: for all was to bee borne againe before they coulde enter Into ye Kingdome of God.

Then hee saide I must not Judge soe but I tolde him hee y^{t} was spirituall Judged all thinges: & then hee confessed y^{t} y^{t} was a full scripture butt neighbors says hee: this is ye busnesse: George ffox Is come to ye light of ye sun: & now hee thinkes to putt out my starr light.

[Butt I sayde Nathaniell give mee thy hande] {then} I tolde him I woulde not Quench ye least measure of God in any much lesse putt out his starr light: & further sayde if hee had anythinge from Christ or God {hee ought} to speake it freely & dont take tyths from ye people for preachinge seeinge Christ commanded his ministers to give freely as they had received freely: & soe I charged him to preach noe more for tyths or a hire: & hee [pluckt his hande out of my hande &] saide hee woulde not yeilde unto y^{t}.

And soe after a while ye people began to bee rude & vaine soe wee broake uppe though some was made loveinge to truth y^{t} day.

And I tolde y^{m} y^{t} I shoulde bee att ye tounde y^{t} day seven night againe: & I went into ye Country & had meetinges & y^{t} day sevennight came there againe & then this preist had gotten {7 or} 8 preists to helpe him for preist Stevens had given notice on a markett day att a lecture att Aderston y^{t} there woulde bee such a dispute & meetinge with mee though I knew nothinge of it but onely y^{t} I saide I shoulde bee in tounde y^{t} day sevenight againe.

And these 8 preists had gathered severall hundreds of people even all ye country thereabouts: & they woulde have had mee Into ye steeplehouse againe butt I woulde not goe in: but gott on a hill & there spoake to y^{m} & ye people.

And there was Tho: Taylor with mee y^{t} had beene a preist & Jam: Parnell & severall other freindes: & they thought y^{t} day to have trampeld doune truth: but ye truth came over y^{m}.

Butt at last they were soe rude & the people & would not stande to tryall {with mee}: butt woulde bee contendinge heere & there a litle with one freinde or other.

Soe at last ye preist brought his son & another to dispute with mee but his mouth was soone stoppt & when hee coulde not tell howe to aunswer hee would goe aske his father but his father was confounded alsoe {when hee came to aunswer for his son}.

Soe after they had toyled y^{m}selves they went away in a rage {to ye preist Steephens house to drinke}: & as they went {away} I saide I never came in a place where soe many preists togeather woulde not stande mee: & after a while they & there wiffes came about mee {& layde holde off mee & fauned about mee} & saide what might I have beene had it not beene for freindes & then they fell a pushing of freindes uppe & doune {to thrust y^{m} from mee: & to plucke mee to y^{m}}.

Butt att last severall fellowes gott mee uppe in there armes & carryed mee to ye steeplehouse porch to carry mee Into ye steeplehouse {by force}: & a great heape of y^{m} fell doune {as they were carryinge of mee} & I under y^{m} ye doore beinge lockt.

But att last I gott from under y^{m} & gott {backe} to my hill againe: & then they gott mee from that place againe & carryed mee to ye steeplehouse wall & sett mee on (a) basse like a stoole: & all ye preists stoode under & ye people: & the preists cryed come to argument to argument.

And I saide I denyed all there voices for they were ye voices of ye hirelinges {& ye stranger}: & they cryed prove it prove it.

And I directed y^{m} to ye 10th of John: there they might see what Christ saide of such whoe saide hee was ye true shepheared y^{t} layde doune his life for his sheepe & his sheepe hearde his voice & followed him butt ye hirelinge woulde fly when ye wolfe came because hee was an hirelinge: & they were such hirelinges.

And then ye preists pluckt mee off from my basse againe & then they 8 gott upon basses under ye steeplehouse walls.

And then I felt ye mighty power of God arise over all though ye people began to bee a litle rude.

And I tolde y^m^ if they woulde butt give audiens & heare mee I woulde shew y^m^ by ye Scriptures why I denyed those 8 teachers or preists y^t^ stoode there before mee {& all ye hirelinge teachers of ye worlde whatsoever} & I woulde give y^m^ scripture for what I saide.

And soe both preists & people consented.

Soe I shewed y^m^ out of ye prophetts Jerem: Esai: Esek: Malachi: Michah & other prophetts how they were {in ye stepps of} such as God had sent his true prophetts to cry against.

For you are such as beare rule by your meanes: & ye people loved to have it soe: which was a horrible filthy thinge committed in ye lande {Jerem: ye 5^th^}.

And you are such as they y^t^ used there tongues & sayde thus saith ye Lord when ye Lord never spoake to y^m^ & such as followed there owne spiritts & sawe nothinge but spoake foorth a divination of there owne braine & by there lyes & lightnesse had caused ye people to erre {Jerem: [23^th^][a]}.

And they were such as you y^t^ seekt for there gaine from there quarter: y^t^ were as greedy dumb doggs y^t^ could never have enough: whome ye Lord sent his prophett Esai: to cry against {Esai: 56^th^}.

And they were such as you as taught for handefulls of barley & peices of breade: y^t^ sewed pillowes under peoples armeholes y^t^ they might lye soft in there sins {Ezek: 13^th^}.

And they were such as you y^t^ taught for ye fleece & ye woull: & made a prey off ye people {Ezeke 34^th^}.

Butt ye Lord was gatheringe his sheepe from there mouths & from of there barren mountaines & bringinge of y^m^ to Christ: ye one shephearde which hee had sett over his flockes as in Ezek: aforesaid.

And they were such as you y^t^ devined for money & preacht for hire & if a man did not putt Into there mouths they prepared warr against y^m^ as there fruites declared {Micha ye 3^d^}.

And soe I went largely through ye prophetts which will bee to large to repeate.

[a] Ellwood editions refer to *Jer. 14* here but give *23^th^ of Jeremiah* as on page 156. The paragraph is probably a reminiscence of both passages.

And then through ye new testament of Christ & ye Apostles: & shewed y^m howe they were like ye cheife preists & scribes & pharisees such as Christ cryed woe against Math: 23^{th}.

And such false Apostles as the true Apostles cryed against as taught for filthy lucre: & such antichrists & deceivers as they cryed against y^t minded earthly thinges & served not ye Lord Jesus Christ but there owne bellys: for they y^t served Christ gives freely & preaches freely as hee commanded y^m.

And they y^t wont preach without hire tyths & outwarde means serves there owne bellyes & not Christ: & through ye good words of ye scripturs & feigned words they made merchandise of ye people {then as you doe nowe}.

And when I had largely quoted ye scriptures & shewed y^m howe they were like pharisees loveinge to bee caled of men masters & to goe In longe robes & to stande prayinge in ye synagoges & {to have} ye uppermost roomes at feasts & ye like.

And soe when I had throwne y^m out in ye sight of ye people amongst ye false prophetts & scribes & pharisees & shewed howe {such as} they was Judged by ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles & haveinge largely spoaken to y^m I turned y^m to ye light of Christ Jesus who enlightens every man y^t cometh into ye worlde to lett y^m see whether these thinges were not true as had beene spoaken.

And soe when I spoake to y^t of God in there consciences & ye light of Christ Jesus in y^m they coulde not abide to heare tell of y^t: but then a professor saide George what wilt thou never have donne: & all was quiett till hee spoake.

And I tolde him I shoulde have donne presently & soe after I had donne & cleered my selfe in ye Lords power all ye preists & people stoode still for a time.

And at last one of ye preists saide y^t they woulde reade ye scriptures y^t I had quoted: soe I tolde y^m with all my hearte: & they begann to reade ye 23^{th} of Jeremiah: & there they saw ye markes of ye false prophetts y^t hee cryed against: & when they had reade a verse or two & somethinge more then I had quoted: I saide take notice people {& then they saide holde thy tongue George & I then} bad

y^m^ reade ye whole chapter throughout for it was all against y^m^ & then they stopt & woulde reade noe farther but askt mee a question.

And I tolde y^m^ I woulde aunswer there question ye other beinge {first} graunted {y^t^ I had charged y^m^ with} y^t^ they were false prophetts {false} teachers & antichrists {& deceivers & such as ye true prophetts Christ & ye Apostles cryed against}.

And a professor saide nea: & I saide yea: for you leaveinge ye matter & goeinge to another thinge seemes to consent to ye prove of ye former {charge}.

Soe I aunswered there question which was: That those false prophetts were Adulteraters & whether did I Judge preist Steephens an Adulterer.

To which I saide hee was adulterated from God like those false prophetts & Jews in his practise.

Soe they stoode not to vindicate him but brake uppe ye meetinge.

And then ye preists whisperd togeather & then preist Stevens came to mee: & desired y^t^ my [naturall] father & brother might goe asyde with him & ye rest of ye preists to keepe ye people off y^t^ hee might speake with mee privately.

But I was very loath to goe {asyde with him}: butt ye people cryed: goe George doe George goe asyde with him: & I was afraide if I did not goe they would say I was disobedient to my parents.

And soe I went & ye rest of ye preists was to keepe ye people off: butt ye people drew close to us for they coulde not keepe y^m^ off ye people beinge willinge to heare.

And I askt ye preist what hee had to say to mee & hee saide: if hee was out of ye way I shoulde pray for him: & if I was out of ye way hee woulde pray for mee: & hee woulde give mee a forme of words what I should pray but I aunswered him & saide Itt seemes preist Stevens does not knowe whether hee bee in ye right way or noe neither doth hee knowe whether I am in ye way or noe [but if: & soe].

Butt I know y^t^ I am in ye everlastinge way Christ Jesus which hee is out of.

And hee woulde give mee a forme of words to pray by

& yett denyes ye Common Prayer [& why may I not take ye common prayer booke] to pray by: as well as his forme of words. Is not this a denyinge ye Apostles practise of prayinge by ye spiritt whoe saide hee woulde pray in ye spiritt & holy ghoast as it gave words & utterans.

And soe ye people fell a laughinge & I was moved to speake to him severall other words & after wee all parted I tellinge y^m I shoulde bee in ye tounde y^t day 7 night againe {& upon those wordes ye preists packt away}.

And many people was convinct y^t day & ye Lords power came over all {& whereas they thought to have confounded truth y^t day many was thereby confirmed in ye truth & came to bee convinct of it & stande in it}: & a great shake Itt was to ye preists & my ffather [in ye flesh] thwackt his Kane on ye grounde & saide: well saide hee I see hee y^t will but stande to ye truth Itt will carry him out: though hee was a hearer & follower of ye preists.

And soe I passt Into ye countrye & y^t day 7 night I came againe & wee had apointed a meetinge att my relations house: & there came another preist & preist Stevens againe & they had gott a company of troopers & they sent for mee & I tolde y^m our meetinge was appointed: & they might come to mee if they woulde butt ye preist came not but ye troopers came & a many rude people & this was ye preists plott: soe ye troopers was to take every ones name & then to commande y^m to go home & if they woulde not then to carry y^m away with y^m.

And soe when they had taken severall names they came to take my name: soe my relations made aunswer y^t I was at home already: & soe they coulde not take mee away y^t time {nevertheless they tooke my name}: & soe ye Lords power came over all & they went away {both preists professors & troopers} vext & crosst because they had not there endes {butt severall was convinct y^t day & admired ye love & power of God}.

And this was ye preist Stevens y^t saide never such a plant was bred In Englande: & y^t I was carryed uppe In ye clouds & after found full of golde & sylver: & a many lyes & reports hee raised one mee but ye Lord swept y^m all away.

And ye reason I woulde not goe Into there steeplehouse was because I was to beare my testimony against it: & to

bringe all of such thinges to ye spiritt of God y^t^ they might knowe there bodyes to bee ye temples of ye holy ghoast: & to bring y^m^ off all ye hirelinge teachers to Christ there free teacher y^t^ had dyed for y^m^ & purchased y^m^ with his bloode.

And after this I went Into ye country & had severall meetinges & came to Swanington & there ye soldyers came againe: but ye meetinge was quiett & ye Lords power was over all & they did not medle.

And after I went to Leister & from Leister to Whetston & before ye meetinge began there came a matter of 17 troopers of Coll: Hackers[1] with his marshall {& they tooke mee uppe before ye meetinge though severall freinds was gathered} for there was severall freinds come out of severall parts & before ye meetinge I tolde y^m^ they might lett all these freinds goe & I would aunswer for y^m^ all: & soe ye marshall tooke mee {& lett ye freindes all goe} & A: Parker went alongst with mee.

Soe att night they had mee before Coll: Hacker & his major & captaines & a great company of y^m^: & a great deale of discourse wee had about ye preists & meetinges & att this time there was a noise of a plott against Olyver Cromwell: and much reasoninges I had with y^m^ about ye spiritt of Christ whoe Inligthneth every one y^t^ cometh Into ye worlde: & Coll: Hacker askt whether Itt was not this light of Christ y^t^ made Judas betray his master & after ledd him to hange himselfe & I tolde him noe y^t^ was ye spiritt of darknesse which hated Christ {& his light}.

And then Coll: Hacker saide y^t^ I might goe home & keepe att home & not goe abroade to meetinges & I tolde him I was an innocent man from all plotts & denyed all such workes.

And then his son Kneedome[2] saide: ffather this man hath reigned to longe Itts time to have him cutt off.

And I askt him for what: or what had I donne or whome had I wronged from a childe for I was bred & borne in y^t^ country & whoe coulde accuse mee of any evill from a childe.

And then Coll: Hacker askt mee againe if I woulde goe home & stay att home: I tolde him If I shoulde promise him soe y^t^ woulde manifest y^t^ I was guilty of somethinge for to goe home & make my home a prison: & if I went to

meetinges they woulde say I broake there order: butt I tolde y^m^ I shoulde goe to meetinges as ye Lorde ordered mee: & therefore coulde not submitt to y^t^: butt saide wee were a peaceable people.

Well then saide Coll: Hacker I will send you to morrow by six a clocke to my Lorde protector: by Capt: Drury[1] one of his life guarde.

And soe y^t^ night I was kept a prisoner att ye marshalsy: & ye next morninge by ye 6^th^ houre I was ready & delivered to Capt: Drury.

And soe I desired they woulde lett mee speake with Coll Hacker & hee had mee to his bed syde: & hee was att mee againe to goe home & keepe noe more meetinges & I tolde him I coulde not submitt to y^t^ but must have my liberty to serve God & goe to meetinges.

Then hee saide I must goe before O: {L^d^} P {^tr^}: soe I kneeled one his bed syde & desired ye Lord to forgive him for hee was Pilate though hee woulde wash his hands. And when ye day of his misery & tryall should come upon him I then bid him remember what I saide to him.[a]

[*to olefer protecter by g ff 1654*[2]

To Oliver Protector

Friend the wisdome of God minde, and let not them that pretend to be thy ffriends come to nigh thee, nor thy enemyes, for there is danger. G. ff.

Isaiah: 8: Cap^t^. Should men run unto ye Dead for ye Livinge. If any man want light let him looke upon ye Law and the Testimony whether they speake not after this meaninge: if he doe not this he suffers hunger, he is out of patience, & Blaspheme his kinge & his God.

This was taken out of ye bible at Gravesend[3] ⌈⌈ ⌋⌋.

[Upon the 5^th^ day of the first month] Captaine Drewry who brought G. ff. up to London by order from Collonell

[a] Narrative continued on page 162.

Haggar, did come to the Inn into the Chamber where G. ff. lay, and said that it was required of G. ff. from Oliver Crumwell, that hee would promisse that hee would not take up A sword against the Lord Protector or the Goverment as it is now, And that G. ff. would write downe the words in Answer to that which the Protector required, & for G. ff. to set his hand to it [the fift day of the first month G. ff. was moved of the lord to give out these words following, which were given to Oliver Crumwell, & G. ff. was then presently brought before him by Captaine Drewry].

gff to olefer croumull 1654[1]

I [who am of the world called George ffox] doe deny the carrying or drawing of any carnall sword against any, or against thee Oliver Crumwell or any man in the presence of the lord god I declare it [god is my wittnesse, by whom I am moved to give this forth for the truthes sake, from him whom the world calls George ffox, who is the son of God], who is sent to stand A wittnesse against all violence & against all the workes of darkenesse, & to turne people from the darkenesse to the light, & to bring them from the occassion of the warre, & from the occassion of the Magistrates sword, which is A terrour to the evill doers [which actes contrary to the light of the lord Jesus Christ, which is A praise to them that doe well, which is A protection to them that doe well, and not the evill and such souldiers that are putt in that place no false accussers must bee, no violence must doe, but bee content with their wages, and that Magistrate beares not the sword in vaine, from under the occasion of that sword I doe seeke to bring people, my weapons are not carnall but spirituall, And my kingdome is not of this world, therefore with the carnall weapon I doe not fight, but am from those things dead, from him who is not of the world, called of the world by the name George ffox, and this I am ready to seale with my blood, and this I am moved to give forth for the truthes sake, who A wittnesse stands against all unrighteousnesse, and all ungodlynesse, who A sufferer is for the righteous seed sake, waiteing for the redemption of it, who A crowne that is mortall seekes not for, that fadeth away, but in the

light dwells, which comprehends that Crowne, which light is the condemnaçon of all such; in which Light I wittnesse the Crowne that is Immortall that fades not away, from him who to all your soulls is A friend, for establishing of righteousnesse and cleansseing the Land of evill doers, and A wittnesse against all wicked inventions of men & murderous plotts, which Answered shall bee with the Light in all your Consciences, which makes no Covenant with death, to which light in you all I speake, and am clear.

ff. G.

who is of the world called George ffox who A new name hath which the world knowes not.

Wee are wittnesses of this Testimony whose names in the flesh is called

Tho: Aldam. Robert Creven.]

[a]And this preist Stevens {aforesaid with ye rest of ye preists & professors} had stirred him uppe [whoe had saide soe off mee before y[t] never such a plant was bred in England] & yett heere his envy was manifested when they coulde not overcome mee by there disputes nor arguments nor resist my spiritt then they gott souldyers {to take mee uppe}.

Now when this Coll: Hacker was in ye tower of London: a day or two before hee was hanged Itt was tolde him what hee had donne against ye innocent & hee remembred it & confesst to it to Margarett ffell & saide hee knew well {whome shee meant}: & hee had a trouble upon him for it [whoe after was hanged at Tybourne {when ye Kinge came in]: & soe his son & his father y[t] thought I had reigned to longe & woulde have had mee cutt off see howe soone hee was cutt off afterwards}.

And soe I was carryed uppe by Cap[t] Drury aforesaid from Leister: & when wee came to Harborough: hee askt mee if I woulde goe home & stay a fortnight I should have my liberty if I woulde not goe to nor keepe meetinges but I tolde him I coulde not promise any such thinge & severall

[a] Narrative continued from page 160.

times upon ye roade did hee aske & try mee after ye same manner: & I gave him ye same aunswers: & soe hee brought mee to London to ye Myrmaide over against ye mewes at Charinge Crosse.

And I was moved of ye Lord to warne people att ye Inns & places as I went off ye day of ye Lord {y^{t} was comeinge upon y^{m}}: & Will: Dewsbury & M{armaduke} Storr[1] was In prison att North hampton & hee lett mee visitt y^{m}: & when I was att London hee left mee att ye Myrmaide & went & tolde O: Cromwell off mee.

[And I gave foorth a paper & bid him carry it to Olyver, which is here as followeth:—][a]

[*to olefer cromul by gff abought 1654*[2]

Deare Friend

Be still, & in the Councill of God stand, and that will give thee wisdome, that thou mayst frustrate mens ends, & calme mens spirits, & Crumble men under, & arise and stand up in ye power of the Lord God, & the Lambes Authority. And feare not the face of man, but feare & dread the Lord god, then his presence & wisdome & Counsell thou shalt have to throw downe the Rubbish & quell all the badd spiritts under thy dominion & feare them about thee; live in the lords power & life, then to thee he will give wisdome, and the pure feelinge thou wilt come into, whereby thy soule will be refreshed and it will be thy delight to doe ye will of god, & thy meat, & drinke: as thou in ye pure eternall power, Councell, will, & wisdome of god dwells. Things all will be made plaine before thee, for thee & to thee from ye Lord God. In what thou doth for ye Lord God thou shalt have peace {& ye blessinge} and in that soe doinge all the sober, true hearted people will be one with thee in all travells, sorrowes, & paynes, in feelinge, and then in that a blessinge from the Lord will come upon thee, will abound thee & cover thee as thou lives, and art kept in ye power & dread of the Lord God of heaven & Earth, where wisdome is not wantinge nor peace lackinge: but peace enjoyed & counsell and Instruction from the Lord God given: And the

[a] Narrative continued on page 165.

helpinge arme & hand that stretcheth over all the Nations in the world thou wilt feele it. And with that thou wilt come to breake downe all mens ends, that they have to themselves, and the worshipps that men Invent & Images they have sett up: ffor the Arme of ye Lord helpes the Righteous, by his hand he carryes his Lambes, which arme is turned against the wicked, stretched over them, and the hand of ye Lord against those that doe evill, In which hand ye Soule is, and brings it into peace.

Therefore live in the power of ye Lord god, and feele his hand that is stretched over the nations: for a mighty worke hath ye Lord to doe in other Nations, and their Quakinge & shakinge is but enteringe: soe this is the word of ye Lord God to thee, and a Charge to thee from the Lord God, in the presence of the Lord god, live in ye power of ye Lord God of heaven & earth, that will make all Nations to tremble and Quake: ffor those are Gods enemyes that be out of his power & councell. And be thou faithfull to god singlely, without respectinge any mans person: but respect ye Lord & his worke: and be obedient to his will singlely without any end to thy selfe. Livinge in ye pure wisdome, counsell, & Instruction from god: then wilt thou see gods enemyes: that lives out of his wisdome power Counsell fall in their pitts, snare themselves, feare where there is noe feare, slayinge themselves with their envy. And the power of ye Lord will stave all ye wicked of of thee as thou lives in it and art kept in it. And this is the word of the lord god to thee. And live in the wisdome & the life of god, that with it thou mayst be ordered to his glory: and Order his Creatures to his glory. And be still & silent from thy owne wisdome, witt, craft, subtillty, or pollicie that would arrise in thee, but stand single to ye Lord, without any end to thy selfe: then God will blesse thee {& prosper thee in his wayes} thou wilt feele his blessinge in thy Generation: and thy mind stayed upon the Lord, thou wilt be kept in perfect peace: without any Intent to thyselfe to the glory of god: and there wilt thou feele noe want, nor a Never fayling, nor nor forsakinge; but the presence of the Lord god of life with thee. ffor now the state of this present age is, the lord is bringing his people into ye life the scriptures were given forth from, in which life people shall come to have

unity with god, with scriptures & one with another, for the stablishinge righteousnes truth & peace in which is the Kingdome of god.

From a lover of thy soule & eternall good
George ffox.]

[a][1654] And aboundans of professors preists & officers & all sorts of people came to see mee.

And there came one Coll: Packer[1] & his officers to see mee: & there came one Cobbe[2] & a great company of ranters came in that time alsoe & they begann to call for drinke & tobacco: & I desired y^m^ to forbeare it in my roome: if they had a minde of it they might goe Into another roome.

And one of them cryed all is ours & an other saide all was well: butt I replyed howe is all well when thou art soe peevish & envious & crabbed: for I saw hee was of a peevish nature. And soe I spake to there conditions {& they knewe it & looket att one another wondringe}.

And then Coll: Packer hee begann to talke with a light chafy minde of God & Christ & ye scriptures: & y^t^ was a great greife to my soule & spiritt when I hearde y^m^ talke soe lightly soe I tolde him hee was to light to talke of ye thinges of God & hee did not knowe ye solidity of a man: upon which ye officers raged & saide woulde I say soe to there collonell: & then Packer & ye ranters bowed & scraped on to another: & this Packer was a baptist.

And it was ye way of ye ranters to bee soe extreame in there complements y^t^ Packer bid them give over there complements & I tolde y^m^ they was fitt to goe togeather for they was both of one spiritt.

[3]And this Coll: Packer had gotten Tybballs[4] & was made a Justice of peace there: & there sett upp a great meetinge of ye baptists in Tybballs parke: & hee & a company of officers had purchased it: & they was exceedinge high & railed against freindes & truth & threatned to apprehend mee with there warrants if ever I came doune there: &

[a] Narrative continued from page 163.

I was moved of ye Lord God to goe downe to Tiballs & appointe a meetinge harde by y^m where a many of his people came to it & many of his hearers & was convinct: & ye Lords power came over him soe as y^t hee had not power to medle with mee & severall of his hearers beinge convinct of Christ ye way & free teacher {& came off from him} & y^t made him rage ye more.

Soe I went to Waltham[1] & there was a meetinge but ye people were very rude & they broake ye windowes & gathered about ye house: & I went out to y^m with ye bible in my hande & desired y^m to come in: & I woulde shew y^m scripture both for our practise & principles: & shewed y^m y^t there teachers were in ye stepps of such as ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles cryed against: & soe I turned y^m to ye light & spiritt of God in there heartes y^t by it they might come to know there free teacher ye Lord Jesus Christ.

And they went away all satisfyed & quieted [& from y^t time after they never made any disturbans: soe as] since there is a large meetinge setled in there tounde [which were gathered in ye name of Jesus to under Christs free teachinge.

And after this Coll: Packer when ye Kinge came in losst all his offices & lande which hee had bought of ye Kinges: whoe had saide before ye Quakers shoulde have liberty hee woulde draw his sworde to bringe in Kinge Charles: butt when ye Kinge was come in hee had ye rewarde of his envy & wickednesse: & thus ye Lords power wrought for his lambes & truth: & many such as hee was overthrowne in there folly].

[And about this time there was one Chandler[2]: a great ranter y^t had beene a preist & one whoe had runn Into much wickednesse y^t hee lay as a spectacle to all people: & hee cryed out that hee was in hell fire: & noe one could minister any Comfort to him & I was moved to bid Ed: Burrough to goe to him & turne him to ye light of Christ: & setle his minde upon Christ: & soe hee did ffor hee went {foorthwith} & his message was effectuall: & hee became a very fine freinde & gave foorth many bookes {for ye truth} & dyed in truth.]

And after a few days I was had before Oliver Cromuell by Capt: Drury: & hee brought mee in before him before

hee was dresst: & one Harvey[1]: y^t^ had come amongst freinds but was disobedient hee waited upon him.

And soe when I came before him[2] I was moved to say peace be one this house: & I bid him keepe in ye feare of God y^t^ hee might rec... wisedom y^t^ by it hee might be ordered: & y^t^ with it hee might order all thinges under his hande to Gods glory.

And I spoake much to him off truth & hee saide wee quarreld with ye preists: & I tolde him I did not quarrell with y^m^: but they quarreld with mee & my freindes.

And such teachers & prophetts & shepheards y^t^ ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles declared against: if wee owned ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles wee coulde not holde y^m^ uppe but must declare against y^m^ by ye same power & spiritt.

And ye prophetts Christ & ye Apostles declared freely: & they declared against y^m^ that did not declare freely: & such as preacht for filthy lucre & devined for money & preacht for hire & were covetous & greedy like ye dumbe doggs y^t^ coulde never have enough: & such preists as did beare rule by there meanes & ye people y^t^ loved to have it soe.

[And now to make a trade of Christ ye prophetts & Apostles words y^t^ spoake y^m^ foorth freely & whoe declared against all such as aforesaid whoe did not declare freely.]

Now they y^t^ have ye same spiritt y^t^ Christ & ye prophetts & Apostles had coulde not but declare against all such {now as they did then}.

And severall times hee saide Itt was very good & truth & I tolde him y^t^ all Christendome soe caled had ye scriptures but they wanted ye power & spiritt y^t^ they had y^t^ gave y^m^ foorth: & therefore they was not in feloweshippe with ye son nor with ye father nor with ye scriptures nor one with another.

And soe many more words I had with him: & many people begann to come in y^t^ I drew a litle backewarde & as I was turneinge hee catcht mee by ye hande & saide these words with teares in his eyes:

Come againe to my house: for if thou & I were butt an houre in a day togeather wee should bee neerer one to ye other: & y^t^ hee wisht mee noe more ill then hee did to his

owne soule: & I tolde him if hee did hee wronged his owne soule: & soe I bid him hearken to & heare Gods voice y^t^ hee might stande in his counsell & obey it & if hee did soe y^t^ woulde keepe him from hardnesse of hearte: & if hee did not heare Gods voice his hearte woulde bee hardened {& hee said Itt was true}.

And soe I went out & hee bid mee come againe & then Capt: Drury came out after mee & tolde mee his Lord Protector saide I was at Liberty & might goe whether I woulde[1] [& my Lord says hee says you are not a foole & said hee never saw such a paper in his life as I had sent him {before by him}].

And soe I went to ye Inn againe: & this Capt: Drury was an enimy to mee & truth & opposed it & when professors came to mee & hee was by: hee would scoffe at tremblinge & call us Quakers: as ye Independant & Presbyterians had nicknamed us before.

And hee came to mee on time & tolde mee as hee was lyinge on his bed in ye day time to rest hee fell a trembleinge y^t^ his Jointes knockt togeather & his body shooke soe hee coulde not gett off ye bed: & hee was shaken soe y^t^ hee had noe strength left & cryed to ye Lord: & hee felt his power was upon him y^t^ hee tumbled off ye bed & cryed to ye Lord & saide hee woulde never speake against ye quakers more & such as trembled att ye worde of God.

And one time a Company of officers desired mee to pray with y^m^[2]: & I was loath but att last I felt ye power & spiritt of God: & ye Lords power did soe shatter y^m^ & shake y^m^ y^t^ they wondred though they did not live in it.

And thus ye Lord God of heaven carryed mee over all in his power: & sett his power & truth over ye nation.

And then after this I went into ye Citty of London & great & mighty meetinges wee had: & many times I coulde hardely goe alonge ye streets: for ye tumults of people: nor hardely gett to a meetinge nor from a meetinge for ye tumults of people & ye truth spreade exceedingely.

And ye sheriffe of Lincolne & Tho: Aldam & divers freinds came upp to London & A: Parker[3] abided with mee.

And I went to Whitehall & was moved to declare ye day of ye Lord amongst y^m^: & how ye Lord was come to

teach his people himselfe both to ye officers & such as were caled Olivers Gentlemen {of his guarde}.

And there was a preist (as O: P: had severall preists y^t were his newsmongers): but there was one {y^t opposed} when I was declareinge ye worde of ye Lorde amongst y^m y^t was an envious preist: & I bid him repent: & y^t hee putt {In his news book ye next weeke y^t I had beene at Whitehall & had bid a godly minister repent}.

Butt when I went againe I mett with him & aboundans y^t gathered about mee & I silenced ye preist & manifested him to bee a lyar in severall thinges y^t hee did affirme then: & Alsoe y^t hee putt in ye news booke: & y^t I woare sylver buttons which was false for they was butt Alchymy.

And after hee putt in his news booke y^t I hunge ribans one peoples armes which made y^m to followe mee: which was another of his lyes: for I never woare nor used ribans in my life.

And 3 ffreinds went to examine this preist y^t gave foorth this false Intelligens & to know of him where hee had y^t Information: & hee tolde y^m {Itt was a woman tolde him soe &} when they came againe hee would tell y^m ye womans name: butt when they came againe hee saide Itt was a man: but woulde not tell y^m his name then but if they would come againe hee woulde tell y^m his name & where hee lived: but when they came againe {ye 3 time} hee saide if I woulde give it under my hande there was noe such thinge hee woulde putt it in ye news booke: & ye freindes carryed it under my hande to him but hee would not putt it in but was in a rage & threatned y^m with ye constable: & this was ye deceitfull doinge of this forger of lyes & these lyes they spreade over all ye nation in ye news bookes to render truth odious & to putt evill in peoples mindes {against freindes & truth: which may be seene more at large in ye printed booke: of cleeringe ye slaunderous lyes & reports against freinds & truth[1]}.

And these preists ye newsmongers were of ye Independante sect like those in Leistersheere but ye Lords power came over all there lyes {& many came to see y^m} ye Lords power went over ye nation {insoemuch} y^t many ffreindes was moved to goe Into most parts uppe and doune ye nation

about this time: & Into Scotland: & ye glory of ye Lord was sett over all to his everlastinge praise.

And a great convincement was in London & many in O: P: house {& family}[1].

And I went to see him againe but coulde not gett to him ye officers begann to bee soe rude.

[And sometimes they would turne uppe my coate & see for my leather briches & then they woulde be in a rage.]

And ye Presbyterians & Independants & baptists was in a great rage for many of there people came to bee turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ: & sate under his teachinge & received his power {& felt it in there heartes}. And then they was moved of ye Lord to declare against ye rest of y^m^.

Soe ye Lords day was sett over all & I appointed a meetinge in ye feildes neere Ackton where ye Lords power came over all & his worde of life & truth was declared freely {& about this time G: ff: gave foorth a paper to all professors: & to ye pope & all ye kinges in Europe: & to all such as followes after ye worlds fashions: & to O: P & such as were to try ye ministers: as is hereunto annexed}.[a]

A paper off g: ffs: to all professors. 1654[2].

All the that professed Jesus Christ in words and heard
Math. him not, when he was come, they said he was A deceiver
27. and A devill; the cheife preists were them which called him soe, soe the jewes said he hath A devill & is mad why doe yee here him; and other said these are not the words of him that hath A devill, can the devill open the eyes of the blind, and the jewes doubted whether he was the christ or noe; and soe all jewes in the knowledge, in the notion that professeth A Christ without; where Christ
John 10. is risne the doe not owne him but doe doubt of him the same Christ now & for ever; Jesus Christ said I and my father am one and then the jewes tooke up stones to stone him; and where Jesus Christ is now come & made manifest, the jewes in the outward in the profession have the same hard harts inwardly now, that they had then, and doe cast stones at him where he is risne, Jesus said for which of these good

[a] Narrative continued on page 180.

works doe ye stone mee, the jewes answered and said for thy good works we stone thee not; but for blasphemie and that thou being A man makest thy selfe god, Jesus answered them and said is it not written in your law I say you are gods, and the scripture cannot be broken, say ye of him who the father sanctifieth and sent into the world thou blasphemest because I say I am the son of god: The jewes said to him say we not well that thou hast A devill: Jesus answered I honnor my father and ye dishonour mee, and they that were in ye synagouge arose up and thurst him out of the City and tooke him up to ye edge of the hill, Luke 4. where the city was built to cast him downe head long: the pharises saith he casteth out devills by the prince of devils: Jesus Christ was called A gloutton & A drunkerd A friend of publicans and siners: but wisedome is justified of her children; then answered the officers of the high preists & Pharises and said unto them why have ye not brought him, the officers said never spoke man like this man: the pharises said are ye also deceived doth any of the rulers or of the pharises beleeve in him: but this people which knowes not the law are Acursed: Nicodemus said unto them he that came to Jesus by night; doth our law judge any man before John 7. it hear him.

When Steven confessed Jesus the substance of all figures and types and was brought before the cheife preists to his tryall, he tould them the most high dwelleth not in Templs made with hands and brought the prophet to wittnes and tould them they were stife necked and uncircumsised hearts and resisted the holy Ghost as their fathers did: and Steven was full of the holy Ghost and said he saw Jesus and they runne upon him and stoned him to death calling upon the lord.

When Paul confessed Jesus Christ and his resurrection ffestus said he was mad, and when Paul preached the resurrection some mocked: the jewes perswaded the people and stoned him & drove him out of the city & thought he had bene dead: the Jewes stired up the Gentiles to make their minds evell affected towards their bretheren: the jewes stired up the devout and honorable women and the cheife of the city, and raysed up persecution against Paul & Barnabas and expelled them out of their coasts and there

was an asault made both of the Gentiles and of the jewes with their rulers to use them despistefully & to stone them, and all Jewes in the notion doth stire up the rulers & stire up the ignorant people and incence them against Jesus Christ where he is rissen, to stone them all with one consent: it is that the scripture might be fullfilled & the blindnes of the people might be descovered and the same power now is made manifest & doth overturne the world and did overturne the world to the exalting of the Lord and to the pulling downe of the Kingdome of Satan and of this world and setting up of his owne kingdome to his everlasting praise. The Lord is now exalting of himselfe and throwing downe selfe the proud ons hand[a] is aloft fearing he should loose his pride and his crowne the preists the incense all the ignorant people for fear their trade should goe downe.

And the professors they shew forth what is in them full of rage that Jesus Christ the substance is not there but A stony heart to stone the pretious where it is rissn that ye carnall mind feeds upon the carnall Letter and soe earth feeds upon earth and that vinyard is not drest but is full of venemous beasts swines & dogs; breaires and nettles, wolves and lyons and all venemous creatures lodgeth in that habitation that house is foule and is not swept: these are the persecutors of the just & enemies of the truth, and the enemies of Christ, these are blasphemers of god and his truth, these are they that call upon god with their lips and their hearts are farre from him; these are them that feed on lyes preist & people, these are them that insense all the people and stire up envy for it begets it owne one like it selfe, these are they that are ye weaves of the sea foowming out with shame, these are they that have double eyes whose bodyes are full of darkenes, these are them that paints themselves with the prophets with Christs & with the Apostles words; most fair whited walles you are painted sepulchers you are, murderers of the just you are, your eyes are double, your minds are double, your hearts are double: ye flattrers repent from your carnall ends who are full of mischeife; pretending god and godlynesse, takeing him for your cloake but he will uncover you: and he hath uncovered

[a] Ellwood editions have *head*

you to his children, he will make you bare and descover your secrets and take of your crowne & take away thy mantle, and thy vaile and unstrip thee of thy cloathes that thy nakednesse may appeare, and how thou sittest deceiving the nation: thy abomination and thy falsenesse is now made manifest to they who are of god who in his power triumphs over you, rejoyces over you, the beast, the dragon, the false prophet the seducer the hopocrite the mother of all harlots: now thou must fill thy cup thou must have it double give it to her double sing over her, you righteous ons sing over them all ye saints triumph in glory triumph over the deceite sing the song of the lambe, trapple over the world spread the truth abroad, come ye captive ons out of prison & rejoyce with one accord for the joyfull dayes are comming let us be glad and rejoyce for ever, singlenes of heart is come, purenes of heart is come, joy and gladnesse is come the glorious god is exalting himselfe and truth hath bene talkt of but now it is possessed: Christ hath bene talkt of but now he is come & possessed: the glory hath bene talkt of but now it is possessed and the glory of man is destroyed, the son of god hath be talkt of but now he is come & hath given us an understanding, unity hath bene talked of but now it is come, virgins hath bene talked of but now they are come with oyle in their lamps, he will be gloryfied alone where pride is thrown downe earth and the fleshly will is throwne downe and the pure is raised up there alone is the Lord exalted.

Let the heaven bow downe to him: and the earth reale to and fro and stager up & downe; the Lord is setting up his throwne and his crowne throwing downe the crowne of man & he alone will be glorified to whom be all honour & glory all praise & all thanks, who gives his children wisedome and all strength knowledge & vertue power & riches blessing & endurable substance & an eye to descern and an eare to hear things single [for they are pure as the are righteous as they are clear as they are] & brings downe the pride of mans heart turne the wicked out of the Kingdome, the righteous ons inherite righteousnesse: the pure ons purenesse: the holy ons holynesse: praises praises be to thee whose glory now shines; Whose day which is hid from the world: hid from all wise ons & all the prudent,

hid from the foules of ye aire hide from all vultrous eyes & all venemous beasts, and all lyars and all dogs & all swine but to them that fear thy name, the secrets of thee are made manifest, the treasures of wisedome is opened and the fullnesse of knowledge for thou thy selfe dost make thy selfe manifest to thy children.

G: ffs paper to ye Pope & all ye Kinges in Europe. 1654[1].

ffreinds yee heads and Rulers & kings & Nobles of all sorts: Be not bitter, nor hastie in persecuteing the lambs of Christ: neither turn yourselves against ye viseitaçons of god and his tender love & mercies from on high, who sent to viseit you: least the lords hand arm & power take swiftly hold upon you, which is now stretched over ye world, that is turned against kings & shall turn wisemen backward: and will fetch of their crownes to ye dust, & lay them low and levell with ye earth: God & christ will be king who gives crownes to whom obeys his will.

And this is ye age, that the lord god of heaven & earth the pride of man is staineing & his glorie is defaceing.

Soe you y^{t} professe christ and doth not love your enemies: but on ye contrarie doth shut them up and imprison them who are his freinds, thees be marks y^{t} yee be out of his life & doth not love christ who doth nott the things he commands. The day of ye lords wrath is kindlinge, his fire is goeinge out to burn up the wicked, which will neither leave roote nor branch: therfore they y^{t} have lost their habitaçon with god be out of ye spirit y^{t} gave forth ye scriptures, and from ye light that Jesus christ hath them enlightened withal, and soe from ye true foundation.

Therfore be swifte to heare & slow to speake & slower to persecute, for of all ye worlds wayes to christ ye way is ye lord bringing his people to himselfe, & from all the worlds churches to ye church which is in god ye father of our lord Jesus christ, and of all ye worlds teachers, to teach his people himselfe, by his spirit: And of all the worlds Images into ye image of himselfe [& shapes into his own shape], and likenesses into his own likenes: & all ye worlds crosses, stone or wood, into his power, which is ye crosse of christ:

for all thees Images & crosses & shapes are amongst them that are apostatated from ye Image of god, the power of god which is ye crosse of christ, which now fathoms over ye world & is throwing down ye contrarie, which power of god never changs: let this goe to ye kings of france Spain & Pope for them to prove all things & to hold that which is good: And first to prove that they have not quenched ye spirit, for ye mightie day of ye lord is comed & comeing upon all wickednes & ungodlynes & unrighteousnes of men, who will plead with all flesh by fire & by sword. And ye truth and ye crown of glorie [ye kingdom of god], & ye scepter of righteousnes over all exalted, which shall answer that of god in every one on ye earth though they be from it.

I am ye light of ye world & doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world, that all through him might beleeve: he that feeleth ye light that christ hath enlightened him withall, he feeleth christ in his mind, which is the power of god, the crosse of christ & shall not need to have a Crosse of wood or stone to put him in the mind of christ: or his crosse which is ye power of god.

G: ff: to such as followed after ye fashions of ye world. 1654[1].

The worlds fashions.

What A world is this how doth ye divell garnish himselfe & how obedient are people to doe his will & mind that they are altogether carryed with fooleryes & vanityes both men & women that they have lost ye hidden man of ye heart, & ye meeke & quiett spirit which is of ye Lord of great price they have lost ye adorninge of Sarah, they are putinge on gold, gaye apparrill plaiting ye heier, men & women they are powderinge it, makinge their backes as if it were baggs of meale & they looke soe strainge that they cannot looke at one another, they are soe lifted up in prid, prid hath soe lifted them up, & is flowne up into their head, they snufe up like wild asses, & like Ephrime they feed upon wind & are gotten to be like wild hephers, who feed upon the mountaines, & prid hath puft up every one, they are out of ye feare of god, men & women younge & ould, one pufes up another, they are not in ye fashion of ye world else, they are not in esteeme else, they shall not be respected else, if they have

not Gold & silver upon their backes, or his heire bee not powdered, or if he have a Company of ribions hunge about his wast, red, or whit, or blacke, or yellow, & about his knees, & geets a Company in his hatt, & powders his hayer, then he is A brave man, then he is excepted, then he is noe Quaker, because he hath rebons on his backe, & beely, & knees & his haire powdered, this is ye aray of the world, but is not this ye lusts of ye eye, ye lusts of ye flesh & ye prid of life.

Likwise ye women haveinge their gold, their spots on their faces, noses, cheekes, forheads, haveinge their rings on their fingers, wareinge Gold, haveinge their cuffes dubell under & about like unto a butcher with whit sleeves haveinge their ribons tyed about their hands, & three or fower Gold laces about their Clothes this is noe Quaker saith they, this is that that pleaseth ye world this aray, this atyer pleaseth ye world, & if they cannot get these things they are pervers, but this is not ye atyer of Sara, whose addorninge was in ye hidden man of ye heart of a quiet & meeke spirit, this is ye addorninge of ye heathen not of ye Apostle nor ye saints, who said not wareinge of Gold nor playtinge ye hayer, but of a meeke & quiet spirit, which was of ye Lord, of great price, & here was ye Soberity & good orniment, which was of ye Lord accepted, this was Pauls exhortation & preachinge but we see ye talkers of Pauls words lives out of Pauls command & example of Sarah, but are found in ye steps of ye great heathen who came to examine ye apostles in his gordious apparell.

Now are not all theise that have gott these rebons hunge about their armes, backes, wasts, knees, hatts, hands, like unto fidlers boyes, & shewes that you are gotten into ye Basest Contempable life as be in ye fashion of ye fidlers boyes, & stagplayers, & quit out of ye Paths & steeps of sollid men, & in ye very Steeps & paths of ye wild heads which gives themselves up to every invention & vanity of ye world that apeares is inventinge to gett upon their backes heads feet & legs, & say if it be out of ye fashion it is nothinge worth, are not these ye spoylers off ye creation, & hath the fatt & ye best of it & wasts & destroyes it, doth not these cumber gods earth, let that of god in all consciences answer & who are in ye wisdome Judge: & further to gett apare of breeches Like acoate & hange them about with poyntes & up allmost to ye midle &

a pare of duble cuffes upon his handes, & a fether in his capp, heeres a gentelman bowe before him put of your hatts bow, getts a Company of fidlers, a sett of musicke & women to dance this is a brave fellow up in ye Chamber, up in ye Chamber without & up in ye Chamber with in, are these your fine Christians, yea say they: they are christians, yea but saith ye seryous people they are not of Christs life, and out of ye apostles commande & out of ye saints ornyment: & to see such a Company as is before mentioned as are in ye fashions of ye world, as is before mentioned a Company of them gett a cuple of bowles in their hands, or tables, or shufelbord, or A horse with a Company of ribons on his head as he hath on his owne & a ringe in his eare, & soe goe to horseraceinge to spoyle ye creature, oh these are Gentelmen, these are bread up gentellmen, these are brave fellowes & they must have their recreation, & pleasures are lawfull; & these in their sports sett up their shouts like unto ye wild ases, are like unto ye kine or bease when they are put to grass loweing when they are full, & heeres ye gloryinge of them before mentioned, but it is in ye flesh not in ye Lord & these are bad Christians, & shewes that they are glottened with ye creature, & then the flesh reioyceth & heere is bad breedinge of youth & younge women, who are carryed away with ye vanityes of the mind & their owne inventions, prid arrogancie lust gloutenie uncleanness, so eate & drinke & rise up to play, this is ye generation which God is not pleased withall, but their eyes are full of adultery who cannot cease from evell these be they that live in pleasures upon earth, these be them which are dead while they live, which glory not in ye Lord but in ye flesh, these bee them that bee out of ye life that ye scriptures was given forth from who lives in ye fashion & vanityes of ye world (& out of its[a] adorninge), & in ye divells adorninge who is out of truth, & not ye adorninge of ye Lord, which is a meeke & quiet sperit which is of ye Lord of great price, but this orniment & this adorninge, is not put on with them which be adorned & have ye orniment of him that is out of ye truth, which is not accepted with ye Lord, & that which is accepted with their eye [& owned.

Thomas Rallison].

[a] Ellwood editions have *Truth's*

gff to oliver cromull & the justes to try minsters 1654[1]

ffrends yow that bee Justices in Comission to try[2] ministers which hath soe long beene in the vineyard of god, now see if they bee accordinge to the Scriptures the prophets Christ & the Apostles, that they disapproved, then see how yow can stand in the sight of god to lett such goe into his vineyard, & approve of them which will admire your persons because of advantage, & if yow doe not give them advantage they will not admire your persons (that Jude speakes of) and see if they bee not such as teach for filthy lucre, for the love of money, covetous such as loves themselves, who have the forme of godlinesse, but deny the power, from such the Apostle bidds turne away. The Apostle saide their mouthes should bee stopt that served not the lord Jesus but their owne bellyes, evill beasts slow-bellies which mind earthly things: Paul gave Timothy an order to try ministers & hee said they must not bee covetous given to wine nor filthy lucre nor a novice least they bee lifted up into pride & fall into the condemnation of the devill, & these hee was to try & prove without partiallitie: & take heed now of your approveinge such as hee disapproved, for since the Apostles dayes such as hee disapproved have had their libertie.

And they tould us their tongues was their Originall the Orthodox men, & the steeplehouse with a Crosse on the top of itt was the Church the papists masse house, yow may looke on the top of itt & see the signe: & the scriptures tell us all the earth was of one language before the buildinge of Babell, & when Pilate crucified Christ, hee sett the tongues of Hebrew greeke & lattine on the top of him; & John tells us that the beast had power over the tongues kindreds & nations, & the whore sitts upon the tongues, which all nations have drunke her cup, & the kings of the earth have Committed fornication with her: & John said the tongues are waters, & Christ gives the marks to the disciples & multitude, how to [know &] try them, they are called of men maister, love the Cheifest seat in the Assemblies & said they shall put yow out of the synagogues, & bee sayers & not doers, & gives out seaven woes against them, & soe disapproved of them, & Christ said false pro-

phetts should come, & John saw they was come, which went forth from them, & since the world went out after them [the beast & the false prophetts, & god pronounced seaven woes against them], & Babilon must bee confounded & the mother of harlotts, & the devill taken, with him the beast & the false prophet must bee cast into the lake of fire, the Lambe & the saints over all must reigne & have the victorie.

And the prophetts the Lord god sent to cry against the shepperds that sought for the fleece Eze: 34. & to cry against such shepperds as seeke for their gaine from their quarter & never have enough Isa. 56: & to cry against such as bear rule by their meanes, A filthy & horrible thinge Jer: 5. & give (yow) them not means & see how long they will bear rule, And did they prosper in the old time, that gave not their tythes, & had A stoorehouse for the fatherlesse strangers & widdows to come in & bee filled: & did not Christ come to putt an end to that preisthood tythes temple & Preists? & doth not the Apostle say that, that preisthood is changed, the law is changed & the Comandement disanulled, might not these have pleaded the law of god that gave them tythes? And have ever any of the preists prospered that take tythes since by the law of man; was not the first auther of them the pope? did the Apostles cast men in prison for tythes as your ministers doth now; as Instance Ralph Hollingworth[1] Preist of Phillingham for petty tythes not exceedinge six shillings, hath cast into Lincolne prison A poor Thatcher called Thomas Bromby[2], where hee hath beene about 38 weeks, & still remaynes, & the Preist Petitioned the Judge that the poor man might not labour to gett a litle money in the Citty towards his maintenance in prison, is this a good savour amongst yow, that are in Comission to Chuse ministers, is this glad tidings to cast in prison A man that is not his hearer, because hee could not putt into his mouth: Can such as bee in the fear of god & his wisdome owne such things, the ministers of Christ are to plant A vineyard, & then eate of the fruitt, plow, sow & thresh, & gett the Corne, & then lett them reap & not cast them into prison for whom they doe no worke: Christ when hee sent forth his ministers hee bad them give freely, as they had received

freely & into what citty or towne soever they came into, enquire who were worthy & there abide, & what they sett before yow that eat, & these came backe againe to Christ & hee asked them if they wanted any thinge & they said no, & they did not goe to A towne and call people together to know how much they might have by the yeare, as those that are apostatised doth now: The Apostle said have I not power to eat & to drinke, but hee doth not say to take tythes, easter reckonings, midsummer dues, augmentations & great Sumes of money, but have not I power to eat & to drincke: but hee did not use that power amongst the Corrinthyans: but them that are apostatised from him will take tythes great summes of money, easter-reckonings & midsummer dues & cast them into prison that will not give itt them, whom they doe no worke for, & the oxe mouth must not bee muzled that treads out the Corne, but see if the Corne bee trodden out in yow & the wheat be in the garner.

from A lover of your soules
& eternall good. G. ff.

[a][1655] And after when I had cleered myselfe in ye Citty I was moved of ye Lord to goe Into Bedfordsheere to Jo: Crookes[1] [b]: where there was a great meetinge & people generally convinct of ye Lords truth.

And Jo: Crooke tolde mee ye next day severall gentlemen of ye Country woulde come to dine with him hee beinge a Justice of ye peace & to discourse with mee: & [[c]they {came &} was all convinct of[c]] Gods eternall truth [& dyed in it][2]: & severall freinds went to ye steeplehouses y[t] day.

And there was a meetinge in ye Country: where Alex: Parker went to it: & towards ye midle of ye day Itt came upon mee to goe though Itt was severall miles distant: & Jo: Crooke went with mee.

And when wee came there there was one Gritton[3] y[t]

[a] Narrative continued from page 170.

[b] The side-note *Luton* of the first, second, and third Ellwood editions has been incorporated in the text of the 1836 and later editions, *to John Crook's house, at Luton*

[c]...[c] Ellwood editions read *I declared to them*

had beene a baptist butt hee was gotten higher then y^m^ & caled himselfe a tryer of spiritts & tolde people there fortunes & {hee pretended to} discover to people when there goods were stolen or houses broaken uppe {whoe ye persons were} with which hee had gotten Into ye affections of many people y^t^ aways.

And hee was speakeinge & makeinge a hideous noice over ye younge convinced ffreindes when I came in & hee bid A: Parker give a reason of his hope.

And because hee did not speake presently to him hee cryed his mouth was stoppt: but Alexander Parker tolde him Christ was his hope: soe then this Gritton directed his speech to mee for I stoode still & hearde him.

And hee spoake many thinges which was not scripture & then I asked him whether hee coulde make those thinges out by scripture which hee had spoaken & hee saide yes yes.

Soe then I bid ye people take out there bibles to search ye places hee might quote for proofe of his assertions: butt hee coulde not make any thinge good by scripture hee had saide soe hee fled out of ye house & was ashamed. And his people was generally convinced: & his spiritt was discovered & hee came noe more amongst y^m^.

And [alsoe ^a^there was a booke printed of his fortune tellinge & ye like butt^a^] when his people came to be convinced of Gods truth they gave foorth a booke against him & denyed his [^a^booke &^a^] spiritt & false discoveryes.

And many was turned to Christ Jesus y^t^ day & came to sitt under his teachinge.

And att this time ye Judges were in a great rage in Bedfordsheere & many off ye magistrates because there was so many turned from ye hirelinge preists to ye Lorde Jesus Christ free teachinge {butt Jo: Crooke by ye power of ye Lord was kept over all though hee was turned out from beinge a Justice}.

And then att last I turned uppe through ye country to London againe: where ffreindes was finely establisht in ye truth & great comeinges in there was.

And after a while I passt Into Kent & came to Cramborough where there was a great meetinge of severall souldyers: & many was turned to ye Lord y^t^ day.

^a...^a These words have a line through them.

Butt after ye meetinge some of ye souldyers were somewhat rude but ye Lords power came over y^m^.

And about this time ye preists & professors stirred up ye magistrates to whippe Jo: Stubbs & Will: Caton att Maidston for ye declareing Gods truth unto y^m^ {[a]as you may see att large in a printed Booke of mine[1a]}.

Butt as I went Into Kent they kept a guarde att Rochester & there they were examininge people butt ye Lords power came soe over y^m^ y^t^ wee past by y^m^ & was not stoppt.

And In Kent there was one Tho: Howsigoe[2] y^t^ was an Independant preacher was convinced & became a faithfull minister for ye Lord Jesus.

And there was one Capt: Duncke[3] was convinced & hee went with mee to Rye: where wee had a meetinge & ye major & officers & severall captains came in. And they tooke what I saide In writeinge & I was very glad of it: & all was quiett & affected with truth.

[1655] And about this time severall freinds went beyonde ye seas to declare ye everlastinge truth of God.

And after I went to Rumney[b]: they haveinge knowledge of my comeinge a pretty while before. And there was a mighty meetinge of people: & Samuell ffisher[4] whoe was a head pastor of ye baptists & a parish preist layde doune his parsonage worth about 280[l] a yeere[c]: & ye power of ye Lord was mightily over ye people & y^m^ & there was another pastor of ye baptists & aboundans of there people: & many was shaken with ye power of God & ye life sprange uppe in y^m^ & one of ye pastors of ye baptists hee was soe amased att ye Lords power y^t^ hee bid one of our freindes y^t^ was soe wrought upon have a good conscience.

And I was moved of ye Lord to bid him take heed of hypocrisy & deceit & hee was silent: & a great convincement there was y^t^ day & many was turned from ye darknesse to ye devine light of Christ & came to see there teachers error & to sitt under ye Lord Jesus Christs teachinge & to knowe him there way & there covenant of light y^t^ God had given

[a]...[a] This interlineation, though ancient, is not in the handwriting of Thomas Lower.

[b] Altered from *Lyd* in the same hand but with a thicker pen.

[c] Ellwood editions read *about two hundred pounds a year*

to bee there salvation to ye ends of ye earth: & they was brought to ye one baptisme & ye one baptiser Christ Jesus.

And when ye meetinge was donne Sam: ffishers wiffe saide now saide shee wee may discerne this day betwixt flesh & spiritt & spirituall teachinge from fleshly: but I walkt away & people was mightily satisfyed & ye two baptist pastors & there company fell to reasoninge when they was gonne from ye meetinge amongst ye people.

And Sam: ffisher & diverse others reasoned for ye worde of life y^t was declared y^t day & ye other pastor {& his party} reasoned against it: soe it cutt & devided y^m in sunder: & cutt y^m in ye midst.

And a freinde came & tolde mee y^t ye baptists were disputinge one with another & hee desired mee to goe uppe to y^m butt I bid y^m lett y^m alone: for ye Lord woulde devide y^m & they y^t reasoned for truth woulde bee to harde for ye other & soe Itt was.

And Sam: ffisher [denyed all &] came to bee a faithfull & free minister & preacher {of Christ & his truth} & was often in prisons in Englande & att last dyed a prisoner for ye Lords truth.

And hee went {(beinge moved of ye Lord to declare his worde of life)} to Dunkirke & to Hollande Italy Legorne Rome: & yett ye Lord preserved him & Jo: Stubbs over there inquisitions.

And att y^t time Jo: Love[1] was In prison in ye Inquisition att Rome [& there as it was reported by ye nunns in ffrance they hanged him in ye night time not y^t they had any thinge against him but y^t they saide hee was a daungerous person & might doe hurt to there religion.

And then after they had hanged him they reported y^t hee had fasted himselfe to death[2]: & much might be written of these thinges butt Sam: ffisher continnued till ye kinge came in & dyed a prisoner for ye Lords truth].

And from Rumney[a] I past to Dover: & neere unto Dover there was a governor y^t was convinct & his wiffe y^t had beene baptists: & att Dover I had a meetinge where severall was convinced: & ye baptists were very much offended & envious: but ye Lords power came over all.

[a] Altered from *Lyd* in the same hand but with a thicker pen.

And there Luke Howarde[1] was convinct which became a faithfull minister & soe I passt to Canterbury where there was a few honnest hearted people turned to ye Lord: whoe stands to this day [& are become a great meetinge since].

And soe I came to Cramborough againe where I had a great meetinge & one y^t^ was with mee went to ye steeple-house & was cast Into prison[2] butt ye Lords power came over all & his truth spreade.

And from thence I passt Into Sussex where I came to a lodge neere Horsham[3]: where there was a great meetinge & many was convinced.

And from thence I passt to Stanninge[4] where wee had a meetinge in ye markett house: & severall was convinced y^t^ a ways & ye Lords power came over all.

And severall meetinges I had y^t^ a ways & there was a meetinge appointed att a great mans house: & hee & his son went to fetch severall preists y^t^ had threatned to come & dispute: butt when ye time came none of y^m^ woulde come ye Lords power strucke y^m^: & a glorious meetinge wee had: & the man of ye house & his son were vext because none of ye preists woulde come: soe ye heartes of people was opned by ye spiritt of God & they was turned from ye hirelinges to Christ Jesus there shephearde whoe had purchased y^m^ without money & woulde feede y^m^ without money or price: & Nicholas[a] Bearde[5] & many others were convinct y^t^ day y^t^ came to heare ye dispute.

And soe ye Lords power came over all & his day many came to see: & aboundans of ranters & professors there was y^t^ had beene soe loose in there lifes y^t^ they began to be weary of it & had thought to have gonne Into Scotland to have lived privately & soe ye Lords truth[b] catcht y^m^ all & there understandinges was opned by his light spiritt & power through which they came to be setled upon ye Lord: & soe became very good freinds in ye truth & became very sober men y^t^ great blesseinge & praiseinge ye Lord there was {amongst y^m^ & admiration in ye Country}.

And from thence I passt through ye Countryes till I came to Readinge & there was a few y^t^ had beene con-

[a] *Nicholas* has been substituted for *Major* in the same hand but with a thicker pen.

[b] Ellwood editions have *net*

vinced: & on ye first day In Geo: Lambells[1] orcharde almost all ye whole tounde came togeather & there came two of Judges ffells daughters to mee: & Geo: Bishoppe[2] with his sworde by his syde: & a glorious meetinge it was & a great convincement of people there was y^t^ day: & people was mightily satisfyed.

And many baptists & ranters came privately after meetinge reasoninge & disputinge butt ye Lords power came over y^m^ all: & ye ranters pleaded y^t^ God made ye Divell {but I denyed it} & I tolde y^m^ I was come Into ye power of God & ye seede Christ which was before ye Devill was & bruised ye heade of him: & hee became a Devill by goeinge out of truth & soe became a murderer & a destroyer: & soe shewed y^m^ y^t^ God did not make ye Divell for God is a God of truth & made all thinges good {& blest y^m^ but did not blesse ye Divell} & ye Divell is bad & was a lyer & a murderer from ye beginninge & spoake of himselfe & not from God: & soe ye truth stoppt y^m^ & bounde y^m^ & came over all ye highest notions in ye nation & confounded y^m^ for with ye power of ye Lord God I was manifest & seekt to be manifest to ye spiritt of God {in all} which they vext & squenched & greived y^t^ with it they might bee turned to God: as many was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ by ye spiritt of God & to sett under ye Lord Jesus Christs teachinge: & there was a great meetinge setled there.

And from thence I passt uppe to London: & after I had stayde there a while & had large meetinges I passt Into Essex & came to Cocksell [where there was a fine younge man a minister y^t^ had beene lately dead[3]]: & there was about 2000 people att a meetinge {as it was Judged} & Amor Stodart[4] & Rich: Huberthorne was with mee & a glorious meetinge there was: & ye worde of life freely declared & people were turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ there teacher & saviour there way there truth & there life severall houres Itt lasted [& after meetinge was donne I walkt out Into ye feildes as I used to doe.

And when I was gonne there came two or three Justices of ye peace & they came rideinge uppe {fiercely} to mee in ye feilde & there they stoppt {when they came att mee}: & I turned & lookt att y^m^ & they then turned {& spoake never a worde to mee} & one of y^em^ saide to ye other what will

you goe away {Sir} saide hee yes saide the other: & soe they went to ye house & ffreindes had some bookes of our principles & they bought some of ye bookes & went there ways: but they had mischeife in there hearts for they were a kinde of presbyterian Independent Justices y^{t} had sent Jam: Parnell to Colchester prison].

And from thence I went to a place neere Colchester where ye first day wee had a mighty meetinge & ye Lords power came over all & people was mightily satisfyed & they was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ free teachinge: & they received it gladly: & many of these people had beene of ye stock of ye martyrs.

And on ye 6th day before I had a meetinge neerer Colchester where ye Independant teachers came & many professors: & when I had stept doune from ye place {where} I spoake on of ye Independant teachers began to make a Jangelinge & Capt Stodart beinge with mee {saide} stande uppe againe George: for I was goeinge away & did not at ye first heare y^{m}: soe I stoode uppe againe & after a while ye Lords power came over y^{m} & they was confounded & ye Lords truth came over all: & a great flocke of sheepe has ye Lord Jesus Christ in y^{t} Country y^{t} feedes in his pasture of life.

And as I went through Colchester {I went to visitt} Jam: Parnell In prison but ye cruell goaler would hardely lett us come in or stay with him.

[{Now} The manner of his castinge into prison was thus hee was att a meetinge att Cockesell aforesaid & ye Independant Justices & preists then kept a fast day there & they sent for James from ye meetinge Into ye steeplehouse: & when hee came in under a pretence to reason with him & to dispute with him a Justice of ye peace clapt him on ye backe & saide hee arrested him & soe sent him to ye goale.]

And there ye goalers wiffe threatned to have his blood & there they did destroy him as before is mentioned {as in ye booke of his life & death[1] may bee more fully seene}.

And from thence I came to Ipswich where wee had a litle meetinge but exceedinge rude: but ye Lords power came over y^{m} & I saide after ye meetinge if any had a desire to heare further they might come to ye Inn.

And there came in a Company of rude butchers y^{t} had

abused freinds but ye Lords power soe chained y^m y^t they coulde not doe mischeife. And I writt & gave foorth a paper to ye tounde warninge y^m of ye day of ye Lord & to repent of ye evill they lived in & turninge y^m to Christ there teacher & way & from there owne {hirelinge} teachers.

And from thence wee passt to Mendlesham where Rob: Dunken[1] [& his wiffe] lived where wee had a large meetinge {y^t was quiett} & ye Lords power was over all.

And from thence wee passt to Capt: Lawrens[2] where Itt was Judged there was above a thousand people: & a many people of quality were there.

And a great convincement there was they beinge turned to Christ there way & there teacher: & they setts under him there vine to this day: & all was quiett: & there wee left Amor Stodart & some more freindes: to meete us againe in Huntington sheere.

And from thence wee passed {about ye 2^d houre in ye morninge} to Norwich: where Chrst: Atkins[3] y^t dirty man had runn out & brought dishonr upon ye Lords truth & his name: butt hee was Judged & denyed by freinds & after gave foorth a paper of condemnation of his sin & evill.

And soe wee came to Yarmouth & stayde there a while where there was a freind one Thomas Bonde[4] in prison for ye truth of Christ: & there wee had some service for ye Lord: & some were turned to ye Lord In y^t tounde.

And from thence wee passed to a nother tounde about 20 miles off & there was many tender people in y^t tounde & I was moved of ye Lord as I sate upon my horse to speake to ye people in severall places as I passed alongst.

And from thence wee went about 5 miles to another tounde: & soe wee went to an Inn & sett uppe our horses haveing travaled 45 miles y^t day: Rich: Huberthorne beinge with mee.

And there was some freindely people in ye tounde: & we had a tender broaken meetinge amongst y^m in ye Lords power to his praise: & wee bad ye hostler to have our horses rady by 3 of ye clocke in ye morninge for wee was to ride to Lyn about 33 miles next morninge.

Butt when wee was in bed att our Inn about 11 a clocke att night came in ye constable & officers with a great rabble of people Into ye Inn: & saide they were come to

search for two horse men y^t^ ridd upon grey horses & in grey cloaths with a hue & cry to apprehend {us a house beinge broaken ye 7^th^ day at night} from a Justice who lived neere y^t^ tounde about 5 miles off: where I had spoaken to ye people in ye street {as I passed alonge}.

And soe they sett a guarde with forkes & pikes upon us y^t^ night: & made many of those freindely people to watch us with others & wee tolde y^m^ wee was honest & Innocent men & scorned & abhorred such thinges: & ye next day wee was uppe betime & ye constable with his guarde carryed us before a Justice of peace {about 5 miles off}: & wee tooke two or three of ye sufficient men of ye tounde with us y^t^ had beene with us at Capt Lawrens att ye great meetinge & they coulde testify y^t^ I lay ye 7^th^ & ye first day night att Capt: Lawrens ffor they saide ye house was broaken uppe y^t^ night.

Now there was [a]about 10[a] Independant Justices y^t^ Capt: Lawrens brought to mee att London when I was brought a prisoner to London to ye Myrmaide [{& had before Oliver}] & a greate deale of discourse I had with y^m^ y^t^ greived y^m^ for they pleaded for Imperfection & sin as longe as they lived & did not like to heare of Christs teachinge his people himselfe & makeinge people as cleane as Adam & Eve was before they fell heere whilst upon ye earth.

And soe they had plotted togeather this mischeife against mee in ye country: & pretended & forged a house was broaken & soe sent this hue & cry after mee: there malice was soe against ye righteous & ye just: & they was vexed & troubled to heare of ye great meetinge att Jo: Lawrens aforesaid: for there was a Collonell convinct there y^t^ day: y^t^ lived & dyed in ye truth: but ye Constable & his guarde carryed Rich: Huberthorne & mee to a Justice about 5 miles of {as aforesaid} In our way towards Lyn: whoe was not an Independant Justice as ye rest.

And when wee were brought before him hee begann to bee angry because wee woulde not putt off our hatts to him: & I tolde him I had beene before ye Protector & hee was not offended att my hatt: & why shoulde hee bee offended att it whoe was but one of his servants.

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *several*

And soe hee reade ye forged hue & cry for ye pretended house breakeinge.

And ye constable tolde him y^t^ wee had good horses & if it pleased him hee woulde carry us to Norwich goale.

Butt I tolde ye Justice y^t^ y^t^ night they pretended ye house was broaken I was att Capt: Lawrens & these men coulde testify ye truth thereof: & ye Justice after examination {of us & y^m^} saide hee was sorry hee had noe more against us: for hee beleived wee was not ye men {y^t^ had broaken ye house}: butt wee tolde him hee ought not to bee sorry for not haveinge evill against us: but rather bee glad for to rejoyce when hee gott evill against people for house breakinge & ye like y^t^ was not a good minde in him.

Soe Itt was a good while before hee woulde resolve either to lett us goe or sende us to prison: & ye wicked constable stirred him uppe as aforesaid: but after wee had admonished him to feare ye Lord God in his day: & hee confessed wee were not ye men: soe hee lett us goe: & ye Lords power came over him & there snare was broaken.

And after a great people came out of y^t^ tounde to ye Lord [& were convinct & stands to this day]: where I was moved to speake to y^m^ in ye street & from whence this hue & cry came.

And from thence wee passt to Lyn: & came there about 3 a clocke in ye afternoone: & set up our horses: and wee light of Joseph ffuce[1] whoe was an ensigne: & wee bid him speake to as many people of ye tounde y^t^ feared God & ye officers & captains to come togeather: & wee had a very glorious meetinge amongst y^m^ & turned y^m^ to ye spiritt of God by which they might know God & Christ & know ye Scriptures & soe to learne of God & Christ as ye prophetts & Apostles did & many was convinced there y^t^ day: & it became a fine meetinge y^t^ setts under ye Lord Jesus Christ teachinge: & is come off ye hirelinges.

And soe wee desired Jo: ffuce to gett us ye gates opned by three a clocke in ye morninge it beinge a garrison: for wee had 40 miles to ride ye next day.

And soe about ye 11^th^ or 12^th^ houre ye next day wee came to a tounde neer ye Ille of Ely caled Sutton where Amor Stodart & his Company mett us againe.

And a multitude of people was gathered there & there

was 4 preists & ye preist of ye tounde & a great Jangle hee made butt ye Lords power soe confounded him y^t^ hee passed away: & ye other 3 preists stayde whereof one of y^m^ was convinct.

And one of ye other two whilst I was speakinge came to leane upon mee: & I bid him sett doune seeinge hee was soe sloathfull & a great convincement there was y^t^ day: & many hundreds was turned from ye darknesse to ye light & from ye power of Sathan unto God: & from ye spiritt of error to ye spiritt of truth to leade y^m^ Into all truth.

And people came to this meetinge from Huntingeton & beyonde & ye maiors wiffe of Cambridge & they were setled under Christs teachinge & knew him there shepheard to feede y^m^ [& they dyed in truth] & a glorious meetinge it was & ye worde of life was freely declared & gladly received.

And ye meetinge ended in ye power of ye Lord & in peace: & after Itt was donne I walkt away [& desired y^m^ to give our horses some provender for wee had ridden a great way] & I walkt uppe Into a garden: & a freinde came to mee & saide severall Justices was come to breake uppe ye meetinge: butt many people was gonne away: & soe they mist there designe & after they had stayde a while they passed away in a frett.

And after this I passt to Cambridge y^t^ eveninge[1] & when I came Into ye tounde ye schollors was uppe hearinge of mee: & was exceedinge rude: but I kept on my horse backe & ridd through y^m^ in ye Lords power: [oh saide they hee shines hee glisters:] but they unhorst {Capt} Amor Stodart before hee coulde gett to ye Inn: & when wee was in an Inn they was exceedinge rude in ye Inn & in ye Courtes & in ye streetes.

The miners & colliers & cart men could never bee ruder: & there Jo: Crooke mett us att ye Inn.

And the people of ye house askt mee what I would have for supper as is ye usuall way of Inns: supper saide I: were it not y^t^ ye Lords power was over these rude schollors: lookt as if they woulde make a supper of us: & plucke us to peices: for they knew I was soe against there trade: which they were there as Apprentices to learne ye trade of preachinge y^t^ they raged as bad as ever Dianas Craftsmen did against Paul.

And within night ye maior of ye tounde beinge a freinde[1] hee fetcht mee to his house & as I walkt through ye streets all ye tounde was uppe but they did not knowe mee Itt was darkeish: but they was in a rage not onely against mee but ye maior alsoe: soe y^{t} hee was almost afraide to walke ye streets with mee for ye tumult.

And soe when I came In to his house wee sent for all ye freindely people & had a fine meetinge in ye power of God amongst y^{m} y^{t} night & there I stayde all night.

And ye next morninge I ordered my horse to bee ready sadled by ye 6th houre in ye morninge & soe wee passed out of tounde & ye Lords power came over all: & ye destroyers were frustrated ye next morninge for they thought I woulde have stayde in ye tounde & they thought to have donne mischeife.

And soe wee passt through ye Countryes to Bishoppe Stafforde & there was some convinct: & soe to Hartforde where there is some convinct alsoe & Is become a fine meetinge.

And soe from thence wee returned backe to London where freinds gladly received us & ye Lords power carryed us through many snares & daingers & wee had great service for ye Lord: & many hundreds were turned to sett under ye Lord Jesus Christ there saveours teachinge & to prase ye Lord through him.

And then wee stayde att London a while visitinge ffreindes: & ye Lords power was over all: & Jam: Naylor was come uppe to London: & wee had great disputes with professors of all sorts: & many reproaches they cast upon truth: & lyinge slaunderous bookes they gave foorth against us: but wee aunswered y^{m} all & cleered Gods truth & sett it over y^{m} all.

And this yeere came out ye oath of abjuration from O: P. by which many ffreindes suffered: & severall ffreinds went to speake with him butt hee began to harden & ye wicked preists presbyterians & Independants raised lyes upon us as y^{t} wee shoulde carry botles which wee gave people to drinke which made y^{m} to followe us {& thereupon a paper was given foorth to ye magistrates as followeth}.[a]

[a] Narrative continued on page 194.

A Paper of G: ffs: to O: P: concerneinge his makeinge people to suffer for not takeinge ye oath of abjuration. 1655[1].

The majestrate is not to bear ye sword in vaine: which is aterror to ye evill doers: Butt ye majestrate bearing ye sword in vaine, are not aterror to evill doers, soe they are not apraise to them y^{t} doe well: soe god hath raised upp a people with his spiritt, whome people & priests & majestrates without ye feare of god scornefully cales quakers, which doe crie against drunkennes, for such are they y^{t} destroyes gods creatures; & doe crie against oathes, for because of such ye land mournes, & they wee see are att libertie to which ye sword should be aterror & for crying against such ar many cast into prison, & their pride & filthynes, & for crying against their deceiptfull marchandize in marketts & their cousening & their cheating [& their pride] & their excesse & naughtines, boullings & shoullabords, & their cards & dices & their pleasures, for whoe liveth in pleasures ar dead while they live: whoe live in wantonnes killeth ye just, this wee know by ye spiritt of god, which gave furth ye scriptures, which ye father [of power & of spiritts] hath given to us his righteous lawe in our harts, which is aterror to evill doers which is according to y^{t} of god in evrie mans conscience, that which acts contrarye to ye measure of god in evrie mans conscience casts ye lawe of god behind their backs & walkes dispitefully against ye spiritt of grace, & soe ye majestrate sword (wee see) is borne in vaine & ye evill doers att libertie, & them y^{t} crye against such are punished by ye majestrates, whoe hath turned his sword backward against ye lord, and nowe ye wicked one fencethe him selfe whoe persecutes ye innocent, whoe cries against sin openlye in ye marketts & highwayes & against unrighteousnes & ungodlines, as vagabonds & wanderers or railours, because they tell y^{m} what judgment will followe y^{m} y^{t} followe such practices & hear they y^{t} departe from iniquitye are become aprey & few layes itt to hart: Butt god will thrash ye mountaines & beate ye hills & cleave ye rocks & cast into his presse which is troden without ye cittye & bath his sword in ye bloode of ye wicked & unrighteous; soe they y^{t} have drunke ye cupp of abhominaçon, ahard cupp have

you to drinke, whoe are ye enemies of god, & of you hee wilbee avenged, whoe bee his enemies.

Nowe to ye, where somthing of god is remaining, to consider if ye sword was borne not in vaine, & turned against ye evill doers, then ye righteous would not suffer & be cast into holes, dungeons, corners, & prisons, & houses of correcçon as peace breakers, for crying against sin openlye, as they are commaunded of ye lord, & to crie against ye covetousnes of ye preists & their false worshipps, which takes money nowe of poore people y^{t} they doe noe worke for; oh whear will you appeare in ye day of ye lord, or how will you stand in ye day of his righteous judgment, how many goales & houses of correcçon are places nowe made to putt ye lambes of Christ in, for following him & his commaunds, which are too many to mençon: The royall lawe of Christ is troden under foote to doe as you would bee done by, soe y^{t} men can professe him in words & talke butt crucifye him whearsoever hee appeares, & caste him into prison as ye talkers of him alwayes did in ye generaçons & ages past: And ye laborers which god hath sent into his vineyard ye father of ye harvest, doth now ye cheife of ye priests & ye rulers take councell together to cast into prison, & hear is ye fruites of priests & people & rulers without ye fear of god: the day is come & coming y^{t} every mans worke doth appeare & shall appeare, glorie be to ye lord god for ever: soe see & consider ye daies you have spended & the daies you spend, this is ye daie of visitaçon. And many hath suffered greate fynes of money because they could not swear, but in Christs doctrine doth abide, whoe saith sweare not att all, & by y^{t} meanes are they made aprey upon, for abiding in ye commaund of Christ. And now many are cast in prison, & are made aprey upon, because they cannott take ye oath of abjuraçon, though they denye all y^{t} is conteined in itt, & by y^{t} meanes, manye of ye messengers & ministers of ye lord Jesus Christ are cast in prison, because they will not swear, nor goe out of Christs commaunds, therefore o man consider, to ye measure of ye life of god in y^{ee} I speake, & manye lyeth in goales because they cannott paye ye priests tythes, & manye hath their goods spoiled, & of them have taken treble damage, & manye are whipte & beate in ye houses of correçon, without breach of anye lawe [& in

marketts for writing or speaking against ye deceipts & warning people to turne from unrighteousnes & ungodlines], & these things are done in thy name, to protect them in those acçons.

If men fearing god did beare ye sword (& covetousnes hated) & men of courage, then that would bee aterror to evill doers & apraise to y^m that doe well & not cause y^m to suffer: hear equity would be heard in our land, & righteousnes would stand up & take place which gives not place to ye unrighteous, but judgeth itt, to the measure of god in y^{ee} I speake, to consider to come to rule for god, to bee answerable to y^t of god in evrie mans conscience, for y^t is y^t which bringeth to honour all men in ye lord, therefore consider [with ye measure of god] for whome thou dost rule, y^t thou mayest come to receive power from god for him to rule, & all y^t is contrarie to god may bee with his light condemned.

ffrom a lover of thy soule & eternall good.

f: g:

[a]And after a while I passed doune through ye countryes to Bedfordesheere & Northhamptonsheere: & att Wellingeborough I had a great meetinge & ye Lords everlastinge power & truth was over all: & many in y^t county was turned to ye Lord though a great rage was amongst ye professors but ye power & spiritt & truth of God kept ffreindes over ye rage of people: & great spoleinge of goods there was upon ffreindes for tyths: by ye Independant & Presbyterian preists & some baptist preists y^t had gotten Into Steeplehouses: as ye bookes of sufferinges[1] will declare ye same.

Soe I went Into Leistersheere where Coll: Hacker saide if I came doune there hee woulde Imprison mee againe {though O: P: had sett mee at liberty} butt I came doune to Whetstone where his troopers had taken mee before & Coll: Hackers wiffe & his marshall came to ye meetinge & was convinct [{whoe remaines a freinde to this day}]: & ye glorious powerfull day of ye Lord was sett over all.

[a] Narrative continued from page 191.

And many was convinct y^t^ day att y^t^ meetinge where was two Justices of peace {Peter Price[1] & Walter Jenckins[2]} y^t^ came out of Wales y^t^ was convinct {& came to bee ministers of Christ}.

Soe I passt from thence to Seilby to Will: Smyths[3] where there was a great meetinge & there came severall baptists: & there was one of there baptistts teachers convinct y^t^ saide hee had baptised 30 of a day: & came to ye Lords teachinge by his spiritt & power.

And I passt from thence to Dreiton my native tounde where all ye preists & professors gathered soe much against mee [through which I was sent to Oliver] & never a preist or professor did appeare & I askt some of my relations where was all ye preists & professors nowe: & they saide y^t^ ye preist of Non Eaton was deade & there was 8 or 9 of y^m^ sekeinge to gett Into his benefice: & they will lett you alone now: for they are like a company of crowes when a rotten sheepe is deade they all gather togeather to plucke out his puddinges & soe doe ye preists for a falen benefice & this was some of there owne hearers saide soe of y^m^: & soe they had spent there venome against mee & ye Lord delivered mee by his power out of there snares.

And then I went to Bagley where there was a great meetinge from many parts {& many came farr to it}: & many was convinced & turned to ye Lord: & they y^t^ was convinct came under Christs teachinge & {were setled} upon him there foundation & there rocke.

And from thence I past Into Nottingham sheere & had large meetinges there & soe Into Darby sheere where ye Lords power came over all: & many was turned from ye darknesse to ye light & from ye power of Sathan unto God & came to receive ye holy ghoast & great miracles by ye power of ye Lord was donne in many places by severall[4].

And there Ja: Nailor mett mee in Darby sheere where 7 or 8 preists had chalenged him to a dispute & I had a travaile in my spiritt for him & ye Lord aunswered mee: & I was moved to bid him Goe on: & y^t^ God Almighty would goe with him & give him ye victory {in his power}: & soe ye Lord did y^t^ all ye people sawe ye preists was nothinge & foiled: & cryed a Nailor a Nailor hath confuted y^m^ all: soe after hee came to mee againe praisinge ye Lord.

And soe ye Lords day was proclaimed & sett over all: & people began to see ye Apostacy & slavery they had beene under there hirelinge teachers for meanes: & they came to know there teacher ye Lord Jesus whoe had bought y^m & purchased y^m & made there peace betwixt y^m & God.

And freindes came out of Yorkesheere to see us: & was glad of ye prosperity of truth.

And after this I passed Into Warwickesheere through freindes visitinge there meetinges & soe Into Worcestersheere: & had a meetinge att Brumigem as I went: where there was severall convinct & turned to ye Lord [& stands to this day].

And soe I came to one Coales[1] house in Worcestersheere neere Chattan y^t gave an Independant {preacher} a meetinge place: & ye Independant came to bee convinct & a great meetinge it was: & ye meetinge place woulde not holde ye people: & many was turned to ye Lord y^t day: & this Cole ye olde man gave ye Independant preacher when hee was convinct a 100 a yeere: but ye Independant preist after hee was convinced layde asyde his preachinge.

And then ye time of tryalls came: & this Independant did not stande to y^t which did convince him & then ye olde Cole tooke away his 100^{ll} a yeere from him againe: & ye old man dyed in Gods truth.

And I hearde at Eversham y^t ye magistrates there had cast severall of my freindes in prison: & they had hearde of my comeing & they made a paire of stockes [a yarde & halfe high with a trappe doore to come to it]: & I sent for Ed: Pittaway[2] y^t lived neere Esom[3] [& hee came to mee about 15 miles] & I asked him ye truth of ye thinge & hee saide it was soe: & y^t night I went backe againe with him to Esom: & att night wee had a large pretious meetinge & ffrendes & people were refreshed with ye worde of life & ye power of ye Lord: & ye next morninge I gott uppe & ridd to on of ye prisons & visited ffreindes & Incouraged y^m: & then I ridd to ye other prison where there was severall In prison & on freinde y^t had beene a preist {one Humfry Smyth[4]} but was become a fine minister {of Christ}: & as I was turned away from ye prison & goeinge out of tounde I espyed ye magistrates comeinge upp ye tounde to have seised on mee in prison but the Lord frustrated there Intents y^t ye

Innocent escaped there snare & ye Lord Gods blessed power came over y^m^ all.

And exceedinge rude & envious were ye preists & professors about this time [as ye bookes of ye suffringes of freindes att this Evesham[1] doe shew it].

[And as I was goeinge ffreindes askt mee whether I woulde goe & I tolde y^m^ to Worcester] & when wee came to Worcester wee went to an Inn: & had a pretious meetinge & quiett: & soe as wee came douwne ye street some of ye professors fell a discourseinge with ffreindes & like to have made a mutiny in ye citty.

And as wee went Into ye Inn they all cluttered in ye yarde but I went doune amongst y^m^ & gott y^m^ quieted & ye next day I went Into ye tounde & had a great deale of discourse with some professors concerneinge Christ & truth one of which denyed y^t^ Christ accordinge to ye flesh was of Abraham [a]& y^t^ accordinge to ye spiritt hee was declared ye son of God unto which I aunswered {y^t^ hee was of ye seede of Abraham & made of ye seede of David accordinge to ye flesh: & accordinge to ye Spiritt declared to bee ye Son of God as in Rom: ye 1^st^} & after I writt a paper to itt[a].

And soe from thence I went to Tewksbury: & att night had a great meetinge & there came in there preist with a great deale of rabble & rude people & ye preist boasted hee would see whether hee or I shoulde have ye victory: & I turned ye people to ye devine light which Christ ye heavenly & spirituall man had Inlightned y^m^ withall: y^t^ with y^t^ light they might see there sinns: & how that they were in death & darknesse & without God in ye worlde: & with ye same light they might see Christ from whence it came there saviour & redeemer whoe had shed his bloode for y^m^ & dyed for y^m^: whoe was there way to God there truth & life: & ye preist began to rage against ye light & denyed it. And soe went away: for ye light of Christ they coulde not Indure to heare speake off neither preist nor professor: & soe hee left his rude company amongst us but ye Lords power came over y^m^ though mischeife was in there heartes.

[a]...[a] The original text was *& y^t^ accordinge to ye spiritt hee declared hee was not ye son of God unto which I aunswered & after I writt a booke to itt.* This was altered and added to as above in the same hand but at a later date. Ellwood editions follow the altered text.

And from thence wee passt backe againe through ye country to Warwicke & went to an Inn: & att night had a meetinge att a widow womans house where many sober people came togeather: & a pretious meetinge wee had in ye Lords power: & severall was convinct & turned to ye Lord & stands there to this day: & after ye meetinge was donne as I was walkinge out some of ye baptists begann to Jangle & ye bailiffe {of ye tounde} & his officers came in & saide what does these people heere att this time of night: & soe hee secured Jo: Crooke & Amor Stodart {& mee & Ger: Roberts}: but wee had leave to goe to our Inn all y^{t} was strangers & was to come foorth in ye morninge: & ye next morninge there came many a rude people Into ye Inn & Into our chambers: desperate fellows: but ye Lords power gave us dominion over y^{m} & Ger: Roberts & Jo: Crooke went uppe to ye Bayliffe to speake with him & to knowe what hee had to say to us: & hee saide wee might goe our ways hee had litle to say to us: & Itt lay upon mee as wee ridd out of tounde to ride to his house & freinds went with mee to speake to him & to tell him howe y^{t} O: P: had given foorth an Instrument of goverment In which liberty of conscience was graunted: & Itt was very much y^{t} hee woulde trouble peaceable people y^{t} feared God contrary to ye Instrument of goverment: & ye rude people gathred about us & gott stones: & one of y^{m} tooke holde off my horse bridle & broake ye bridle but ye horse drew backe & threw him under him: & ye bailiffe did not as much as rebuke or stoppe ye rude multitude y^{t} it was very much wee was not slain in ye streets amongst y^{m}.

And soe wee passt alongest ye tounde ye people throweinge stones & strikeinge att us [& there was Capt: Stodart & Justice Crooke & Ger: Roberts[1] a merchant of London].

And when wee was cleere out of tounde I tolde freindes Itt was upon mee from ye Lord I must goe backe Into ye tounde againe and if any one of y^{m} felt any thinge upon y^{m} from ye Lord they might followe mee: & they y^{t} did not might goe on to Duncowe.

And soe I passt uppe through ye markett in ye dreadefull power of God & Jo: Crooke followed mee declareinge ye worde of life to y^{m}: & some strucke att mee but ye Lords

power was over all: & gave mee dominion over all: & I shewed y^m ye unworthynesse of ye name of Christians: & of there teachers y^t had not brought y^m Into more sobriety: & what a shame they was to Christianity.

And from thence I passt to Coventry: & when wee came there they was closed uppe {with darknesse}: & I went to a professors house y^t I had formerly tabled att his house & hee was drunke: & Itt greived my soule soe as I did not goe Into any house in ye tounde but ridd Into some streets of ye tounde & Into ye markett place: & sett ye power of ye Lord God over ye tounde.

And from thence I came to Duncowe & there I had a meetinge y^t night: & there was some turned to ye Lord by his spiritt: & many att Warwicke & att Tewksbury before mentioned.

And soe wee lay att ye Duncowe all night & there wee mett with Jo: Chamm a faithfull minister: & in ye morninge there was gathered a rude company of preists & people: & they behaved y^m selves more like beasts then men {for some of y^m came rideinge a horsebacke into ye roome where wee was} but ye Lord gave us dominion over y^m all: & soe wee came Into Leistersheere where wee had a great meetinge againe att ye place where I was taken as aforesaid: & soe backe Into Warwickesheere to Bagley[1] & to Swanington & Highham: & soe through ye Countryes Into Northampton sheere & Bedforde sheere: haveinge great meetinges & many was turned to ye Lord by his power & spiritt.

And wee was at a place caled Baldocke & I saide to y^m Is there nothinge in this tounde: noe profession & they tolde mee there was some baptists & a baptist woman: & Jo: Rush[2] went alongst with mee to visitt her: & when wee came there was a many people in ye house y^t was tender about her: & they tolde mee shee was not a woman for this worlde & if I had any thinge to comfort her concerneinge ye worlde to come I might.

Soe I was moved of ye Lord God to speake to her: & ye Lord raised her uppe y^t shee was well to ye astonishment of ye tounde & country: her husbandes name was Baldocke[3] [of Baldocke].

And soe wee went to our Inn againe & there was two desperate fellows fightinge soe y^t noe one durst come nigh

y^m^ to part y^m^ {but I was moved in ye Lords power to goe to y^m^}. And when I had loosed there hands I helde on by one hande & ye other by ye other hande: & I shewed y^m^ ye evill of there doeinges & convinced y^m^ & reconciled y^m^ each to other: y^t^ they was loveinge & very thankefull {soe y^t^ people admired at it}.

And this baptist woman & her husband came to bee convinced: & many hundreds of people has there beene att meetinges att there house {since} & great meetinges & convincement there was uppe & doune In those parts of people y^t^ has received ye worde of life: & y^t^ are come under Christs teachinge there saviour.

And from thence I passt through ye country to Markett Street where God had a people & to Albans & soe to London: where freindes were glad of ye glorious prosperity of truth & ye Lords power y^t^ delivered & carryed us over all: & after a while when I had visited ye meetinges there & all thinges was well: onely there was one Toderlby[1] runn out y^t^ had beene convinced & ye preists tooke occasion from thence & made a booke of it with many lyes to render truth odious in peoples eyes & mindes: & they Intituled it ye foote out of ye snare: & this man came to see his folly & aunswered ye preists booke againe & manifested all their lyes & folly & came over y^m^ [{& dyed in ye truth}]: & ye Lords power came over y^m^ all & his everlastinge seede reigned & reignes to this day.

And after a while I went out of ye Citty: & left Jam: Nailer behinde mee in London.

And as I parted from him I cast my eyes upon him & a feare strucke in mee concerninge him.

And soe wee came to Ryegate in Surrey where wee had a litle meetinge: & they tolde mee of one Tho: Moore[2] a Justice of peace y^t^ was a freindely moderate man: soe I went to his house [& hee was convinct {& stands a faithfull frende to this day}]: & from thence to one Pachins[3] where wee had a meetinge: & severall freindes came from London thither after mee: & Jo: Bolton[4] & his wiffe came a foote some miles in frost & snow [whoe was moved of ye Lord soe to doe]: & from thence wee went towards Horsham Parke after wee had parted with ffreindes.

And there wee visited freindes & from thence wee past

to Arundell & Cichester: where wee had meetinges: & att Cichester there was many professors came in: & some Jangelinges there was but ye Lords power was over all: & ye woman of ye house though shee was convinct shee fell Into love with one of ye worlde whoe was there att y^{t} time.

And after I tooke her asyde & was moved to pray for her & to speake to her & a light thinge gott uppe in her & shee sleighted it & after shee marryed this man of ye worlde shee went distracted for hee was greatly in debt: & I was sent for to her: & ye Lord raised her uppe againe & setled her minde by his power & after her husband dyed & shee acknowledged ye Just Judgements of God was come upon her for sleightinge my exhortations when I prayed for her.

And soe wee passt through ye country till wee came to Portsmouth & there ye souldyers had us to ye governors house: & after some examination ye Lords power came over y^{m} y^{t} wee was sett att liberty & had a meetinge in ye tounde: & soe wee passed through ye countryes to Ringewoode: & att night wee had a meetinge there where severall was convinced & turned to ye spiritt of ye Lord & Christ Jesus teachinge there saviour [& stands to this day].

And from Ringewood wee came to Poole & went to an Inn: & sent Into ye tounde to enquire for such as feared ye Lord & whoe was worthy: & wee had a meetinge with severall sober people: & Will: Bayley[1] a baptist teacher was convinct there y^{t} time: & ye people received ye truth in ye inwarde partes & was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ there rocke & foundation teacher & saviour: & to this day continues under Christs teachinge & there is become a great gatheringe in ye name of Jesus of a very tender people.

And wee went alsoe to Southampton where wee had a meetinge & severall was convinced there & Ed: Pyott passt with mee all this westerne Journey.

And from thence wee came to Dorchester & wee lighted att an Inn y^{t} was a baptists house: & wee sent Into ye tounde to ye baptists to lett us have there meetinge house to meete in & to Invite ye sober people to ye meetinge: but they denyed us & wee sent y^{m} worde againe why woulde they deny us there synagogue: & soe it was noised in ye tounde & wee had sent y^{m} worde if they woulde not lett us come to there house they might come to our Inn: or any

people y^t^ feared God: & they was in a great rage & there teacher & many of y^m^ came uppe & they slappt there bibles one ye table: & I askt y^m^ why they was soe angry: were they angry with ye bible: & they fell Into discourse about there water baptisme: & I askt y^m^ whether they could say they was sent of God to baptise people {as John was}: & whether they had ye same power & spiritt ye Apostles had & they saide they had not: then I askt y^m^ howe many powers there was whether there was any more then ye power of God & ye power of ye Divell & they saide there was not: then I said if you have not ye power of God as ye Apostles had then you act by ye power of ye Divell: & there was many sober people there y^t^ said they have throwne y^m^ selves on there backe: & there was many substantiall people convinced y^t^ night: & a pretious service wee had there for ye Lord & his power came over all.

And ye next morninge as wee were passinge away ye baptists beinge in a rage begann to shake ye dust off there feete after us: what saide I in ye power of darkenesse: wee which are in ye power of God shake of ye dust of our feete against you.

And soe from there wee came to Weymouth where wee enquired after ye sober people: & about 80 of y^m^ gathered togeather att a preists house all very sober people: & received ye worde of life & was turned to there teacher Christ Jesus whoe had enlightned y^m^ by which they might see there sinns & see him whoe saved y^m^ from there sinns: & a blessed meetinge wee had with y^m^ & they received ye truth in ye love of it with gladnesse of hearte: & ye meetinge helde for severall houres: & ye state of there teachers & ye Apostacy was opned to y^m^ & ye state of ye Apostles & ye church in there days: & ye state of ye law & ye prophetts before Christ & howe Christ came to fulfill y^m^: & howe hee was there teacher in ye Apostles days & howe hee was come now to teach his people againe himselfe by his power & spiritt & all was quiett & loveinge: & ye meetinge broake upp peaceablely: & after there was a Capt: of horse in ye tounde y^t^ sent for mee & fieigne woulde have had mee stayde longer in ye tounde: but I was not to stay: & soe hee passt out with mee abut 7 miles & his man & Ed: Pyott was with mee & ye meetinge [in every month] continueth to this day

& many are added to y^m^ & some y^t^ had beene ranters came to owne ye truth {& came to bee very sober}.

And this Captaine was ye fattest merryest cheerefulst man & ye most given to laughter y^t^ I ever I mett with soe y^t^ I severall times was moved of ye Lord to speake to him in ye dreadefull power of ye Lord: & yett still hee woulde presently after laugh att any thinge y^t^ hee sawe: & I still admonished him to sobriety & ye feare of ye Lord & syncerity & wee lay att an Inn y^t^ night & ye next morninge I was moved to speake to him againe: & then hee parted from us ye next morninge: butt hee confest next time I saw him y^t^ ye power of ye Lord had soe amased him y^t^ before hee gott home hee was serious enough & left his laughinge: & ye man came to bee convinced & became a serious & good man & dyed in ye truth.

And from thence wee past on to Hunnington & att ye Inn wee enquired what people there was in ye tounde y^t^ feared ye Lord & sent for y^m^: & soe there came some particular baptists to us where wee had a great deale of reasoninge with y^m^ & I tolde y^m^ they helde there doctrine of particular election in Esaus Cains & Ishmaells nature & not in Jacobs ye seconde births ffor they must bee borne againe before they enter ye kingedome of God. And ye promise of God was to ye seede not as many but as one which was Christ: soe ye election & choice stands in Christ: & they must bee such as walkes in his light grace spiritt & faith: & many more words wee had with y^m^.

And soe wee passt from thence to Topsham & there wee stayde ye first day: & ye Inkeepers people was rude [& this time Miles Halheade & Tho: Salthouse[1] was in prison att Exeter]: & ye next morninge wee gave foorth some queryes to ye preists & professors & some rude professors came in to us y^t^ had wee not gonne when wee did they had stoppt us: & I woare a girdle & forgott my girdle there behinde mee: & I sent for it to ye Inkeeper & hee kept it: butt hee was soe plaugued about it y^t^ hee after went & burnt it least hee should bee bewicht by it as hee saide: his minde was soe divelish: but after hee had burned it hee was more tormented then before: & some was convinced neverthelesse in y^t^ tounde: & there continnues a meetinge of good ffreinds ever since in y^t^ tounde.

And after this wee passt to Tatnes {which was a darke tounde}: & there wee lodged all night att an Inn & there Ed: Pyott was sicke but ye Lords power healed him againe & ye next day wee came to Kinsbridge & went to an Inn: & enquired for ye sober people of ye tounde: & there was one Nich: Tripe[1] & his wiffe & wee went doune to there house & they sent for ye preist & some words wee had with y^m butt hee was soone confounded & soe passt away: but Tripe & his wiffe was convinced: & since there is a meetinge of good ffreindes in y^t country.

And soe after some time wee went to our Inn: & there beinge many people in ye house I was moved of ye Lord to goe amongst y^m & to turne y^m to ye light which Christ ye heavenly man had enlightned y^m withall: with which light they may see all there evill ways & deeds & words: & with ye same light they may see Christ Jesus there saviour: & ye Inn keeper snicht uppe ye candle seeinge Itt hindred his guests from drinkeinge come says hee heere is a light for you to goe Into your chamber: Soe ye next morninge I spoake to him & tolde him what an uncivill thinge it was for him soe to doe & warned him of ye day of ye Lord & soe wee passed away.

And ye next day wee came to Plymouth to an Inn: & att Rob: Carys[2] house in Plymouth wee had a very pretious meetinge: & there was one Eliz: Trelauny[3]: a baronetts daughter & shee came Into ye meetinge close upp to mee: & clapt her eare very nigh mee: which after I perceived shee was somewhat thicke of hearinge: & shee was convinct: & after ye meetinge was donne there came some Jangelinge baptists: butt ye Lords power came over y^m [& this Eliz: Trelauny came & saide: George is over all: with a loude voice]: & soe there was a fine meetinge setled there ever since in ye Lords power: & many faithfull freindes there were convinct.

And from thence wee passt Into Cornewall to Menhenniott parish & there came to an Inn: & att night wee had a meetinge att Ed: Hancockes[4]: & thither came Tho: Mounce[5] & a preist & a great deale of people: & wee made ye preist to confesse y^t hee was a minister made by ye states & maintained by ye states: & hee was confounded & went his wayes: butt many of ye people stayde: & I turned y^m to ye

light of Christ by which they might see there sinns & see there saviour Christ Jesus: whoe was there way to God & there mediator y^{t} made there peace betwixt y^{m} & God: & was there shephearde to feede y^{m}: & there prophett to teach y^{m}: & turned y^{m} to ye spiritt of God in y^{m} selves by which they might know ye scriptures & bee led Into all ye truth of y^{m} & with ye spiritt to knowe God: & in it to have unity on with another & many was convinced y^{t} time there & came under Christs teachinge [& they stande to this day]: & there is fine gatheringes in ye name of Jesus thereaways to this day.

And from thence wee passt through ye countryes & through Penryn & came to Helston: & wee coulde not gett to ye knowledge of any sober people: through ye badnesse of ye In keepers: & from thence wee passt uppe to a village where there was some baptists & sober people lived: & some discourse wee had with y^{m} & some was made to confesse but they stumbled att ye light of Christ & they woulde have had us to have stayde butt wee past on from thence to Markett Jew & lodged att an Inn: & wee sent out over night to enquire for any people y^{t} feared ye Lord: & ye next morninge ye maior & Aldermen gathered togeather with ye high sheriffe of ye county & they sent first ye constables to us to bid us come before y^{m}: & wee askt y^{m} for there warrant & they saide they had none: & then wee told y^{m} wee should not goe alonge with y^{m} {without a warrant}: & then they sent there serjants & wee askt y^{m} for there warrant & they saide they had none: & they tolde us ye maior & Aldermen stayde for us & we tolde y^{m} ye maior & his company did not well to trouble us in our inn & wee shoulde not goe with y^{m} except they had a warrant & soe they went there way & then they came againe {& wee askt y^{m} for there warrant & then} one of y^{m} pluckt his mace from under his cloake: & wee askt y^{m} whether y^{t} were there custome to molest & trouble strangers in there Inns & lodgeinges & soe att last I saide to Ed: Pyott goe thy ways Edwarde & see what ailes ye maior & his company: & a great deale of discourse hee had with y^{m} but ye Lords power gave him dominion over y^{m} all: & when wee came away there came severall of ye officers to us: & wee declared unto y^{m} ye incivility & unworthynesse of there cariage towards us: to

ye Lords truth & servants thus to stoppe & trouble y^m in there Inn & lodgeinges {& what an unchristian act it was}: & there I gave foorth a litle paper to bee sent to ye 7 parishes att ye Lands ende as followeth: how ye Lord was come to teach his people himselfe by his son Christ Jesus.[a]

A paper by wich mager sealy presend gff 1655[1]

[This following is a Copie of ye paper for which G: ff was Apprehended & sent to prison by one who is called Justice Ceelie[2] in S^t Ives in Cornewell.]

The mighty day of ye Lord is come & coming y^t all hearts shall bee made manifest ye secrets of every ones heart shall bee revealed with ye light of Jesus, which cometh from Jesus Christ who lightneth every man y^t cometh into ye world who sayth learne of mee this is my beloved Son heare you him sayth god who lightneth every man y^t cometh into ye world y^t all men through him might beeleeve; ye world through him might have life, And Christ is come to Teach himselfe [ye second priesthood], & every one y^t will not heare this prophet which God hath raysed up & which Moses spoke of & sayd: like unto mee will God rayse you upp a prophet him shall you heare, every one y^t doth not heare this prophet is to bee cutt of, those y^t dispised Moses law died under ye hand of 2 or 3 wittnesses butt how much [more] greater punishment will come uppon them which neglect this great salvation Christ Jesus who sayth learne of mee, I am ye way ye truth & ye life who lightneth every man y^t cometh into ye world; which light letts him see his evill wayes, & his evill deeds y^t hee hath done, but if you hate y^t light & goe on in ye evill, this will bee ye Condemnation ye light sayth Christ, therefore now you have time prize it, this is ye day of your vissitation & salvation proferred to you, every one of you haveing a light from Christ which letts you see you should not lie, nor doe any wrong, nor sweare, nor curse, nor take Gods name in vaine, nor steale, this is ye light y^t shews you these evill deeds, which if you love it it will lead you to Christ who is ye way

[a] Narrative continued on page 207.

to ye ffather from whence it comes, where noe unrighteousnesse enters, nor ungodlinesse, but if you doe this light hate this will bee your Condemnation ye light [sayth Christ], if you doe it love & come to it you will come to Christ, which light will bring you off all ye worlds Teachers & wayes to learne of Christ [who is ye way to ye ffather] from ye world & Teachers & wayes of all ye deceivers in it.

[For giveing a Coppie of this paper was George ffox & other 2 friends with him sent to prison to Lancestone Goale in Cornewell.]

[a]And when wee came about 3 or 4 miles off out of ye tounde towards ye west: Will: Salt[1] y[t] was with mee haveinge ye paper: gave it to Major Ceelys clarke whome hee mett with & hee rides before us to a place caled S[t] Ives: & there shewed it to his master Maj[r] Peter Ceely: & wee ridd from thence crosse ye country till wee came to Ives: & Ed: Pyotts horse had losst a shooe & soe wee stayde att Ives whilst hee was shooeinge his horse: & I walked doune to ye sea syde in ye meane while: & when I came upp againe: all ye tounde was uppe in an uproare: & they was halinge Ed: Pyott & Will: Salt before Major Peter Ceely a Justice aforesaid.

And I followed y[m] Into ye Justices house though they did not lay handes upon mee: & when wee came Into ye house: Itt was full of rude people [soe as wee coulde not tell one from another: soe I askt y[m] whether there was not an officer amongst y[m] to keepe ye people civill: & then] Major Ceely saide hee was a magistrate: & then I tolde (him) hee shoulde shew foorth gravity & sobriety & his authority & keepe ye people civill for I never saw any people ruder for ye Indians were more like Christians then they.

And soe after a while they brought foorth ye paper aforesaid & askt whether I woulde owne it & I saide yes: then he tendred ye oath of abjuration to us: & then I putt my hand in my pockett & gave him ye aunswer which was given to O: P: concerneinge it & then hee examined us one by one single: & there was a younge silly preist with him: y[t] askt us many frivolous thinges: & then att last hee askt to cutt my haire for it was pretty longe & I was not to cutt it

[a] Narrative continued from page 206.

though many times many did rage against it: & I tolde y^m I had noe pride in it: & I did not putt it one [& many words wee had with him as you may see in ye great booke of ye West aunswering to ye North]: & att last hee putt us under a guarde of souldyers: & soe wee warned ye people of ye day of ye Lord & declared ye truth to y^m though they was harde & wilde like Major Ceely: & ye next day hee sent us guarded with severall horse with swords & pistolls & they carryed us to Redruth & Itt beinge ye first day ye souldyers woulde have carryed us a way & wee tolde y^m Itt was there saboth & wee did not use to travell one y^t day: & severall of the toundespeople gathered about us & whilst I held them in discourse: Ed: Pyott spoake to ye people & after whilst Ed: Pyott helde ye souldyers in discourse I spoake to ye people: & in ye meane time Will: Salt hee gott out Into ye backe syde: & went to ye steeplehouse to speake to ye preists & people: & ye people was exceedinge desperate & in a mighty rage against him & abused him.

And then ye souldyers was alsoe in a great rage & ready to kill us all & many people gathered about us: & I declared ye day of ye Lord & ye worde of life to y^m & in ye afternoone they woulde needs have us away: & when wee was ridd to ye toundesend I was moved of ye Lord God to come backe againe to speake to ye old man of ye house: & ye souldyers tooke out there pistolls & swoare y^t I should not goe backe butt I heeded y^m not: butt ridd backe: & they ridd after mee: & I spoake to ye olde man & ye people: & then returned backe againe with y^m & reproved y^m for beinge soe rude & violent.

Soe att night wee were brought to a tounde called Smethicke then butt since Falmouth.

[Butt I saw when Will: Salt tolde mee y^t hee had given foorth y^t paper: I then felt & saw I was a prisoner above 10 miles before I {came to Ives where wee} was taken.]

Butt as I saide before wee were brought to an Inn in Smethicke one ye first day att night: & there came in ye cheife [hundred] Constable of ye Country & a many sober people & some of y^m begann to enquire of us: & wee tolde y^m wee were prisoners [& under a guarde] & a great deale of discourse of ye thinges of God wee had & they was very sober: & very loveinge to us & some of y^m were convinct & stands to this day.

And ye souldyers were to carry us before Capt ffox[1]: governor of Pendennis Castle: butt hee was not att home but was gonne to meete Major Generall Desborough.

And after ye Constables & people aforesaid were gonne there came in other people & they were very civill & went away very loveinge: & then wee went to our chambers to goe to bed & about ye 11th houre Ed: Pyott saide I will shutt ye doore: may bee some may come & doe us a mischeife: & Keate[2] yt commanded ye guarde had a purpose as wee after understoode to have donne us some mischeife yt night: but ye doore beinge bolted they misst there designe yt night: but ye next morninge Keate bringes in his brother: a rude wicked man & putts him Into ye roome & hee himselfe stands without: & hee walkes uppe & doune ye roome & I bid him feare ye Lord: & hee cums upon mee & strucke mee with both his handes & clappt his legge behind mee & woulde feigne have throwne mee doune: butt hee coulde not: butt I stoode stiffe & still & lett him strike & I lookt without & I saw this Keate lookeinge on & seeinge his brother or cousen thus to beate & abuse mee and I saide unto him Keate doest thou allowe this: & hee saide hee did: Is this manly or civill to have us under a guarde & putt a man to abuse & beate us: was this manly Civill or Christian: soe I desired one of our freindes to sende for ye Constables & they came: & I desired Keate to lett ye Constables see his warrant or order by which hee was to carry us: & his warrant was yt hee was to conduct us safe to Capt: ffox ye governor of Pendennis Castle: & if hee was not att home to carry us to Launceston goale: soe I bid ye Constable keepe ye warrant for hee had broaken his order concerneinge us for wee whoe were his prisoners were to be safely conducted: & yett hee brought a man to beate & abuse us: soe hee had broaken his order: & then wee & ye constable bids him & ye rest of ym to goe there ways & ye constable kept ye warrant: & saide if it cost 20s. in charges to carry us uppe they shoulde not have it againe.

And I shewed ym ye basenesse of there carriage towards us & soe ye souldyers walkt uppe & doune ye house & was pitifully blankt & doune: & ye constables staide with us: & then they came by way of entreaty to us: & saide they woulde be civill to us if wee would goe with ym &

thus they continnued till towards ye 11th houre off ye day: & ye constables went to ye Castle & tolde ye officers what they had donne & they very much disliket Keates base carriage towards us & they tolde ye constables yt major generall Desborough[1] was comeinge to Bodmyn: & yt wee should meete him & Itts like hee would free us: & after ye souldyers entreaty & promise to bee more civill the constables gave ym ye order againe: & wee went with ym & great was ye civility of ye constables & yt toundes people towards us whoe kindely did entertaine us & ye Lorde did rewarde them with his truth: yt many of ym stands convinct of ye Lords everlastinge truth & are gathered in ye name of Jesus & setts under Christ there teacher & saviour [to this day].

And ye next night wee came to Bodmyn: & as wee went wee mett major generall Desborough: & ye captaine of his troope yt ridd before him knew mee & saide Oh Mr ffox saide hee what doe you doe heere: & I saide I am a prisoner: alacke for what saide hee: & I saide I was taken uppe as I was travaileinge: then saide hee I will speake to my Lord & hee shall sett you att liberty: & soe hee came from ye heade of his troope & ridd uppe to ye coach: & hee spoake to Generall Desborough: & wee gave him an account howe wee was taken: & hee begann to speake against ye light of Christ & I admonished him: & hee tolde ye souldyers they might carry us to Launceston & yt hee coulde not stay to talke with us his horses woulde take colde: & soe when wee came to Bodmyn Keate went In to ye Inn before us & hee putt mee Into a roome within ye doore & went his way & when I came in there stoode a man with a naked rapier in his hande: & I turned out againe & caled for Keate: & saide unto him: what now Keate what tricke hast thee playde now to putt mee Into a roome where there is a man with his naked rapier: what is thy ende in this: oh saide hee pray holde your tongue for if you speake to this man wee cannott all rule him hee is soe divellish: soe I saide doest thee putt mee Into a roome where there is such a man with a naked rapier yt thou says you cannott all rule him: what an unworthy bad tricke is this: & they putt mee single in this roome from ye rest of my freindes yt were fellow prisoners with mee: & soe his plott was discovered & after wee gott another roome where wee was togeather all night.

And wee declared ye truth to ye people butt they were a hardned darke people: & ye souldyers were very rude & wicked unto us againe {& sate uppe drinkeinge & roaringe y^{t} night}.

And ye next day wee came to Launceston where Keate delivered us to ye goaler: now there was noe ffreindes nor freindely people neere us then & ye tounde was a darke hardned tounde y^{t} they made us to pay 7$^{s.}$ aweeke for our horses: & 7$^{s.}$ a weeke for our dyett a peice: butt att last severall sober & freindely people came to see us & some of ye tounde came to bee convinct: & there wee lay 9 weekes till ye assises.

And in y^{t} time many freindly people out of severall parts of ye county came to visitt us & was convinct: & a great rage there was amongst professors & preists: for saide they they thee & thou all people without respect: & will not doffe there hatts to one nor bowe ye knee to any man: and this troubled y^{m} fearefully: butt at ye assisses they expected wee shoulde have beene all hanged: & then saide they letts us see whether they dare thou & thee & keepe on there hatts before ye Judge: butt all this was litle to us: for wee saw howe God woulde staine ye worlds honor & glory: ffor wee was commanded not to seeke y^{t} honor nor give it butt know ye honor y^{t} came from God onely & seekt for y^{t}.

[1656] And when ye assises came aboundans of people came farr & nigh to heare ye tryall of ye Quakers & there was one Capt: Bradden y^{t} had his troope of horse there & ye souldyers & ye sheriffes men guarded us uppe ye streetes through ye multitude of people which they had much to doe to gett us through y^{m} & ye chambers & windows were full of people lookeinge out upon us.

And when they brought us Into ye Court where wee stoode with our hatts on a pretty while & all was quiett: & I was moved to say peace bee amongst you: & att last Judge Glyn[1] ye Lord Cheife Justice of England a welch man saide to ye goaler what bee these you have brought heere Into Courte: prisoners my Lord saide hee.

Why doe not you putt off your hatts saide ye Judge: & wee saide nothinge putt off your hatts saide ye Judge againe but wee saide nothinge: then againe saide ye Judge: ye

Courte commands you to putt off your hatts: & then I replyed: & saide where did ever any magistrate kinge or Judge from Moses to Daniell commande any to putt off there hatts when they came before y^m^ Into there Courtes amongst ye Jewes ye people of God {or amongst ye heathen} or where did any of ye heathen commande any such thinge in all there Courtes or there Kinges or Judges or shew mee where Itt is written or printed in any law of Englande where any such thinge is commanded: shew it mee & I woulde putt off my hatt.

And then ye Judge grew very angry: & saide I doe not carry my law bookes on my backe.

Then saide I: tell mee where it is printed {in a statute booke} y^t^ I may reade it.

Then saide ye Judge take him away: prevaricator I will ferke him.

Then they tooke us away & putt us amongst ye theifes: & presently after hee calls to ye goaler bringe y^m^ uppe againe.

Come saide hee where had they hatts from Moses to Daniell come aunswer mee I have you fast now saide hee.

Then I saide thou maist reade in ye 3^d^ of Daniell y^t^ ye 3 children was cast Into ye fiery furnace by Neb:—neser with there cloakes hose & hatts on.

Then hee cryed againe take them away goaler: soe then they putt us againe amongst ye theifes: & there wee was kept a great while & then att last ye sheriffes man & troopers made way for us y^t^ wee were almost spent to gett through ye crowde of people & soe guarded us to ye prison againe & a multitude of people followed us & great disputes & discourses wee had with y^m^ at ye goale.

And wee had some very good bookes to Informe people of ye truth & our principles & ye Judge & Justices hearde of it & they sent out Capt: Bradden: & hee came Into ye goale & violently tooke our bookes from us out of Ed: Pyotts handes & carryed y^m^ away soe y^t^ wee never gott y^m^ againe.

And in ye afternoone wee was had uppe againe by ye goaler & sheriffes men & troopers: & a mighty broile they had to gett us through ye crowde of people Into ye Courte.

And I seeinge ye Jury & such a multitude of swearers

y^t^ it greived my life to see such as profest Christianity y^t^ shoulde soe openly disobey ye commande of Christ Jesus & ye Apostle y^t^ I was moved of ye Lord God to give foorth a large paper to ye grande & petty Juryes {against swearinge}[1].

And when wee was brought before ye Judge Into ye Courte ye Jury & ye Justices had presented this paper unto ye Judge: and ye Judge bid ye Clarke give mee y^t^ paper: & then askt mee whether y^t^ seditious paper was mine.

Soe I tolde y^m^ if they would reade it uppe y^t^ I might heare it in ye open Courte & if it was mine I woulde stande by it & owne it & they woulde have had mee to have taken it in my hande & lookt upon it: & I desired y^m^ againe to reade it & lett all ye Country heare it & Judge whether there was any sedition in it or noe: & if there were I was willinge to suffer for it.

And att last ye clarke of ye Assises reade it with an audible voice y^t^ all ye people might heare it: & when they had donne I tolde y^m^ Itt was my paper & I woulde owne it & soe might they to except they denyed ye Scripture: for was not this Scripture language: & Christs & ye Apostles wordes & commandes which all true Christians ought to obey.

Soe then they left y^t^ {Subject}: & ye Judge fell upon us about our hatts againe & bid ye goaler take y^m^ off & hee did soe & gave them unto us againe & [after a while] wee putt y^m^ on againe: & then wee askt ye Judge & ye Justices what wee had layne in prison for this 9 weekes seeinge now they objected nothinge to us butt about our hatts for y^t^ was ye honor which God woulde lay in ye dust which they made soe much adoe about: which men seekes one of another & which is ye honor of men & ye marke of unbeleivers: for howe can you beleive says Christ y^t^ seeke honor one from another & nott ye honor which comes from God onely: & Christ saith I receive not honor of man: & all true Christians shoulde bee of his minde.

And soe ye Judge begann to make a great speech howe hee represented ye Lord protectors person: & hee had made him Lord Cheife Justice of England & sent him to come y^t^ Circuite &c.

Soe wee desired him then y^t^ hee woulde doe us Justice for our false Imprisonment y^t^ wee had layne all y^t^ 9 weekes wrongefully for.

And then they brought In an Indictment y^t^ they had framed against us: such a strange thinge full of lyes y^t^ I thought Itt had beene against some of ye theifes: howe y^t^ wee came by force of armes: & in a hostile manner Into ye Courte: whoe were brought in as aforesaid.

Soe I tolde y^m^ Itt was all false: & still wee cryde for Justice for our wrong Imprisonement whoe was taken uppe in our Journey by major Peter Ceely.

And then this Ceely spoake to ye Judge & ye Courte & saide may It please you my Lord: this man meaninge mee: hee went asyde with mee & tolde mee {howe serviceable I might bee for} his designe & y^t^ hee coulde raise 40000 men in an houres warninge & Involve ye nation Into bloode & soe bringe in Kinge Charles {& I woulde have aided him out of ye Country but hee woulde not goe}: & If it please you my Lord: I have a wittnesse to sweare it: & soe hee caled upp his wittnesse: but ye Judge not beinge very forward to call for ye wittnesse I desired off ye Judge y^t^ hee woulde bee pleased to lett my mittimus bee reade in ye face of ye Courte & Country In which my crime was signifyed for which I was sent to prison.

The Judge saide Itt should not: I saide it ought to bee: seeinge Itt concerned my life & liberty.

And ye Judge saide againe itt shoulde not bee reade: & I saide it ought to bee read & if I have donne any thinge worthy of death or bondes lett all ye country know of it.

Soe I spoake unto one of my fellow prisoners thou hast a copy of it reade it uppe saide I butt Itt shall not bee reade saide ye Judge: goaler take him away I will see whether hee or I {shall} bee master.

Soe they did & after a while they caled for mee againe & I still cryed to have my mittimus reade uppe for y^t^ signifyed my crime.

And then I bid W: Salt reade it uppe againe: & hee reade it uppe & ye Judge & Justices & whole Courte was silent for ye people was mighty willinge to heare it[1].

[And ye substans of ye mittimus was for want of suretyes of ye good behaviour as you may see in ye booke of sufferinges of ye West aunsweringe to ye North.]

And when Itt was reade now saide I thou sayst thou art ye Cheife Justice of England: & you ye rest of you y^t^

bee Justices you knowe y^t^ If I had putt In suretyes then I might have gonne on with my designe which Major Ceely hath charged mee off: & if I spoake such wordes to him then Judge yee whether baile or maineprise ought to bee taken in y^t^ Case [of high treason].

And I saide to Peter Ceely when did I take thee asyde or where was not thy house full of rude people & thou as rude as any of y^m^ att our examination: soe y^t^ I askt for a Constable or some other officer to keepe ye people Civill[a]: [&] y^t^ is not a place for thee to sett in ffor accusers does not use to sett with ye Judges for thou oughtst to come doune & stande by mee & looke mee in ye face.

And now I woulde aske ye Judge & Justices this question: whether or noe Major Ceely is not guilty of this treason hee charges against mee in concealeinge of it soe longe or does understande his place either as a souldyer or a Justice of peace.

For hee tells you heere y^t^ I went asyde with him & tolde him what a designe I had in hande: & howe serviceable hee might bee for my designe & y^t^ I coulde raise ffoure[b] thusande men in an houres time & bringe in K: Charles & Involve ye nation Into bloode: & hee says moreover may it please you my Lord I would feigne have had him goe out of ye Country & hee woulde not goe & therfore hee committed mee to prison for want of suretyes for ye good behaviour as ye mittimus declares heere.

And doe not you see cleerely y^t^ major Ceely is guilty of this plott & treason & made himselfe a party in it by desireing mee to goe out of ye country & askinge mee baile: & charges mee not with this pretended treason till nowe.

Butt I deny & abhorr his wordes & am Innocent of this divelish designe.

Soe y^t^ busnesse fell: & ye Judge saw cleere enough y^t^ instead of ensnareinge mee hee had ensnared himselfe.

And then this Major Ceely gott uppe againe & saide if it please you my Lord to heare mee this man strucke mee &

[a] Ellwood editions add *But if thou art my Accuser, why sittest thou on the Bench?*

[b] The word is not clear, having been hurriedly written, *40000* is the number given on page 214 and in the Ellwood editions. The "Short Journal" has *four hundred*

gave mee such a blowe as I never had in my life: att which I smiled in my hearte: & saide pray thee Major Ceely where did I strike thee & whoe is thy witnesse for y^{t} & whoe was by {& hee saide in ye Castle greene: & y^{t} Capt: Braddon was standinge by when I strucke him}.

Art thou a Justice of peace saide I & a major of a troope of horse & for thee to say In ye face of ye Courte before ye Judge y^{t} I strucke thee & gave thee such a blowe as thou never had ye like in thy life: what art thee not ashamed. Soe I desired ye Judge to lett him produce his witnesse for y^{t}: & Major Ceely thou oughtst to come doune off ye bench & stande by mee: for it is not a place for accusers to sitt there butt I caled againe for his wittnesse: & then hee saide Capt: Braddon was his witnesse: soe I saide speake Capt: Braddon didst thou see mee give him such a blowe & strike him as hee says & hee bowed his heade to mee: but I desired him to speake uppe if hee knew any such thinge but hee bowed his heade againe: nea speak uppe saide I: & lett ye Courte & Country heare & lett not boweinge of ye heade serve turne & If I have done soe lett mee have ye law Inflicted upon mee for I feare not suffringes nor death it selfe: & I am an Innocent man concerneinge of this charge.

Butt Capt: Braddon never testifyed to it: & ye Judge caled take him away goaler: & soe hee fined us 40 marke[a] a peice for not putting of our hatts & to bee kept in prison till wee paide it & sent us backe to ye goale again.

And soe at night Capt: Braddon came to us & 7 or 8 Justices of peace & they were very civill to us & they tolde us they did beleive y^{t} neither ye Judge nor any there did beleive any of those charges y^{t} Major Ceely had charged against mee in ye face of ye Country {but Bradden saide Major Ceely had an Intent to have taken away my life: if hee coulde have gott another wittnesse}.

Butt I saide Capt: Braddon why didst not thee wittnesse for mee or against mee: seeinge Major Ceely produced thee for a witnesse y^{t} thou sawe mee strike him & when I desired thee to speake either for mee or against mee accordinge to what thou knewe or sawe & thou wouldst not.

[a] Ellwood editions have *Twenty Marks*

Why says hee: when Major Ceely & I came by you when you was walkeinge in ye Castle greene hee doft his hat to you & saide: howe doe you {Mr ffox} your servant Sir: then you saide unto him Major Ceely take heed of hypocrisy & a rotten hearte: for when came I to be thy master & thee my servant does servants use to cast there masters Into prison.

And this was ye great blowe hee meant y^{t} I gave him [& strucke him y^{t} wounded him] soe y^{t} hee complained to ye Judge of it in ye face of ye Country & open Courte & yett made ye Courte to beleive y^{t} I strucke him outwardely with my hande.

And then I did remember y^{t} they walked by us & y^{t} hee spoake to mee as aforesaid & I spoake those words unto him as aforesaid: which hypocrisye & rotten heartednesse hee manifested openly.[a]

[1][*A Paper of G: ffs to O: P: Concerninge doffinge hatts. 1656.*

ffriend

Come downe to the witnes of god in thee, & there thou wilt feele the true measure & the true weight to weigh things withall y^{t} thou maist answer y^{t} of god in every one in the Nation under thy Jurisdiction and Dominion, for a great weight is upon thee for the beasts of the feild will shilter under thee, thou wilt be a shade for them, & the streetes will be like Sodome & Gomorah as they are whilst thou art from the witnes of god in thee, which is the true measure to measure things withall agreable to god, & to answer y^{t} of god in every one for thou being brought downe in the feare of god to y^{t} of god in thee, thou wilt have the true weight & ballance given thee, to weigh things agreable to y^{t} of god in every man in the Nation; & y^{t} of god in them shall answer & the beasts of the feild under thee shall have noe shelter, but the must know y^{t} the most high rules in the kingdome of man, and {then} god will give thee wisedome by which all his Creatures were made; as thou art kept downe to the wittnes of god in thee & soe comes

[a] Narrative continued on page 225.

into feare, by which wisedome & in which wisedome thou must be ordered which is pure & gentle & from above and orders all his creatures to his glory by which wisedome they were created, & here, in this to god thou wilt be a blessing in the Nation & generation, & come to be a terror to the evill doers, & a sweet savour for every one y^{t} does evill he hates the Light, & every one y^{t} is in the Light he is in the wisedome of god, & these are they y^{t} doe well & are in unity one with another, & are in the covenant of god, & are in the end of Moses & the prophets and first preisthood, temple, pulpits, Tythes, Synagogues, first Covenant and first preisthood in Christ the everlasting Covenant and the everlasting preisthood, Christ Jesus him by whome the world was made, who doth enlighten every one y^{t} cometh into the world, y^{t} all through him might beleeve, and every one y^{t} doth evill he hates the light, which the light hath enlightenned him withall, soe loves darkenes rather then the light because his deeds are evill, soe the Magistrates of Christ are in the light, in Christ the power of god, who hath all power in heaven & earth given unto him, which is higher then he y^{t} doth evill, and soe is a terrour to the evill doer, (for the evill doer goes from the light,) and a praise to them y^{t} doe well, this higher power which is above the evill doer & transgressor, this power shall stand forever, so the Lawe was added because of the transgressions of gods Law, which is holy just and righteous and pure and every one y^{t} transgresseth the lawe of god he goes first from the pure principle of god in him, which the just Law of god will take hold upon, and so a terror to the evill doer, and there is the higher power wittnessed, which goes above the transgressor and the evill doer & goes over him, & it answers the Just principle of god in every one y^{t} goes from it, and every one y^{t} does well and not the evill, and is kept out of the transgression, he is led with the pure spirit of god, beleeves in the light, abides not in darkenes, & this is a praise to them y^{t} doe well and hath the light of life abiding in them, and witnes Christ the end of the Lawe for righteousnes sake, and none upon the earth comes to wittnes the Spirit of wisedome, & of understanding, and a sound mind, but who first comes downe to the wittnes of god in him, the Spirit of god which gave

forth the scriptures, with which he comes to have unity with god, & scriptures and one another, with which spirit they worship him, and all evill doers & transgressors upon the earth goe from the spirit of god in them and the light.

And all the Janglings about religion upon the earth, and differrences about Scriptures, which the higher power goes upon, given forth from the spirit of god amongst teachers professors and people and Churches is that they be out of the Spirit of Christ the prophets and Apostles were in y^{t} gave forth the Scriptures, and the servants of god, in which Spirit they had unity, for the fellowship is in the light, and the unity is in the Spirit, and that is the bond of peace amongst people, but people out of y^{t} professing the Scriptures, & every one being exalted from the measure of the spirit of god in him, & boasts of other mens lives & laboures are from the bond of peace, which is in the spirit, and so are in the Confusion, and soe none comes to the bond of peace but as every one comes to the measure of the spirit of god in him, and to the light which Christ hath enlightenned him withall, which is the Covenant of peace, and he y^{t} beleeves in the light, hath the wittnes in himselfe, comes to peace with god: but every one hateing the light is in the wisedome belowe, but he y^{t} loves the light and is in it, is in the wisedome of god which is above and before honnor is humility, soe whosoever would have honor must have humility first, and none upon the earth comes to humility which is before the honnor, but first they come to y^{t} of god in them which letts them see they are not humble, and they y^{t} are not humble would have the honor, & looke for the bowing of the hatt, which the meeke man Moses the Judge of all Israell said uncover not your heades, And David the king, the people y^{t} were with him covered every man his head, And Nebucadnezer cast not the three Children into the fire because they would not doffe their hatts, but because they would not bow downe to his Image, and saith Solomon the wise king, before honnor goes humility, and soe to the witnes of god in thee and them I speake.

George ffox.]

[1] [*G: ff: to Lampitt & other professors in Fornace Fells. 1656.*

[ffreinds.

Adam Sandes, John Sawrey, Wiliam Lampitt, Gabriell Camelford, whom ye prejudise hath eatten out they sincerity that was in you formerly: oh how hath your hipocrisie bene sene: & madnes & folly apeared: and now are yett settinge up a cover from the wrath that is to come upon you, oh how have you caused ye way of truth to be evill spoken of; oh how have you lost your beautie: oh what deadness, darknes & famine is come amonge you & upon you: and now would you make a coveringe & invent a church: is your church but to make yett: who are ye wall builders & ye morter Cariers & brickmakers & bringers of stones: who are hewers of ye wood see will your timber joyne, lett see what a wall yee will build, or lett us see how yee will temper your morter: Are yee not a shame to all people: ould proffesers, & have your church yett to make lets see if yee can beare ye snubinge of ye timber, oh are yee confused & broken assunder from truth: oh how is the harlott made bare: oh how have you lost your beauty: & your comliness marred & spoilled: and your wisdome confounded & att your witts end & your madness & follie is apeared & are accompany of blind men, can yee know wood from stones: & stones from morter: Come to ye wittnese of god in you & leave your owne workes: your prayers are as barking of doges & bellowing of bease and as cryinge of swine: but yee pretend to serve me saith ye Lord, but it is to serve your owne selves & your owne bellies, what have you bene doeinge all this while & yett your Church to make, are yee now buildinge up a wall; & settinge up a tower: & are yee now settinge up a fenced cittie, have yee served me with your lipes all this time Ile send a fire amongst you, & by it your workes shall be tryed, see if it be not daubed with untempered morter, see if a storme will not wash it downe againe: the overflowinge scourge of ye almighty is come over you: ye day of your visittation yee have lost; ye lord comes upon you as morter & clay, yee are as ye dry winde in ye wilderness: yee minde more ye flesh & ye thinges of

ye flesh then the things of ye lord god, your way & force hath not bene right but hath bene to persecute my sons & daughters & servants sent amongst you, yee have offended my litle ones, christ yee have not cloathed nor fed nor given him drinke, yee have bowed your knees as to baall & kised him, your prayers hath bene in hipocrisie & are not heard for your much bableinge: all your teachers are for selfe ends & for gaine who hath made a pray upon ye people, yee have fed them with mony worth, which was not ye practise of ye apostles, of whose words have yee made atrade one, for your selfe ends, who from the lord shall receive plagues & Judgment for soe doeinge & hath bene accompanie of whitted walles, buildinge ye tombes of ye righteous & garnishinge ye sepullcres of ye prophets, & plagues & judgments is to be powered upon your heads, a lover of your soules & etternall good I am; but have sleighted my counsell & followed that yee have invented, opresion & crueltie hath bene your head, & your borders & garments hath bene inniquitie, your daubeinge with untempered morter hath bene sene, who art out of ye life of god only founde in words with y^{t} yee are judged ye wittness of god in you all shall answer alover of your soules & etternall good who tramples under all your dirt & mire; oh all you proffesers in ffourneis ffell, oh, how have you lost your beautie oh how are you become dead oakes & drie tres, oh how have you lost ye day of your visittation & sleighted ye Mercyes of god: oh how have you hardened your selves against ye wittness, oh how have your stife neckedness & hard hartedness kicked & rebelled against ye wittnesse, oh how are yee troden in ye press without the citty, oh how yee knash your teeth & knaw your tongues because of ye plague: oh what a wilderness yee are what a drie winde is amongst you: of what apufeinge & blowinge amongst you there is to kindle your sparkes: when your sorrowes must lye downe, oh how yee hunger & frett your selves: are yee not curseinge your god & kinge & lookinge upward: oh what abroile & asweate is upon your browes, oh what abroile is amonge you, come singe yee saints who has ye food: who are as ye roses: & cloathed with fine linen: & gatheringe ye lilies from amongest ye thornes: oh how lean yee are though yee have eatten up ye fatt: oh what a darke

night is upon you & yee are all asleepe: & in securitie hardened: & ye voyce hath cried att midnight & ye virgins hath rissen and their lampes are trimed & them that hath ye oile to ye lambes Marrage are come: & them that hath not, hath their reward; oh what ayellinge of ye wild bease ther is in the forests, oh what ahouleinge makes ye dragon in ye wilderness: oh what aroareinge makes ye beare for her whelpes: oh what alowinge makes ye wild heifers: & aneighinge keepes theise horses: oh what ableattinge keepes ye goates amonge ye rockes: oh how cryes ye wolfes to number themselves that they may goe to their pray: oh how many tres lyes plucked up by ye roots: oh how hath ye wolfe bene covered with ye shepes cloathinge ravened from ye spirit of god & how have they torne ye lambes: oh how baren is ye heath for the wild asses: What anoyse they make: oh how darke is the night yee be in and light hid from your eyes which shall be my wittness & your condemnation: Now yee have time prise it, singe yee over babilon yee that are come out of her, out of the sea to the shore: oh how does the fish stinke in the sea and her watters turned into blood, and now must ye eate gall & worme wood, now have yee a bitter cup to drinke.]

[1]All my deare friends in y^e^ noble seed of god who have knowne his power life & presence among you lett it be your Joy to heare or see y^e^ Springs of life breake forth in any in which you have all unity in y^e^ same feeleing life & power & above all things, take heed of Judgeing [Ever] any one openly in your meeting Except y^e^[a] bee openly prophane Rebellious Such as bee out of y^e^ truth y^t^ by power & life & wisdome you may stand over them & by it answere y^e^ witness of god in y^e^ world, y^t^ such is none of you whome you beare your Testamony against; soe y^t^ there in y^e^ truth stand Cleare & single, but such as are Tender, if y^e^[a] should be moved to bubble forth a few words & speake in y^e^ seed & lambs power suffer & beare y^t^ that is y^e^ Tender, & if y^e^[a] should goe beyond their measure beare it in y^e^ meeting for peace sake & order y^t^ y^e^ Spirits of y^e^ world be not moved

[a] Ellwood editions read *they*

against you, but y^t^ when y^e^ meetting is done Then if any [thing] should be moved of any one to speake to them betweene yourselves or one or twoe of you y^t^ feell it in y^e^ life in y^e^ love & wisdome y^t^ is pure & gentle from above for y^e^ love is y^t^ doth Edifie & beare all things & suffers which doth fullfill [y^e^ force of] y^e^ law, soe in this you have order you have Edification you have wisdome y^t^ preserves you all wise, & in y^e^ patience which Takes away y^e^ occassion of Stumbleing y^e^ weake & y^e^ occassion of y^e^ spirits of the world to gett up, but in y^e^ Royall seed y^e^ heavy stone you keepe downe all & by it Answere y^t^ of god in all & keep downe y^e^ bad, for you will heare & feele & see y^e^ power of god as your faith is all in it, preaching when you doe not heare words to bynd to chaine to limitt to frusterate y^t^ nothing shall rise but what is y^e^ power nor Come forth for y^t^ will hould backe & with y^t^ you will lett upp & open every spring plant & sparke in which will bee your Joy & Refreshment (as I said before) in y^e^ power of god for now you y^t^ knowe y^e^ power of god & are come to it which is y^e^ Cross of Christ which crucifies you from y^e^ state y^t^ Adam & Eve was in In y^e^ fall & soe from y^e^ world, by which power of god you come to see as Adam & Eve was in before y^e^[a] fell which power of god is y^e^ cross in which stands y^e^ Everlasting glory, which brings up into y^e^ righteousness hollyness & Image of god, which Crucifies from y^e^ unrighteousness & unholyness & y^e^ Image of Saton y^t^ Adam & Eve & his sons & daughters bee in In y^e^ fall, Through which power of god y^e^ come to see (as I said before) y^e^ State as y^e^[a] were in before y^e^[a] fell, yea I say & to a State higher y^e^ seed Christ y^e^ Second Adam by whom all things was made Soe as man is driven from god & Eve & all Adams sons & daughters being in y^e^ state of y^e^ fall in y^e^ Earth driven from god, it is said y^e^ Church is in god y^e^ father of our lord Jesus Christ soe who comes to y^e^ Church y^t^ is in god y^e^ father of Christ y^e^[a] must Come to God againe soe out of y^e^ state as Adam & Eve & his children be in In y^e^ fall out of y^e^ Image of god out of y^e^ righteousness & [true] holyness y^e^[a] must come into righteousness into true holyness & y^e^ Image of god & soe out of y^e^ Earth where man hath

[a] Ellwood editions read *they*

beene driven, when y^e^[a] come to y^e Church y^t is in god, & y^e way is Christ y^e light y^e life y^e truth & y^e Saviour the redeemer y^e Sanctifier y^e Justifier & soe in his power & light & life who is y^e way to god Conversion Regeneration Translation is knowne from death to life from darkeness to light from y^e power of Saton to god againe & These are members of y^e church in God Come to be members one of another into y^e power of god which was before y^e darkeness was, soe y^t who come to y^e Church y^t is in god & Christ y^e^[a] must come out of y^e state y^t Adam is in y^e fall driven from god to knowe y^e state y^t he was in before hee fell, & now y^e^[a] y^t live in y^e state y^t Adam is in In y^e fall, Cannott beleive of Comeing into y^e State y^t he was in before hee fell, & come not to y^e Church In god but are afarr off from y^t & are not passed from death to life Likewise Enemyes to y^e Cross of Christ which is y^e power of god y^t mynds Earthly things & serves not Christ which is the power of god neither doth hee love y^e power which should bring him up into y^e State as man was in before hee fell & crucifie him from y^t state y^t man is in In y^e fall, y^t Through which power to y^e begining hee must see y^e power y^t man was in before (& y^e Image & holyness & Righteousness y^t by which power he might Come up to knowe y^e seed Christ) which makes all things new & brings out of y^e ould in which life Eternall is felt, for all y^e pooreness Emptyness Barronness is in y^e state y^t Adam is, in y^e fall out of gods power by which power [hee comes to bee crucified from it by which power] he comes to be made rich againe & in which hee hath strength which power is y^e Cross in which mystery of y^e Cross is y^e fellowshipe & this is y^e cross in which is y^e True glorying [& Everlasting], which Crucifies from all other glorying.

And friends Though you may have Tasted of y^e power & beene Convinced & have felt y^e light yett Afterwards you may feell a winter storme Tempest haile [& be frozen] frost & cold & a wilderness & Temptations be patient & still in y^e power & still in y^e light y^t doth convince you keepe your mynds unto god, in y^t bee quiett y^t you may come to y^e Summer y^t your flight bee not in y^e winter for if you sitt still in y^e patience which overcomes in y^e power of god their

[a] Ellwood editions read *they*

will be no flyinge for y^e husbandman after hee hath sowne his seed hee is patient for by y^e power & by y^e light you will come to see Through & feell over winter stormes Tempests & all y^e Coldness barronnes Emptyness & y^e same light & power will goe over y^e Tempters head, which power & light was before hee was & soe in y^e light standing still you will see your salvation you will see y^e Lords strength you will feell y^e small raine you will feell y^e fresh springes in y^e power & light your mynds being kept low, for y^t which is out of y^e power [& light] (lifts upp,) but in y^e power & light you will see god revealeing his secretts Inspireing & his gifts comeing unto you Thorow which your hearts will bee filled with gods love praise to him y^t lives for Ever more & in which light & power his blessings is Received; & soe in y^t y^e Eternall power of y^e lord Jesus Christ preserve & keepe you & soe live evry one in y^e power of god y^t you may all come to bee heirs of y^t & knowe y^t to bee your portion & y^e kingdome y^t hath noe End & an Endless life which y^e seed is heire of & soe feell y^t over all sett which hath y^e promise & blessing of god.

G. ff.

[This Copie may Remaine with you for wee shall take Care to send To other places as Directed.

H. Crosfeild.[1]]

[a] And soe wee was kept in prison & diverse people came farr & nigh to see us: & severall people of account: Itt was ye talke of ye tounde & Country: y^t never men Aunswered soe as wee did & y^t ye Judge & Justices was not able to aunswer us [one worde in 12].

And then there came uppe Humfry Lower[2] a grave sober auncient man a Justice of peace to visitt us: & was very sorry wee shoulde bee in prison & spoak to us & saide how serviceable wee might bee if wee was out of prison: & wee reasoned with him abut swearinge & howe they tendred ye oath of abjuration to us because wee coulde not sweare: & noe people coulde bee serviceable to God if they disobeyed ye Commande of Christ.

[a] Narrative continued from page 217.

And they which Imprisond us for ye hat honor: which was of men & men lookt for it prisoned ye good & vexed & greived ye spiritt of God in y^m^ selves {which should turne there mindes to God}: & soe wee turned him to ye Spiritt of God in his hearte & light of Christ Jesus & hee was throughly convinct & is to this day: & was very serviceable unto us.

And there came on Coll: Rouse[1] a Justice of peace with a great Company: & hee was as full of words & talke as ever I hearde a man in my life soe as there was noe speakinge to him: soe att last I askt him to stoppe him whether hee had beene ever att schoole & knew what belonged to questions & aunswers to stoppe him.

Att schoole saide hee yes: att schoole says ye people[a] doth hee say soe to our Coll: y^t^ was a schollar then saide I {if hee bee soe let him} bee still: & receive aunswers from mee to what thou sayst: & I was moved of ye Lord to speake ye worde of life to him in his dreadefull power y^t^ came soe over him y^t^ hee coulde not open his mouth & his face swelled like a turkey: & his lippes rent & hee mumbled & ye people thought hee woulde have falen doune: & I stept to him & hee saide I was never soe in my life before for ye Lords power stopt ye evill power & airre in him & almost choakt him: & for ever after ye man was very loveinge to freinds & never soe full of ayry wordes after to us though hee was a man full of pride but ye Lords power came over him & ye rest y^t^ was with him.

And wee continnued still in prison: & att last there came another officer of ye Army: a very malitious bitter professor whome I knew in London: & hee was soe full of his ayry talke alsoe & speakinge slightingely of ye light of Christ & against ye truth as Coll: Rouse did & ye Spiritt of God beinge in men as it was in ye Apostles days: till ye power of God {y^t^ bounde ye evill in him} had almost choakt him alsoe as it did Coll: Rouse aforesaid: hee was soe full of evill ayre y^t^ hee coulde not speake but bluberd & stutterd.

And from y^t^ time ye Lords power strucke through him & came over him y^t^ hee was ever after more loveinge to us.

[a] Ellwood editions have *Souldiers*

And severall freindes from most partes of ye nation came Into ye country to visitt us[1] for those was very darke countryes att y^t^ time but ye Lords light & truth shined over all: & many was turned from darknesse to ye light & from Sathans power unto God & many was moved to goe to ye steeplehouses: & severall was sent to prison to us: & there began to bee a great Convincement in ye country & a great rage in ye preists & professors.

And wee brake off from ye goaler from giveinge 7^s.^ a weeke for our horses & 7^s.^ a weeke a peece for our selves & sent our horses Into ye country: & then hee grew very divelish & wicked & carryed us & putt us Into Doomes dale[2]: a nasty stinkinge place where they saide few people came out alife: where they used to put witches & murderers before there execution: where ye prisoners exerements had not beene carryed out for skores of yeeres as Itt was saide: & hee woulde not lett us cleanse it nor lett us have beds nor strawe {to lye one}: & it was all like mire: & In some places att ye toppe of ye shooes in water & pisse & never a house of office in ye place: & ye theifes was putt over our heads: & att night some freindely people of ye tounde brought us a candle & a litle straw: & wee went to burne a litle of our straw to take away ye stinke: & ye heade goaler lay above our heades with ye theifes & Itt seemes ye smoake went uppe Into ye roome: & ye goaler was in such a rage y^t^ hee tooke ye potts of excrements of ye prisoners[3] & poured it downe a hole a toppe of our heades in Doomesdale: soe y^t^ wee were soe bespattered with ye exerements y^t^ wee coulde not touch our selves nor one another y^t^ our stinke encreased upon us: & hee squencht our straw with it: & hee caled us hatchett faced doggs & such names as wee never hearde in our lifes: & what with ye stincke & what with ye smoake wee was like to bee choakt & smothered in Doomes dale for wee had the stinke under our feete befor but nowe wee had it one our backes: & in this manner wee stoode all night for wee coulde not sett doune beinge soe full of ye prisoners excrements.

And a great while hee kept us of this manner before hee woulde lett us cleanse it or suffer us to have any victualls In but what wee gott through ye grate.

And one time a lasse brought us a litle meate: & hee

arested her for breakinge his house: & had her Into ye tounde Courte for breakinge ye prison. And a great deale of trouble hee brought ye younge woman to soe y^t^ wee had much to doe to gett water or drinke or victualles & ye noise was amongst ye prisoners & people howe ye spiritts haunted & walkt in Doomesdale & how many dyed in it but I tolde y^m^ & ffreindes y^t^ if all ye spiritts & devills in hell was there I was over y^m^[a] & feared noe such thinge for Christ our preist woulde sanctify ye walls & ye house to us {y^t^ bruised ye heade of ye Divell}.

For ye preist under ye law hee was to cleanse ye plague out of ye walls of ye house which Christ our preist ended whoe sanctifyes both Inwardely & outwardely ye walls of ye house & ye walls of ye heart {& all thinges to his people}.

And soe this heade goaler had beene a theife & was burnt in ye hande & burnt in ye shoulder & his wiffe had beene burned in her hande [for [b]some wickednesse[b]]: & ye underkeeper was burnt in ye hande & in ye shoulder & his wiffe was burned in ye hande alsoe: & Coll: Bennett[1] a baptist teacher whoe had taken or purchased ye office {& goale} & lande belongeinge to ye Castle had putt y^m^ in [& such wee had over us].

And wee drew uppe our suffringes & sent y^m^ to Bodmyn sessions & sent uppe a copy to O: Cromwell Protector of y^t^ & howe wee was taken by Peter Ceely & abused by Keate y^t^ commanded ye horse guarde y^t^ carryed us to goale: & att ye Sessions ye Justices gave order y^t^ Doomes dale doore shoulde bee opned & y^t^ wee shoulde have liberty to cleanse it & to buy our meate in ye tounde.

And O: P: sent downe an order to Capt ffox: to Pendennis Castle to examine ye souldyers abuseinge of us & strikeinge of mee: & att y^t^ time many of ye gentry of ye country was att ye castle & Keates kinsman y^t^ strucke mee was sent for uppe & much threatned: & they tolde him y^t^ Mr ffox if hee should change his principle might take ye extremity of ye law upon him {& recover sounde damages} & soe they threatned him for abuseinge ye prisoners which was of great service in ye Country: after which freindes

[a] Ellwood editions insert here *in the Power of God*

[b]...[b] These words have been substituted, in the same handwriting, for *murderinge her Childe*

might have spoaken in any markett or steeplehouse & none woulde medlle with y^m.

And Hugh Peters[1] O: P: Chaplaine tolde him they coulde not doe G: ffox a greater service then to Imprison him In Cornewall for ye spreadinge of his principles: & soe it was of ye Lord & for his service my imprisonment in those parts.

And then wee had liberty to come out & to walke in ye greene & diverse people came to us on ye first days & great service wee had amongst y^m to whome wee declared ye worde of life & many was turned to God heere & there uppe & doune.

And there came an envyous professor: & hee writt many scripture phrases & Invited ye tounde of Launceston into ye castle yarde to reade it to y^m: & a many scriptures to prove y^t wee ought to bowe & putt of our hatts to ye people & saide Saule bowed to ye Witch of Endor: & soe when hee had donne wee gott a litle liberty whether ye goaler woulde or noe to speake & shewed him & ye people how y^t Saul was gonne from God & had disobeyed God like y^m when hee went to ye witch of Endor & y^t neither ye prophetts Christ nor ye Apostles ever taught people to bowe to ye Witch of Endor {nor any other} & soe at ye last ye man & his rude people went away though some stayde with us.

And soe wee shewed ye people y^t this was not gospell Instructions to teach people to bowe to ye Witch of Endor for then people begann to bee affected with truth & then ye Devill began to rage.

[And there came to Justices of peace out of Wales[2] to visitt us which came to bee fine ministers & turned many to ye spiritt of God & to sett under Christs teachinge & they suffred much Imprisonment & one of y^m convinced 3 preists & one of y^m became a fine minister & stands to this day:] & there came a souldyer & one of our freinds was admonishing of him & exhorting him & I saw him beginn to draw his sworde att him & I stept to him & tolde him what a shame it was to offer to draw his sworde of a naked man & a prisoner & how unfitt & unworthy hee was to carry such a weapon for some men woulde have taken it from him if hee shoulde have ofred such a thinge & have broken it to peices

& soe hee shamed with it: & ye Lords power did mightily preserve us there.

And ye goaler came & tolde mee on night about ye 11th houre at night when hee was halfe drunke yt hee had gotten a man nowe to dispute with mee: & then wee had leave to goe a litle into ye tounde: & I felt assoone as hee spoake those words there was a snare Intended to my body all yt night & ye next day.

And ye next day I lay doune on a grasse plott to slumber & I felt somethinge still about my body & I storted uppe & strucke att it in ye power of ye Lord: & yett still it was abut my body.

And I risse & walket Into ye Castle greene & ye underkeeper tolde mee there was a maide woulde speak with mee att ye prison: & I felt a snare in his words to: & I went to ye grate & there I saw the conjurer yt was then brought to ye goale had a naked knife in his hande: & I spoake to him & hee threatned to cutt my chopps as hee saide butt hee was in ye goale & coulde not come att mee.

And this was ye goalers great disputant: & when I came in ye goaler was att breakefast & there hee had gotten this conjurer out & I tolde ye goaler his plott was discovred & hee gott uppe from ye table [& wrunge his hands] & strucke his napkin away in a rage: & I went away Into ye Chamber & left them for att yt time wee was out of Doomesdale.

But att yt time yt ye goaler saide ye dispute shoulde be I went Into ye Courte & walkt there in ye place appointed till abut ye 11th houre & noe body came: & then I walkt uppe Into ye Chamber againe: & I hearde on call for mee & I went to ye stayre heade & ye goalers wiffe was upon ye staires: & ye fortune teller was att ye bottom of ye staires in a rage holdinge his hande behinde his backe.

And I saide unto him Man what hast in thy hande behinde thy backe plucke thy hande before thee lett us see thy hand & what thou hast in it: & in a rage hee tooke foorth his hande with a naked knife in it: & then I shewed ye goalers wiffe ye wicked designe of her & her husbande: which was ye man they had brought to dispute of ye thinges of God: but ye Lord discovred there plott & there designe.

And soe they both raged & hee threatned: & I was moved of ye Lord to speake sharpely to him in ye dreadfull

power of ye Lord & ye Lords power came over him soe as hee never after durst appear before mee to speak unto mee.

And I sawe y^t^ it was ye Lord alone y^t^ did preserve mee out of & over there bloody handes for ye Devill had a great enmity to mee.[1]

And severall of ye toundespeople came to bee convinct & was made loveinge to us.

And Judge Haggetts[2] wiffe came from Bristoll to visitt us {att ye second assisses}: & shee was convinct & severall of her children: & her husband was very loveinge & serviceable to freindes & had a great love to Gods people: which hee retained till hee dyed [& soe has his children].

[And this yeere Mary ffell {one of Judge ffells daughters} a Childe of eight yeeres olde was moved of ye Lorde to goe & speake to preist Lampitt & to tell him y^t^ ye Lord woulde poure out ye vialls of his wrath upon him[3]: & soe after when ye kinge came in hee was turned out.]

And in Cornewall Devensheere Dorsettsheere Somersettsheere truth began mightily to spreade: & many was turned to Christ Jesus & his free teachinge y^t^ they began to sett uppe watches In ye high ways to take uppe all suspitious persons as they caled it: which was ye freindes y^t^ came to visitt us in prison: which they onely tooke uppe y^t^ they might not passe uppe & doune in ye Lords service & y^m^ they brought before ye Justices & some {clothiers & other} men they whippt [a]off abut 100 or 80 a yeere[a] which they tooke uppe not abuve 4 or 5 miles from there familys y^t^ was goeinge to mills with there cloath.

And when freindes was gott amongst ye watches Itt woulde bee a fortnight or 3 weekes before they coulde gett out of y^m^ againe for noe sooner had one party taken y^m^ & carryed y^m^ before ye Justices & they had discharged y^m^ but then another woulde take y^m^ uppe {& carry y^m^ before other Justices} which putt ye Country to a great deale of needlesse cost & charges: & y^t^ which they thought to have stoppt ye truth by was ye meanes to spread it soe much ye more: for then freindes was continnualy moved to speake to one constable & to ye other officer & Justice: &

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions: *of about Eighty or an hundred Pounds by the year*

this caused ye truth to spreade ye more amongst y^{m} {in all there parishes}[1].

And as Tho: Rawlinson was comeinge upp to visitt us out of ye North a Constable in Devonsheere tooke him uppe & att night took 20^{s}· out of his pockett : & hee & many freindes was cruelly beate many times by y^{m} {& they cast him Into Exeter goale after they had robbed him}.[a]

[2]Wheare as a warant being granted out the Last seshones held at Exon the 18th day of 5 month, which warant is to aprehend to take up all such as are Quackers and cales themselves Quackers or goe under the noshon of Queckers which warant is to be sent to the chef constables & for them to send them to the pettey constebeles And for them to sett watches Able men [of ability] with billes to take upp all Queckers [and profese them selves Queckers and goes under the name and noshon of it] and wheare as you speake conserning of theire spreading of sedishous bookes and papers, But y^{e} which you in scorne cales Queckers hath noe sedishous bookes or papers, but theire bookes are against sedishon and sedishous men & sedishous bookes & sedishous teachers and sedishous wayes, and so you have numbred them honeist men godly men holey men, men that fears god, among begers Roages and vagebonds, thus puting no difrence betwixt the preshou(s) and y^{e} vile not fite to Judge who setes up your billes Aremed youer men to stand up together in battle against the Inosent people, The lambes of Crist which hath not lifted up ahand against you, but if you did fell or se youer owne contrey youer citeyes youer tounes youer viligies How the cry of them is like Gomorah and the Ringe like Sodam and y^{e} sound like the ould world wheare all flesh was stayned which god overthrew with y^{e} flud ; if you did this consider with youer selves you would find sumthing to turne youer sword against and not agagainst the lambes of Christ and not make a mocke upon the Inosent that stand a witnes Against all sine and unrighteousnes In youer tounes and steplehouseis, Noah the 8 person a preacher of righteousnes was greved with the filthey conversation of the wicked, so are we now, so Like-

[a] Narrative continued on page 236.

wise Just Lot was greved with theire unmersifull dedes and theire filthey conversation of Sodom and was not these hated of y^e^ world and them that lived in filthnes, and wheareas you speake of those which you in scorne calls Quackers are a greife to those which you call pyous and Religous people theire Relegion, such as be in theire Religgon that is vaine we are agreife too I beleve the Queckers are, whose tung are not bridled but we are not a grefe to such that be in the peure Relidgon which kepeth unspoted of the world, which settes not up billes nor watches to mantayne it by the world for the are not of the world which be in the peure Religgon which kepes them unspoted of y^e^ world, marke, the peure Relidgon which kepes unspoted of y^e^ world, and such as be in y^e^ Relidgon that is not pure which have a forme of godlynes and not the poure such as you call pyous y^e^ treuth it selfe to such was all wayes agrefe and so it is In this ayge.

And now youer freutes doth apeare the End of youer Relidgon and profeshon and what you doe poses but you are in the eror and have bene but In the profeshon out of the poseshon of the spirit, that is not in the spirit of treuth, for wheare did ever it sett stintes and bondes and number the Just and Inosent with y^e^ wicked, but the wicked set stintes & bondes and limetes to the Just and numbers them amongst the wicked, yea speake all maner of evell the was to doe which you are doing upon us now which doe profese that which you profese In wordes, ne you cast us out acording to the scripture such as trembles at the word of god and hates them you that have youer temple worshipe and say that the quackers come to desturb you in youer [steeple-houses and] churches as you calle them was it not the pracktise of the apostles to goe Into the sinagog and temple to witnes against the presthud that tooke tythes, and was it not the pracktise of the Jewes to hayle them out and percicute them and stone them that witnesed Christ the seckond prest[hud] that went to bring people of the first prest hud was it not the practise of the profetes to goe and cry against the high placeyes was it not the pracktise of the hethen and the Jewes when the backslided to percicut and prison to percicut the profetes and send after them Into other contreyes and is it not the pracktise of you now

which are houlding up youer high places which the papists sett up [for you] which you call youer churches wheare you beat and percicute what Relidgous people are you y^t^ are filed with so much madnes did not Paule confese he was mad while he was in youer pracktise hayling prisoning beating puting out of sinagoges haveing his Authorety from the chefe prestes, and are not the chefe prests the cause of this was theire ever such a crey hard in aney ayge past as theire is now in the pulpites Rayling against an Inosent people whom you In scorne call Queckers which lift not up a hande against you, and who are the pyous that are of the pure Relidgon that feares god and worshipes god in the spirit and in treuth y^t^ can[a] Joyne with you in youer Relidgon and doth not the minesters of god say that y^e^ scriptures are a declaration which you call they word, doe not you Robb Christ of his honer and of his tytell and give it to the Leter heare and showes youer selves out of the docktrine of the minesters of god which cales the scriptures by the name of writinges treateses decclarationes and said Christs name was the word of god are you not heare in the Eror you speake of which is youer comon talke amonge you theire was talke among sume of you of youer gospell shineing doth youer gospell which you profes percicute did ever aney of them that did poses it cast Into prison and not sufer others to goe to visit them are you like Cristyanes in this or like hethen and suffer bondes and watches over y^e^ Land that the should not pas to visit them that be in prison was ever the like heard in aney agise, search and se if you have not out striped them all In youer watches and percicution In youer Imprisonmentes yea yea the Hethen never talke that we are a grefe to them that are in the peure Relidgon.

And wheare as it is said disafeckted to governement y^e^ Law that is ateror to the Evell doer we owne the higher poure to which the soule must be subgeckt too but we seing[b] the evell doer y^e^ malishous man reuling and the Envyeous man seking for his pray whose envey is against y^e^ Inosent, who Raiseth up the contrey against honest men, and so becomes a truble to the contrey In raysing them up to take the Inosent but that we leave for all to Judge and theire-

[a] Ellwood editions read *cannot*
[b] Ellwood editions read *deny* in place of *seing*

for your false acusationes we doe deney and all the Rest, and heresey and blasphemey we doe deney you should have layde them doune In pertickular what the had bene that people might have sene them and not have slandred behind theire backes [and we should have answered them the should hav bene menshoned what the had bene and not have said such athinge That is not fit to give forth aworent for] y^e^ law saith the crime should be menshoned in the warent, and then you sayeing we deney the godly minesters to be a treue minesterey of christ, that is false for we say that the godly minesters are the minesters of christ but which of youer minesters dare say that the are godly.

And for your saying sedusing maney weke people that againe is false, for we seduse none, but you that deney the light which lighteth everey man that cometh Into the world are sedused from the anoynting [which abideth in you] which should teach you and you ned not that aney man teach you but as the same anoynting doth teach you, and as the same anoynting teacheth you shall abide in him but such as abide in him which ar taught by the anoynting which abideth in them and deneyes mans teaching you cales these sedusers Quite contrerey to Johns docktrine (1 John 2 chapter) quite contrerey you speake to it that which is treuth call you sedusing, and that which he calles sedusing calles you treuth Read the chapter the later part of it, beware I warne you all from the Lord god of glorey, sett not your bond against him stinte him not limit not the holey one of Isarell for the lord Is rising in poure and great glorey which will Reule the nationes with a Rod of Iron which to him are but as the drope of a bucket, and dash nationes together as a poters vesell, him that mesures the waters In the holow of his hand, now you that are found in this his day blaspheming his worke that god hath brought forth for caling it blasfemey, fiting against it seting up your carnall weapones making youer bandes strong god will breake that asunder that youer carnall weapon polecey hath Invented and make you to know theire is a god in heaven which careyes his Lambes in his armes which are come amongst wolves which In everey place are redey to be torne in peses yea in youer steplehouses which are people without Reason and have not afexion to nature.

Theirefore all the pettey constables, shirefes & Justisies take warneing and take heed what you doe against they Lambes of Christ for Christ is comeing & come who will give to everey one of you a reward acording to youer workes, you which have the Letter which speakes of a christ but now you are persicuting that which y^e^ scriptures speakes off, so youer freutes doth make it apeare.

Theirefore everey one sherifes Justises cunstebeles se what you doe posese consider what you doe posese and what a profeshon you are now in, that all these carnall weapones are now sett up against the Inosent ye against y^e^ treuth which shewes that you have not the spirituall weapons, that they are not amonge you, and that you want the counsell of Gameliell, yea you want y^e^ counsell of such a man amonge you [yea of the hethen] who said Let the apostles alone if it be of god it will stand if it weare not it would come to nought but you may see youer selves one the contrerey of the number of them that came with Judas with swordes and staves from the chef prestes against Christ, but still it is against Christ wheare he is made manefest Paull[a] went against him though Paull profesed a Christ that was to come, and the Jewes profesed a Christ that was for to come, yett Paule persecukted him wheare he was manefested in his saintes, so you profeses a Christ that is to come, but perseckute him wheare he so manefest you that have the leter, high placeus sinagoges you persecute him wheare he is made manefest in his saintes, as ye Gewes did, which was in y^e^ Letter out of the Life, persecuted them which was in the Life of that which the profesed in y^e^ Letter, so now doe you persecut them that are in the Life and are to it strangers as youer streetes makes itt apeare, you have numbred y^e^ people of god amonge transgresers but have you prisoned aney of y^e^ Roages & transgresers you speake off but prisoned y^e^ Inosent; and lett them goe free.

[b]And ye maior of Launceston was a very wicked man for hee would take y^m^ uppe & search substantiall womens petticoates & heades [for letters] & cast y^m^ Into prison.

[a] Ellwood editions insert *while Saul*

[b] Narrative continued from page 232.

And there was a freinde came to mee y^t^ came not through ye tounde & I drew uppe all ye grosse inhumane & unchristian actions of ye maior for his cariage was more like a heathen then a Christian: & I gave it ye younge man & bid him seale it uppe & goe out ye backesyde {of ye tounde} & come Into {ye tounde through} ye gates & ye younge man did soe.

And ye watchmen {tooke him uppe} carryed him before ye maior: & hee presently searcht his pockett: & tooke out y^t^ letter where hee saw all his actions carectarised: & from y^t^ time hee medled litle more with ye servants of ye Lord {hee was soe ashamed}.

And they cast Henry Polixphen[1] Into prison in Devonsheere for beinge a Jesuite whoe had beene a Justice of peace for ye most parte of 40 yeeres past [& this was ye rage & fruites of ye Presbyterians Independants & baptists in that which ye caled there gospell times] which was ye times of ye power of darknesse.

And Elizabeth Trelauny of Plymouth beinge convinct a baronetts daughter: the preists was in a great rage concerneinge her & other great persons & professors {her kinred}: & beinge a wise & tender woman in ye feare of God shee sent her letters to mee: & I aunswered the preists & if shee coulde owne y^m^ shee might sett her hande to y^m^ & give y^m^ to ye preists which shee did: & shee grew soe in ye power & spiritt {& wisedome} of God y^t^ shee coulde aunswer ye wisest preist & professor of y^m^ all: & had a dominion over y^m^ all by ye power of ye Lord {& soe shee continnued in truth till shee dyed}.

And soe wee continnued in prison till ye next assises.

And a great deale of worke wee had betwixt ye assises: & att ye assises severall freindes was caled before ye Judges & Indicted: & though ye goaler brought y^m^ Into ye courte yett they Indicted y^m^ y^t^ they came in by force of armes & in a hostile maner: & ye Judge ffined y^m^ because they woulde not putt off there hatts: severall men & women were taken uppe by ye watches & sent to prison att this time.

Butt wee were never caled before ye Judges any more: but they left us by.

And after a time O: P sent doune Major Generall Desbrough pretendinge to sett us att liberty: & hee proferd

us if wee woulde say wee woulde goe home & preach noe more wee shoulde have our liberty butt wee coulde not promise him [as may bee seene in a letter heereafter asserted which was sent to him].[a]

[1]*Copy of E: Piots Le^t {& gff} to Gen^ll Desborah 1656*

ffriend & ffriends

All though much might be sayd as to y^e Libertie off English men to travell in any parte of y^e Nation, England being as y^e English mans house, by y^e law, & Is to be protected in any parte of itt, if he transgress y^e law y^e penneltie upon y^e transgreshon is to be inflicted, & as to libertie of Conscience, which is a natterall right, & a fundamentall, And y^e exercise of it by those who profese fayth in god by Jesus Christ is to be protected, as by y^e Instrament of Goverment though they differ in doctrine worship & disapline, provided this libertie Extend not to popery or prelecy nor to Lisentiousnes; Wheare these rights are denyed us our liberties are Infringed which is y^e price of much blood & treasure in y^e late wars, yeett in y^e power of god over all, by which all is to be ruled, are wee, & dwell & by itt a lone guided to doe y^e will of god, whose will is free, & wee in y^e freedome of his will walke by y^e power, Either as itt comands or permits, with out aney Condition or Inforsment thare unto by man, but as y^e power moves, Either by command or permission, and although we cannot covenant or condition to goe forth of these parts, or to doe this or that thing if y^e Lord permitt, for y^t ware to doe y^e will of man by gods permision, yeett tis like we may pas forth of these parts in y^e Libertie of y^e will of god, as we may be severally moved & guided by y^e pure power & not of nesessitie; wee who ware first commited wear pasing home when wee weare Apprehended, & as far as I know we might pase if y^e prison doors weare commanded to be opened & wee freed of our bonds, should wee stay, & y^e Lord commands us to goe, or should wee goe & y^e Lord commands us to stay, or haveing noe command to stay but are permited to pase from hence, the pure power moveing theire

[a] Narrative continued on page 241.

to, & wee yett stay, or goe when as before commanded to stay; we should then be wanderers indeed, for such are wanderers who wander out from y^e^ will & power of god a broad att large in theire owne wils & earthly minds, & so in y^e^ feare of y^e^ Lord god well weigh & consider with y^e^ Just weight & Just ballence y^t^ Justice you may doe to y^e^ Just & Innocent in your prison.

gff
Edw: Pyott

[1]*gff to generall disbrow from lanson gale 1656*

freind

Wee which be in y^e^ power of god, y^e^ ruller of all, y^e^ upholder of all things & know & dwell in his power to it we must be obedient, which brings us to stand out of all mens wills not limmited, now incase to say we will if y^e^ lord permitt in case to buy & sell & gett gaine, which if y^e^ intent be soe to doe may be done, but y^e^ case standing in y^e^ power to doe y^e^ will of god [standing in y^e^ power to doe his will], & to stand out of mans will, if he propound he shall have his liberte If he will say he will goe to his outward being if y^e^ Lord permit, if it be y^e^ will of god, & because he cannot say these words, for such a case shall not have his liberte, when he knowes y^t^ y^e^ will of god is y^t^ he must goe to & speake at sum other place, soe y^t^ heare hee cannot say these words true, for to say we will goe to our outward habitation, if it be according to y^e^ will of god, when we knowe it is y^e^ will of god otherwise, [now] we cannot speake soe truely nor clearly, neither can a man soe say to him that requires it of him, whoe stands in y^e^ power which knowes y^e^ power of god, which leads him according to gods will, & leads him to another place then y^t^ which is called y^e^ outward home, but y^e^ son of god had noe whare to lay his head, whoe came to doe y^e^ will of god, whoe did y^e^ will of god, & y^e^ apostles & maney of y^e^ followers of christ had not aney certaine dwelling place, now if these should have bin restrained, because they could not say, they would goe to y^t^ which y^e^ world calls their outward homes, if it ware y^e^ will of god to sattisfie y^t^ mind to speake these words & they

knew it was y^e^ will of god they should not, & they could not doe y^e^ will of god in doeinge soe[a], Abraham could not doe y^e^ will of god but in goeing from his native[b], & whoe are of faith are of Abraham of whome Christ came according to y^e^ flesh, now you may alledge & say this is to let all loose & libberty to Idleness, noe, such as be in y^e^ power of god, which doth y^e^ will of god, comes to receive his wisdome, by which all his creaturs ware created, by which to use them to his glorie, soe this I shall say, whoe are moved of y^e^ lord god of glorie & power to goe to their outward beings or habitations, such may of us goe to their outward beings or homes & their to be dilligent in serveing y^e^ lord god, y^t^ they may be a blesing from y^e^ lord god in their generation dilligently serveing him in life & doctrin in manners in conversations in all things, & whoe are moved of y^e^ lord to goe to aney other place which stands in his will, who are moved by y^e^ power of y^e^ lord, which comprehends all things, which is not to be limmited, we shall doe his will, which we are commanded to doe, soe y^e^ lord god open your understandings y^t^ you may see this great power of y^e^ lord, which he is now manifesting amonge his children in this his day, y^t^ you may not withstand itt, (in) our freinds y^t^ are come into y^e^ power of god & to him & knowe him, him by whom y^e^ world was made, by whome all things were created y^t^ was created, & their was not aney thing made, y^t^ was made, but what was made for him & to him [nor aney thing created, y^t^ was created, but what was created for him & to him] & by him, him whoe is y^e^ power of god, whoe doth enlighten every man y^t^ cometh into y^e^ world, now our freinds being come to this light which cometh from Christ & have received power from him by whome all things was created, whoe hath all power in heaven & earth given to him, whoe is y^e^ wisdome of god, we haveing received wisdome & power from him, with which y^e^ lord doth give us to knowe how to youse & order y^e^ creatures to the glorie of him whoe is y^e^ Creator of all things; soe our freindes heare are taught of y^e^ lord to bee dilligent serveing him, whoe comes into y^e^ life y^e^ scripturs were given forth from, & thus I have in all your consiences a witness, so if thou open

[a] Ellwood editions add *would not that have been Evil?*
[b] Ellwood editions add *Country*

y^e^ prison dore we shall not stay there if thou send a free liberrate we shall not stay in prison if thou wilt set us free, for Israell is to goe out free, whose freedome is purchased by y^e^ power of god & y^e^ blood of Jesus, but goeing out of y^e^ power of god he loseth his fredome.

13: day of 6^th^ month 56

George fox & y^e^ rest who are sufferers for y^e^ truth in Lanceston Gaole.

[a]And soe hee came to ye castle greene & there playde att bowles with ye Justices & other men: & severall freindes was moved to goe & admonish him & y^m^ how they tooke there pleasure & yett Imprisond ye servants of God & yett professe y^m^selves Christians, & howe ye Lord woulde pleade with y^m^ & visitt y^m^ for such thinges[1].

And hee went his ways but left us in prison [{but after when ye Kinge came in hee was cast Into prison himselfe}].

And after ye sheriffe & ye souldyers came to guarde a woman y^t^ was to bee putt to death with whome wee had a great deale of discourse. And one of y^m^ saide {wickedly} y^t^ Christ was as passionate a man as any lived upon ye earth: for which wee rebuked him.

And wee askt ye goaler what doeinges there was att ye sessions & hee saide small matters onely a matter of 30 for bastardy & soe wee thought it very strange y^t^ they y^t^ profest y^m^selves Christians shoulde make small matters of such thinges.

[2]And diverse Justices came to us att ye assises & were pretty civill & reasond of ye thinges of God pretty soberly & had a pitty to us.

And there came Capt ffox y^t^ was governor of Pendennis Castle & looket mee in ye face: & saide never a worde but went his ways to his company: & saide hee never saw a simpler man in his life. And I caled after him & saide stay man: & wee will see whoe is ye simpler man: butt hee went his ways a light chaffy man.

And att ye Assises there came one Tho: Lower[3] to visitt

[a] Narrative continued from page 238.

us & hee asket many questions of us {& offred to give us money & wee accepted of his love but refused his money} concerneinge our denyinge ye Scriptures to bee ye worde of God & ye sacraments & such like: I spoake unto him: & hee saide my words was as a flash of lightninge it soe runn through him: butt hee received satisfaction concerneinge all ye thinges hee askt of us & went his ways & saide hee never mett with such wise men in his life for they knew ye thoughts of his hearte & were as ye wise master builders of ye assemblyes y^t^ fastned there words like nayles: whoe after came to bee convinced: & remaines a freinde to this day.

And hee went home to his aunt Hambleys[1] & shee hearinge ye sound of truth shee & her sister[2a] came afterwards to visitt us in prison & was convinct alsoe [& remaines to this day]: & they have gonne through great suffringes & spoileinge of goods both hee & his aunt for truths sake[3].

And after a while Coll: Bennett woulde have sett us att liberty if wee woulde have paide his {goalers} fees: for ye busnesse was left with him by Major Generall Desborough.

Butt wee tolde him wee coulde give ye goaler noe fees for wee was Innocent sufferers & how coulde they aske fees of us whoe had caused us to suffer soe longe wrongefully.

And I often admonished ye goaler to sobriety: but hee woulde abuse people y^t^ came to visitt us: for hee had beene blest & made[b] if hee had carryed himselfe civill but ye man sought his owne ruin {as after came upon him}.

And wee sent for a younge woman {one Anne Downer[4]} from London y^t^ coulde write caracters to gett & dresse our meate & shee was very serviceable to us.

And Ed: Pyott had a cheese sent to him from his wiffe from Bristoll & ye goaler tooke ye cheese from us & carryed it to ye maior to search it for treasonable letters as hee saide: & there they kept it.

And after a time Coll: Bennett comeinge to tounde hee sent for us to an Inn: & Insisted againe upon fees: butt att Last ye power of ye Lord came soe over him y^t^ hee sett us att liberty.

And soe wee gott horses & ridd uppe Into ye country to

[a] Ellwood editions add the name *Grace Billing*
[b] Ellwood editions add *rich*

Humfry Lower & upon ye roade wee mett him & hee tolde us hee was much troubled in his spiritt concerneinge of us & hee coulde not rest att home butt was goeinge to Coll: Bennett to seeke for our liberty: & soe wee tolde him wee was sett att liberty & was goeinge to his house: & glad hee was of it {& att his house wee had a fine pretious meetinge & many was convinced & turned by ye spiritt of God to ye Lord Jesus Christs teachinge}.

And from his house wee went to Loveday Hamblyes house: where wee had a fine large meetinge: & many was convinct there alsoe & turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ there teacher: & ye Lord power was over all & many was turned there to ye Lord [& remaines to this day under Christs free teachinge]: & after wee had tarryed there two or 3 days wee came to Tho: Mounces where wee had a generall meetinge for ye whole county {& freindes from Plymouth were there alsoe}: which was very large in his orcharde & ye Lords power was over all & great convincement there was in many places of ye county: & all there watches was doune in all ye countrye & all was plaine {& ye Lorde did lett mee see before I was sett at liberty y^{t} hee woulde make all ye country plaine before mee}.

And Tho: & Ann Curtis[1] came uppe to mee whilst I was in prison & one of the aldermen {of Readinge} which was convinct & Tho: Curtis stayde behinde & went Into Cornewall & hee did good service for ye Lord {there} att y^{t} time.

And from Tho: Mounces wee passt to Launceston againe & visited y^{t} litle remnant of freindes where wee had beene prisoners: & ye Lords plants finely grew & was established on Christ ye rocke & foundation.

And when wee came to Launceston ye Constable as wee were goeinge out of tounde hee came runninge to us with ye cheese which they had kept from us alonge while: & were tormented with it: but then beinge sett att liberty wee woulde not receive it.

And a litle before this time y^{t} wee were sett at liberty Jam: Nayler runn out & a company with him Into Imaginations. And they raised uppe a great darknesse in ye nation: & hee came to Bristoll & made a disturbans there: & from thence hee was comeinge to see mee but was Imprisoned att Exeter {by ye way}.

And severall others y^t^ was comeinge to see mee was Imprisoned there alsoe.

And soe wee was cast Into prison 9 weekes before lent assises & was sett att liberty ye 13^th^ day of ye 7^th^ m^th^ 1656.

And soe from Launceston wee came to Okeington & lay att ye maiors house whoe kept an Inn: whoe had taken uppe & stopt severall freindes butt hee was very civill to us & convinct in his Judgement.

And from thence wee came through ye countryes to Exeter: & one ye first day wee went to ye prison to visitt ye prisoners butt over night I sent for Jam: Nayler: for I saw hee was out: & ye next day wee went to ye meetinge & helde it in ye prison.

And I saw hee & his company was wronge butt I did admonish y^m^: butt Jam: Nayler & some of y^m^ coulde not stay ye meetinge butt kept on there hatts when I prayde: & they was ye first y^t^ gave y^t^ bad example amongst freindes.

Soe after I had beene warringe with ye worlde now there was a wicked spiritt risen uppe amongst freindes to warr against.

And there was a Corporall of horse came in to ye meetinge there & hee was convinct: & hee remaines a very good freinde to this day.

And there was a tender freinde dyed in prison att that time: whoe was comeinge to visitt mee whose blood lyes one ye heades of his persecutors.

And ye next day I spoake to Jam: Naylor againe & hee sleighted it & was dark & much out: neverthelesse hee woulde have come & kisst mee but I saide seeinge hee had turned against ye power of God [a]Itt was my foote[a]: & soe ye Lord God moved mee to sleight him & to sett ye power of God over him.

And when hee was come to London his resistinge ye power of God In mee {& ye truth y^t^ was declared to him} became one of his greatest burdens butt hee came to see it & to condemne it & all his outgoeinges as in ye printed relation[1] {of his repentans condemnation & recovery} may bee more fully seene.

[a]...[a] In place of these words Ellwood editions have *I could not receive his shew of Kindness*

[And not longe after Judge Glyn dyed: & Major Peter Ceely & other of ye persecutinge Justices were turned out.]

And the next yeere ye Goaler was turned out: & for some wickednesse was cast into ye goale himselfe & there begged of our ffreindes: & for some unrulynesse in his carriage was cast Into Doomesdale by ye succeedinge goaler: & locket uppe in ye Irons & beaten: & hee bidd him remember how hee had abused those good men y^{t} hee had wickedly without any cause cast Into y^{t} nasty dungeon: & nowe hee deservedly shoulde suffer for his wickednesse: & ye same measure hee had meted to others hee should have meted out to himselfe: & hee dyed in prison & grew to bee very poor & his wiffe & family came to misery.

[1]And when I was in prison in Cornewall there was a freinde went to O: C. & offred his body to him for to goe to lye in Doomsdale prison for mee or in my steade y^{t} hee woulde take him & lett mee goe at liberty & itt soe strucke him & came over him y^{t} hee saide to his great men & his Councell: which off you woulde doe soe {much} for mee if I was in ye same condition.[a]

[2][*umphery norton to gff 1656*

Deare G: ff:

Whose beauty & comlines in words cannot be exprest; This am I moved & freely given up from the love to the seed; & the love of the seed which lies upon thee; to lay before thee, I beinge waitinge upon the Lord upon the sevententh of the last month, In my Life thou appeared; & since it hath beene much upon mee that some thinge I should see touchinge thee, And my drawings was to this place where I am: & this is now required of me, thou beinge Olivers prisoner, That unto himselfe I should offer body for body[3], & ready I am & free I am though it should be unto blood; & if thou receive me hearin see that it stand with wisdome lett me have the sume of thy uniust sufferings & fine to lay before him, that therin he may be left without excuse, & I cleared of what is required of mee, I desire the deare &

[a] Narrative continued on page 246.

chosen lett me heare from thee, for great I see is the want of thee: I was one first [a]latly att Swarth More & in that meatinge there is many speakers & prayers & such a singinge[1] as the like I have not heard & likwise a leightnes amongst them which I saw & did beare & it lay upon me to lay it before the & J. N.[a] who are sufficient for these things (& the cause of these & the difference att & about Kendall) And the wante of thy shewinge forth unto Israell lies now upon me till I heare from thee who with unfeigned words am made Ready to lay down my life for the

which now I Humphrey Norton in the will of the father & by his power am ready to doe what befor mentioned.

London this 4th 2th
month (56)

J N is gone out of towne to be att a Generall meatinge next first day att J. Crokes & knowes noe other but to returne Tho: Robbertson[2] is latly cast in prison & Bryan Wilkinson[3] att Horsam where T: Laycook[4] is.]

[b]1656. Neverthelesse O: C: did not accept ye freindes profer but saide hee coulde not doe it for yt was contrary to law: but however ye truth came over him.

[5]And after this time when I was sett att liberty I was moved to goe over most partes of ye nation ye truth beinge spreade upp & doune over ye nation and it was ye generall talke of ye preists & professors & other sectary preachers yt ye false prophetts & ye Antichrists shoulde come in ye last days & yt wee were they.

And I was moved to open this through ye nation howe yt they which saide wee were ye false prophetts antichrists & deceivers which shoulde come in ye last times yt it was ym selves.

For as Christ saide to his disciples in ye 7th & 24th of Math: false prophetts & antichrists shoulde come In ye last times: & if it was possible they shoulde deceive ye very elect: butt by ye fruites yee shall know ym for they shoulde bee Inwardely raveninge wolfes haveinge sheepes cloathinge.

[a]...[a] This passage has been crossed out.
[b] Narrative continued from page 245.

Butt Christ saith doe men gather grapes of thornes or figgs of thistles as much as to say there nature & spiritt shoulde bee like a thistle & like a thorne but Christ saide to his Disciples doe not goe after y^m.

Now before ye disciples deceased ye antichrists false prophetts & deceivers did come: for John saide in his first Epistle litle children I write unto you Itt is ye last times whereof you have hearde say y^t antichrist should come & false prophetts in ye last times: soe says hee there are many false prophetts which are come & they are gonne out Into ye worlde whereby wee know y^t it is ye last time.

Soe heere Christ saide they should come to his disciples & ye disciples sawe they was come as you may see in Peter Jude & Jhon & other places whereby says John wee knowe it is ye last time: & this last time was above 1600 yeeres since.

And John saide they went out from us to wit ye false prophetts antichrists seducers & deceivers: but you sayde hee to the Church you have an anointeinge which abideth in you: & you neede not y^t any man teach you butt as ye same anointeinge teacheth you & as it doth teach you yee shall continnue in ye sun of God [& in ye father].

Soe Christ saide goe not after y^m for they are inwardely raveninge wolfes to his disciples: & John exhortes ye Saintes to ye anointeinge within y^m & ye rest of ye Apostles exhortes ye Churches to ye grace ye light ye truth ye spiritt ye worde & faith: & Christ in there heartes ye hope of glory.

And Christ tolde ye saintes y^t ye spirit of truth ye holy ghoast shoulde bee there leader Into all truth.

And Jude exhortes ye Church to[a] ye holy ghoast & there buildeinge in ye holy faith which Christ was ye author of.

And Christ exhortes ye 7 Churches by John to heare what ye spiritt saide unto ye Churches.

And this was an Inwarde spirituall hearinge.

Now ye inwardely raveninge wolfes with there sheepes cloathinge says Christ: haveinge a forme of godlynesse & denyinge ye power says ye Apostle went foorth from us sayde John: they goe in Cains way Balams and Cores way

[a] Ellwood editions insert the words *pray in*

saide Jude [soe wee know it is ye last time saide ye Apostle in his day & they departed from ye faith saide ye Apostle].

Soe now you may see cleerely y^{t} which Christ foretolde should come to witt ye false prophetts & antichrists ye Apostle saw was come: & in there day Itt was ye last time & they went foorth from y^{m} Into ye worlde & ye worlde went after y^{m}.

These was ye foremen & leaders of ye worlde & brought y^{m} Into a forme of godlynesse & inwardely ravened from ye power & spiritt & these has ye sheepes cloathinge Christs & ye prophetts & Apostles wordes butt are Inwardely ravened from ye power & spiritt that they was in y^{t} gave foorth ye scriptures.

And these has made uppe ye beast ye whore these has gotten ye dragons power a murderinge destroyinge persecutinge power.

And these are y^{m} y^{t} ye worlde wonders after.

And these has druncken ye bloode of ye martyrs prophetts & saintes & persecuted ye true Church in ye wildernesse: these have sett uppe ye false compellinge worshipps & has drunken ye bloode of ye saintes y^{t} will not drinke of there cuppe these has made ye cage for ye uncleane birdes y^{t} has there severall uncleane notes in there cage: which cage is made uppe by ye power of darknesse & uncleane ghoast & denyes ye holy ghoast & power of God ye Apostles was in.

Soe you may see since Christ saide ye false prophetts & Antichrists should come & ye Apostle saide they was come ye beast & ye Dragons worshippe has beene sett upp & ye whore is gott uppe & ye false prophetts: & her cage has been made & all nations has drunken of her cuppe of fornication: & ye blood of ye martyrs & saintes they have drunke & ye true Church hath fled Into ye wildernesse & all this since ye Apostles days & yett ye blinde deceivers of all sorts & antichrists & false prophetts of our age tells us & woulde make us {& people} beleive y^{t} ye false prophetts antichrists & deceivers are come butt now.

And [{st}][a] John & ye Apostles tells they was come above

[a] This insertion appears to be *st* (= Saint), but the use of this word in this connection by the early Friends was most unusual.

1600 yeeres since: soe Christ saide they shoulde come & ye Apostles saw they was come: & since ye worlde is runn after y^m: & you may see what worke & confusion they have made in ye worlde: and howe much bloode these Cains has drunke y^t went in Cains ways y^t cryes to God for vengans upon Christendome.

And how these Balams y^t has erred from ye power & spiritt ye Apostles was in has coveted after mens estates ye many goales Courtes & spoileinge of goodes will beare wittnesse to it.

And how these Cores has gainesayde ye life & power & spirit y^t ye Apostles & ye true Church was in & ye free teachinge of Christ & his apostles & ye worke of there minister[a] y^t was to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.

And therfore in ye name & power of ye Lord Jesus was I sent to preach ye everlastinge gospell which Abraham saw & was preached in ye Apostles days & was to goe over all nations & to bee preached to every creature.

And since has ye Apostacy gonne over all nations y^t they are become like waters {unstable: beinge gonne from Christ ye foundation}.

Soe nowe must ye gospell goe over all nations againe ye power of God seeinge ye Apostacy has gonne over all since ye Apostles days.

Nowe wee haveinge ye false prophetts antichrists deceivers whore false Church beast & his worshippe in ye dragons power betwixt us & ye Apostles for Christ saide {to his Disciples} they should come: & {after} they saw y^m come {& y^t they went foorth from y^m & y^t ye worlde went after y^m} & wee are gotten beyonde y^m & are over y^m in ye everlastinge gospell ye power of God.

Soe all beinge darkned with ye beast whore false prophetts & antichrist I say ye everlastinge gospell must bee preacht againe to all nations & to every creature: which bringes life & immortality to light in y^m y^t they may see over ye Devill & his false prophetts & antichrists & seducers & deceivers {& ye whore & beast} & before they was.

And in this message of this glorious & everlastinge

[a] Ellwood editions read *ministry*

gospell was I sent foorth to declare [& have continnued in it this 27 yeere] & thousands by it are turned to God & have received it & are come Into ye order of it.

And since I have declared this message in this parte of ye worlde & in America & written bookes of ye same ye blinde prophetts & preachers & deceivers has given over tellinge us ye false prophetts shoulde come in ye last times.

For a great light is sprunge & shines over there heads y^{t} every childe in truth sees ye folly of there sayinges.

[And alsoe other objections ye Independant & presbyterian & Baptists profefessors had y^{t} ye darkned peoples mindes withall.]

For the takeinge tyths was from ye tribe of Levi: & wee tolde y^{m} they were envious persecutinge preists they tolde us some preacht Christ out of envy & some of contention & some of good will: & Christ saide to ye scribes & pharisees yee ought to pay ye tyth of mint annis & cummin though they had neglected ye weightyer matters.

And Christ saide ye scribes & pharisees sate in Moses seate & all y^{t} ever they bid you doe y^{t} doe & observe: & now these scriptures & many such like they would bringe to darken there hearers: & y^{t} wee should doe as they say: though they were like pharisees & wee should rejoyce att contentious men & men of strife preachinge Christ & wee should give y^{m} ye tyth mint & annis & cummin as ye Jews did [ye pharisees & they was of] ye tribe of Levi.

Now heere was fare glosses & a great heape of huskes but noe Curnell.

Now this was there blindenesse: for ye tribe of Levi Christ has ended: & ye commandement y^{t} gave y^{m} there tyths: & ye law by which ye preists was made.

And Christ did not come after y^{t} order neither did hee send foorth his ministers after y^{t} order for hee sent y^{m} foorth freely & ye other was to take tyths.

And as for hearinge ye pharisees & ye Jews payinge tith mint & annis & cummin y^{t} was before Christ was sacrificed & ofred uppe: for ye Jews was to doe ye law & performe ther offringes & sacrifices which ye Jews preists did teach y^{m}.

But when Christ was offred uppe & sacrificed hee bid

y^m {then} goe preach ye gospell Into all nations: & loe I will bee with you to ye ende of ye worlde {sayde hee} & I will bee in you soe hee did not bid y^m goe heare ye pharisees then: & pay tyth of mint annis & cummin then: but goe preach ye Gospell & beleive in ye Lord Jesus & bee saved & receive ye gospell which woulde bringe people of ye Jews tyths [of mint annis & cummin] & ye law & ye offringes to Christ ye one offringe once for y^m all.

And you may see what worke ye Apostle had with both ye Galathians & ye Romans to bringe y^m {off ye law} to ye faith in Christ.

[Soe you may see ye preists darknesse in these there objections.]

And as for ye Apostles sayinge some preacht Christ out of envy: & some out of strife [& some of good will] &c That was att ye first spreadinge Christs name abroade for they was in dainger to bee cast out of ye synagoges y^t confest to ye name of Jesus: as you may see what uproares was amongst ye Jews & Dianas people att ye preachinge of Christ.

Soe ye Apostle might well rejoyce if ye envious & men of strife & contention did preach Christ att y^t time though they did butt add affliction to his bondes.

For after you may see when Christs name was spreade abroade & many had gotten ye forme of godly nesse but denyed ye power thereof envyous proude contentious men of strife covetous teachers for filthy lucre such ye Apostles {then} commanded to turne away from y^m & not to have any felloweshippe with y^m.

And they was first to bee proved yea deacons & ministers to see if they was in ye power of godly nesse: & ye holy ghoast made y^m preachers & overseers.

Soe you may see howe ye preists has abused these scriptures for there owne ends & has wrested y^m for there owne destruction to Justify envyous contentious men & men of strife for ye Apostle tells y^m ye men of God must bee patient {apt to teach}: & {they was to} follow {Christ as they had y^m for} there examples.

And as in another case ye Apostle was very tender to people y^t was scrupleinge about meates & days.

But after when ye Apostle began to see y^t some drew

y^m Into ye observation of days & to sett uppe such thinges hee tolde y^m {then} they had bewitched y^m.

And hee was tender concerneinge mariages least there mindes should run out from ye Lords Joineinge.

Butt after: when they [be]came to forbid mariages & to sett uppe[a] meates & drinkes hee caled it a doctrine of Devills & erringe from ye true faith {to forbid such thinges}.

And in some cases ye Apostle was tender concerneinge circumcision & suffred some to bee circumcised but after when hee saw they went to make a sect of it & to sett uppe circumcision hee tolde y^m {then} if they were circumcised Christ should profitt y^m nothinge.

And alsoe ye Apostle was tender concerneinge ye baptiseinge with water but when they begann to make a sect {of it}: & settinge upp Paul & Apollo: hee Judged {y^m} & caled y^m carnall & thankes God hee had baptised noe more but such & such. And y^t hee was sent to preach ye gospell & not to baptise & brought y^m to ye one baptisme by ye one spiritt Into one body: which Christ ye spirituall man is ye heade of & for ye Church all to drink Into y^t one spiritt: & soe In ye Church setts upp one faith which Christ was ye author of & one baptisme & one Lord Jesus Christ: whoe was ye baptiser: as John saide hee should come after him: & further says they were of ye circumcision of ye spiritt y^t was not made with handes by which ye body of ye sinns of ye flesh was putt off which is ye circumcision of Christ: & hee is ye minister of ye circumcision soe they were of ye circumcision which worshiped & served God in ye spiritt.

Soe ye preists objections was cleered & people came to see over y^m & through y^m & there mindes setled upon ye Lord Jesus Christ there free teacher.

And another great objection they had y^t ye Quakers denyed ye sacrament as they caled it of breade & wine[1]: which they was to doe & take in remenbrans of Christ to ye ende of ye worlde they saide.

To which I aunswered (for a great clutter wee had about this) Christ saith as ought as you eate this breade & drinke this cuppe doe it in remenbrans of mee & ye Apostle says ye same what hee received of ye Lord hee

[a] Ellwood editions insert here *Rules for*

delivered unto y^m & as oft as they tooke it It shoulde bee in remenbrans of his death sheweinge foorth his death till hee came.

Now as ye Apostle saith ye thinges y^t are seene are temporall & ye thinges y^t are not seene are eternall.

And a great deale of worke {wee had with ye preists & professors about this} & severall sortes of ways this is taken in Christendome.

Some says after the preist hath blest it It is Christs body & some takes it kneelinge & some sittinge: but none of y^m all I coulde finde takeinge of it accordinge to ye practise of ye Disciples ffor they took it in a chamber after supper & these generaly doe take it before a dinner.

Butt as to ye matter: as oft as you take it {sayde Christ} so Christ leaves it to y^m hee doth not say yee shall take it always.

For after ye Disciples had taken it some of y^m questioned whether hee was ye Christ for some of y^m saide wee thought this man shoulde have delivered Israell.

And ye Jews did take a cuppe & breake breade both before & after there feasts as you may see in ye Jeweish Antiquityes: & did baptise with water: & therfore Itt was not a strange thinge to y^m when John ye baptiser came.

And ye Corinthians after they had breade & wine & beene baptised with water ye Apostle tells y^m they were reprobrates if Christ was not in y^m & bid y^m examine y^mselves &c.

Soe as Christ saith as often as yee eate this breade & drinke this cuppe doe it in remenbrans of his death & shew foorth his death till hee come & Christ saide hee was ye bread of life from heaven & hee woulde come & dwell in y^m {which ye Apostles did wittnesse: & exhorted others to seeke for y^t which comes doune from above for breade water & wine is belowe} but yee eate & drink this in remenbrans of Christs death: & there is your fellowshippe: but will you come noe neerer to Christs death then to take breade & wine in remenbrans of his death.

For after yee have eaten in ye remenbrans of his death then yee must come Into his death & dye with him if yee will live with him {as ye Apostles did}: & y^t is a neerer {& a

further} state to bee in ye fellowshippe with him in his death then to take breade & wine in remenbrans of his death.

Soe you must have a fellowshippe with Christ in his suffringes if you will reigne with him you must suffer with him if you will live with him you must dye with him soe if you dye with him you must bee buryed.

Soe them y^t has suffred with him dyed with him & are buryed with him {then} if yee bee risen with Christ you must seeke those thinges which cometh doune from above where Christ setteth att ye right hande of God : & drinke ye cuppe of salvation which hee gives in his kingedome {& eate ye breade which cometh doune from heaven : which is not breade & wine}.

And then {there will} not {bee} a lookeinge att ye thinges y^t are seene as aforesaid for ye thinges y^t are seene are temporall butt ye thinges y^t are not seene are eternall.

Soe as ye Apostle saide to ye Corinthians y^t was in disorder about water & breade & wine hee desired to know nothinge amongst y^m but Jesus Christ & him crucifyed [marke y^t].

And soe you may see heere is states & conditions to goe through before you come to see y^t {& partake of y^t} which cometh doune from above.

For first {there was} a takeinge of it in remenbrans of Christs death : then 2^{ly} a comeinge Into his death & suffringes with Christ : then 3^{ly} a beeinge buryed with Christ : 4^{ly} a riseinge with Christ : 5^{ly} after they are risen with Christ then a seekeinge y^t which cometh doune from above {& a feedeinge upon y^t & a feloweshippe in y^t} : for breade water & wine is below & temporall thinges.

And therfore ye Apostle says while hee wee looke not att thinges y^t are seene for ye thinges y^t are seene are temporall but ye thinges y^t are not seene are eternall.

And therfore ye fellowshippe of breade water wine circumcision outward temples & thinges seene will have an end butt ye fellowshippe in ye gospell ye power of God before ye Devill was which bringes life & immortality to light by which people may see over ye Devill y^t has darkened y^m & before hee was this fellowshippe is eternall & will stande.

And all in it doe seeke y^t^ which is heavenly & eternall which comes doune from heaven.

Soe are setled in ye eternall mystery of ye fellowshipe of ye Gospell which is hid from all eyes y^t^ stands in visible thinges.

And after wee passt from Exeter through Columpton & Taunton & visited ffreindes & had meetinges amongst y^m^ & declared ye worde of life unto y^m^.

And from thence wee came to Pudimoore to Will: Beatons[1] & on ye first day wee had a mighty large meetinge there where ware severall hundreds of people: & a great convincement was all uppe & doune y^t^ country: & many meetinges wee had: & ye Lords power was over all: & many was turned by ye power & spiritt of God to ye Lord Jesus Christ y^t^ dyed for y^m^ & to sett under his free teachinge [& continnues to this day].

And from thence wee came to Jo: Dandys[2] where wee had another pretious meetinge: & ye Lords power was over all & many were convinced of Gods eternall truth though there was some contention by professors & baptists in some places yett ye Lords power came over all.

And from thence wee came to Bristoll ye 7^th^ day night to Ed: Pyotts house: & Itt was noised over ye tounde y^t^ I was come: & I had never beene there before[3].

And one ye first day morninge I went to ye meetinge in Brorde Mede: & a great meetinge there was & quiett: & in ye afternoone notice was given of a meetinge to bee in ye orcharde: & a rude baptist there was y^t^ had mad {before} great disturbans in ye Citty: & ye maior Incouraged him & sett him one & sometimes woulde give him his dinner {to encourage him} y^t^ hee gathered a multitude of ye ruder sorte of people after him: y^t^ it was thought y^t^ sometimes there woulde bee ten[a] thousand people att our meetinge in ye orcharde.

And as I was goeinge alonge Into ye orcharde ye people tolde mee y^t^ ye rude Jangelinge baptist was goeinge to ye meetinge whose name was Paul Gwin[4].

[a] This word appears to have been, originally, *to* (= two) but to have been altered to *ten* in the same hand at a later period.

And I bid ye people never heede: Itt was nothinge to mee whoeever went to it & soe when I came Into ye Orcharde I stood upon ye stone y^{t} ffreindes used to speak one & was moved of ye Lord to putt of my hatt & to stande a pretty while & lett ye people looke att mee for there was many thousands of people {there}.

And this rude baptist begann to finde fault with my heire & I saide nothinge to him: & then hee goes on {in wordes}: & att last hee says yee wise men of Bristoll I strange att yee y^{t} you will stande heere to heare a man speake & affirm y^{t} which hee cannott make good.

And as yett I had not spoaken a worde: upon which ye Lorde opned my mouth & I asked ye people: whether ever they hearde mee speake before: or ever saw mee before.

For what kinde of man was this amongst y^{m} y^{t} should {soe impudently} say: y^{t} I had saide & affirmed y^{t} which I coulde not make good & yett hee {nor they} never hearde mee nor saw mee before.

And therfore y^{t} was a lyinge envyous malitious spiritt y^{t} spake in him: & it was of ye Devill & not of God: & therfore I charged him in ye dreade & power of ye Lord to be silent: & ye mighty power of God came over him & all his company.

And then a glorious peaceable meetinge wee had: & ye worde of life was devided amongst y^{m} & they was turned from ye darknesse to ye light: & to Jesus Christ there saviour & ye scriptures was largely opned to y^{m}: & they turned to ye spiritt of God in y^{m}selves y^{t} would leade y^{m} Into all truth & open ye scriptures to y^{m} & ye traditions & rudiments & ways & doctrines of men was opned to ye people y^{t} they had beene in: & they turned to ye light of Christ y^{t} with it they might see y^{m} & him ye way out of y^{m}.

And soe for many houres did I declare ye worde of life amongst y^{m}: in ye eternall power of God: y^{t} by him they might come uppe into ye beginneinge & bee reconciled to God: & I shewed y^{m} ye types & figures & shadowes of Christ in ye time of ye law & shewed y^{m} how y^{t} Christ was come y^{t} ended ye types & shadows & tyths & oaths & denyed swearinge & sett uppe {yea & nea Insteade of it &} a free teachinge: & now hee was come to teach people himselfe: & howe y^{t} his heavenly day was springeinge from on high.

And soe I was moved to pray in ye mighty power of ye Lord: & ye Lords power came over all.

And when I had donne this fellow began to bable againe [& I was moved to bid Jo: Audland whoe had beene like to have beene destroyed before through him if hee had any thinge upon him from ye Lord to speake] & hee was moved to bid him repent & feare God.

And soe his owne people & followers were ashamed of him soe as hee passt away & never came againe {to disturbe ye meetinges}. And soe ye meetinge broak uppe quietly & ye Lords power & glory shined over all & a blessed day it was: & ye Lord had ye praise.

[And this wicked man & his rude Company risse uppe In Bristoll since I was in prison att Launceston: & Jo: Audland was with mee In Cornewall when I was in prison: & I woulde have had him to have stayde for there was a great service in Cornewall for him for ye Lord: but hee passt a litle doune but returned {soone} to Bristoll: & then this bad Jangelinge spiritt gott uppe which was againe overcome by ye power of ye Lord as aforesaid.]

And after this Paul Gwin passt out of ye nation.

And many yeers after when I came to Barbadoes there came in this Paul Gwin Into a generall meetinge where was many Justices & a Judge one Judge ffretwell[1]: & hee fell to bablinge & askt mee how I spelt Cain & whether I had ye same spiritt as ye Apostles had & I tolde him yes: & hee then bad ye Judge take notice of it.

And I tolde him hee y^{t} had not ye same holy Ghoast as ye Apostles had was an uncleane Ghoast & soe hee went his ways.

And soe from Bristoll as I saide before I returned to Ed: Pyotts & there wee had a great meetinge: & ye Lords power & truth spread over all & many was turned to Christ Jesus there life & there prophett to heare him: & there shephearde to feede y^{m} & there bishope to oversee y^{m}.

And after ye meetinge was donne I had some reasoninge with some professors but ye Lords truth came over all.

[And after this ye prisoners were sett att liberty at Exeter: & many of y^{m} came there to Bristoll.]

And from Ed: Pyotts wee passed to Slatenforde where wee had a very large meetinge: Ed: Pyott & W: Salt beinge

still with mee: & a great turneinge {of people} there was to ye Lord Jesus Christ there teacher y^t^ people was glad y^t^ they came to knowe there way & there free teacher & there saviour {Christ Jesus}.

And from thence wee past ye next first day to Justice Nath: Crippes[1a] In Wiltsheere wher there was about 2 or 3 thousand people & all was quiett: & ye mighty power of God was manifested: & people was turned to ye grace & truth y^t^ came by Jesus in there heartes: which woulde teach y^m^ to deny all maner of ungodly nesse & worldely lust & would teach y^m^ to live soberly & godly in this present worlde soe y^t^ every man & woman might know ye grace of God which was sufficient & was saveinge: which had appeared to all men & woulde bringe there salvation: soe heere was there teacher ye grace of God y^t^ woulde teach y^m^ howe to live & what to deny: y^t^ woulde seison there words & establish there heartes & bringe there salvation & this was a free teacher to every one of y^m^ & y^t^ they might come to bee heires of this grace & of Christ from whence it came: whoe ended ye prophetts & ye preists y^t^ tooke tyths & ye temple: & as for these hirelinge preists y^t^ took tyths: & there temples {which preists were} made att schooles & colledges & not by Christ with all there Inventions they was to bee denyed as ye Apostles denyed ye true preisthod {& temple} which God had commanded.

And soe largely ye truth & ye scriptures was opned for severall houres {to y^m^}: & ye people turned to ye spiritt of God in there heartes y^t^ by it they might bee led Into all truth: & know ye scriptures & God {& Christ} of whome they were learnt & have unity one with another in ye same spiritt.

And all people generally went away satisfyed & admired & was glad of Christ Jesus there teacher {& saviour y^t^ they was turned to}.

And ye next day from thence wee past to Marleborough where wee had a litle meetinge [& Ed: Pyott went to

[a] This name was first written *Crippes* but it was afterwards altered and the alteration cannot be deciphered. In other places it is clearly *Crippes*, and is so given in the early Ellwood editions; in the editions of 1836 and 1852 it appears as *Crips* and *Crisp*, and in the Bicentenary edition of 1891, it is uniformly *Crisp*. That *Cripps* is correct is proved by a reproduction of the signature of this Justice, given in *First Publishers of Truth*.

a baptist teacher & hee reasoned with him: & as hee was reasoninge hee felt ye power of God reach Into ye man: & hee askt him whether hee did not feele ye power of God reach unto him when hee spoake & hee confest Itt].

And ye sessions beinge y^t day y^t wee had ye meetinge att Marleborough they was grauntinge foorth a warrant to send for mee & Justice Steukes[1] {beinge at y^t sessions} stopt y^m & tolde y^m there was a meetinge at his house yesterday att which were severall thousands.

And soe ye warrant was stopt & our meetinge was quiett & severall received Christ Jesus there teacher & ye new covenant & stands in it to this day {& from thence wee came to Newberry where wee had a large blessed meetinge & severall was convinced there}.

And from thence wee came to Readinge where wee had a large & pretious meetinge in ye Lord power amongst ye plants of God & many of ye worlde came in & was reacht addinge to y^t meetinge. And all was quiet & ye Lords power came over all.

And from thence wee past to Kingston: & a few there came in to us which was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ but since Itt is become a great meetinge.

And from thence wee past to London: & when wee came neire Hyde parke wee saw a great clutter of people: & wee espyed O: P: comeinge in his coach & I ridd uppe to his coach syde: but some of his life guarde woulde have putt mee away: but hee forbad y^m: & soe I ridd doune by his coach syde with him declareinge what ye Lord gave mee to say unto him of his condition & of ye sufferinges of freindes in ye nation: & how contrary to Christ this persecution was & to ye Apostles & Christianity: & soe I rid by his coach till wee came to James parke gate & hee desired mee to come to his house.

And ye next day one of Olivers wifes maydes Mary Sanders[2] came uppe to mee to my lodgeinge & saide y^t her master came to her & saide hee coulde tell her some good news & shee askt him what it was: if it were good: y^t was well: & hee saide unto her G: fox was come to tounde: & shee saide y^t was good news indeed: but could haredly beleive it: butt hee tolde her howe I mett him & ridd from Hyde parke doune to James parke with him.

[Soe ye Lords power came over all: & freinds were glad & ye Lord had ye glory & ye praise.]

And soe Ed: Pyott & I went to Whitehall after a time & when wee came before him there was one Dr Owen[1] Vice Chancelor of Oxford {with him}: soe wee was moved to speake to O: Cromwell concerneinge ye suffringes of freindes & layde y^m befor him & turned him to ye light of Christ whoe had enlightned every man y^t cometh Into ye worlde: & hee saide Itt was a naturall light & wee shewed him ye contrary & howe it was divine & spirituall from Christ ye spirituall & heavenly man which was caled ye life in Christ ye worde & ye light in us.

And ye power of ye Lord God risse in mee: & I was moved to bidd him lay doune his crowne att ye feete of Jesus severall times I spoake to him to ye same effect: & I was standinge by ye table: & hee came & sate upon ye tables syde by mee & saide hee woulde bee as high as I was for ye Lords power came over him.

And soe hee continnued speakinge against ye light of Christ Jesus: & went his ways in a light manner: & then saide to his wiffe & companions I never parted soe from y^m before beinge Judged in himselfe.

And as Ed: Pyott & I went out many of his great persons was about us & there was one of $y^{m\,2}$ y^t was ye Major Generall of Northampton sheere & those countyes: & hee begann to speake & discourse against ye light & truth.

And I was made to sleight him for his speakeinge soe lightly off ye thinges of God: & one tolde mee hee was ye Major Generall: what saide I our olde persecutor y^t has persecuted & sent soe many {of our frendes} to prison whoe is a shame to Christianity & religion: I am glad I have mett with thee: & soe I was moved to speake sharpely to him of his unchristian cariages: butt hee fled away for hee had beene a cruell persecutor in Northampton sheere [& Itt was crediblely reported in y^t country y^t his wiffe was with childe as was thought but brought foorth a monster which they knockt it in ye heade & conveyed it secretly away].

And soe after I had visited ye meetinges of freindes in London I went Into Buckingham sheere & Ed: Pyott with mee [where Isaac Penington[3] was convinced] & severall places

received ye truth in y^t^ country & great meetinges wee had: & ye Lords power came over all.

[1656. And severall freindes went beyonde ye seas this yeere Into many places.]

And then I passed Into Northamptonsheere & Nottinghamsheere & Into Lincolnesheere {And after I had past to severall meetinges in Lincolne sheere I had a last a meetinge where one Sir Rich: & Sir Jo: Wrey[1] & there wiffes were att ye meetinge: & shee was convinct & dyed in ye truth & ye Lords power came over all [& they beinge directed to ye light of Christ within to give y^m^ ye knowledge of ye glory of God in ye face of Christ Jesus & to ye anointeinge within to teach y^m^ & to ye grace of God which was suficent to save y^m^ & to bringe there salvation]: & soe when ye meetinge was donne wee past away & it beinge in ye eveninge there beinge a company of serveinge men & wilde fellowes they mett mee & encompassed mee about: & had an Intent to have donne mee some mischeife & it beinge dark I asked what are you high way men: & freindes & freindely came uppe to mee y^t^ knew some of y^m^ soe I declared ye truth unto y^m^ & shewed y^m^ there uncivill & rude cariage: & ye Lords power came over all & stopt there designe blessed bee his name for ever} & Huntingtonsheere {where ye maior of Huntington came to visitt mee & was very loveinge & his wiffe received ye truth} & Cambridgesheere: & soe wee came Into ye ffen country where I had many meetinges & ye Lords truth spreade: & ye sheriffe of Lincolne was with mee {& Amor Stodart & A. Parker}: & wee went to Crowlande {ye sheriffe of Lincolne & mee} & came to an Inn where ye toundspeople was gathered togeather beinge halfe drunke a very rude place.

And I was moved to amonish y^m^ & exhort y^m^ of ye day of ye Lord & to leave of [there] drunkennesse & turne to ye Lorde {& turned y^m^ to ye light of Christ in there heartes which woulde lett y^m^see all there evill deeds wayes & wordes}: & ye preist was amongst y^m^ & I admonished him & bid him see ye fruites of his ministry.

And soe as I was turneinge y^m^ to ye Lord Jesus Christ & his teachinge ye preist {& his clarke} was in a rage & gott uppe ye tongues & fire shovell: & had not ye Lords power preserved us wee might have beene murdered amongst y^m^

yett neverthelesse some received ye Lords truth then & standes there to this day.

And from thence wee past through ye country to Boston: & most of ye heades of ye tounde came to ye Inn: & ye people seemed to bee much satisfyed: but there was a rageinge man in ye yarde & ye sheriffe {of Lincolne} was moved to speake to him & saide [thou son of Eve] thou shames Christianity & some other wordes: & hee went a way quiett & some was convinct there alsoe.

And soe wee past through ye country & had large meetinges uppe & doune & soe I travailed into Yorkesheere & past over Humber out of Holdernesse about this time visitinge ffreindes: & from thence returned Into Leistersheere Staffordesheere Worcestersheere Warwikesheere.

{And I had a meetinge at Edge Hill y^{t} was very rude for there came ranters baptists & severall sorts of rude people: ffor I had sent worde to have a meetinge there a matter of 3 weekes before: & I went uppe to it where was many hundreds of people gathered to it & many freinds & people came farr to it & ye Lords everlastinge truth & worde of life reached over all: & in all y^{t} all was chained & many y^{t} day was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ by his power & spiritt: & came to sitt under his blessed everlastinge free teachinge & feedeinge with his eternall & heavenly foode: & all was quiett & peaceable & past away quiett soe y^{t} the people saide Itt was a mighty powerfull meetinge & ye presence of ye Lord God was felt by his power & spiritt amongst y^{m}.

And from thence I past to Warwicke & to Bagley haveinge pretious meetinges & from thence Into Gloucestersheere} & came Into Oxford where ye schollars was very rude: but ye Lords power was over y^{m} all & great meetinges wee had uppe & doune.

And from thence I came to Coll: Grimes[1] where there was a mighty meetinge & to Justice Crippses where there came another Justice to ye meetinge y^{t} was convinct & hee lay with mee.

And att Cicester wee had a meetinge which since is much Increased: & soe wee came to Eversham againe where I mett John Chamm [& soe I travailed Into most partes of ye nation: & went into Wales {as farr as Sawansey} where wee

mett with severall y^{t} had runn out with Jam: Naylor whoe were very wilde but ye Lords power came over y^{m}].

And in this yeere ye Lords truth was finely planted over this nation : & many thousands was turned to ye Lord : & soldome under a thousand in prison in ye nation for tyths & goeinge to ye steeplehouses {& for contempts & not swearinge & not puttinge of there hatts}.

And soe after I had compasst most parte of ye nation I returned to London againe[1] [& then O: P: begann to harden & severall freinds was turned out of there offices of Justices & other offices {& turned out of ye army[2]}].[a]

[3][*To Oliver Cromwell and the Parliment given forth by George: ff:*

To you who are Chosen by these nations to be y^{e} Parliam^{t} to devide rule & governe things this is y^{e} word of y^{e} Lord god to you, take heed of actinge against Christ, where he is made manifest take heed of actinge or doeinge any thinge against them y^{t} be in y^{e} pure religion or actinge any thinge against religion, how knowe ye but this thinge is fallen out to try you whether or noe you act against Christ where he is manifest in his members for its said Christ in you, and if Christ be in you y^{e} bodye is dead because of sine and if Christ be within may not he speake in righteousnesse and be confessed there, now if Jesus Christ be not in you, marke, Jesus Christ be not in you ye are reprobates, And if Jesus Christ be within must not he speake, marke Jesus Christ y^{e} Immannuell y^{e} Saviour, is it offence for Christ to speake Jesus to speake where he is within, now examine yourselves knowe not ye yourselves y^{t} Jesus Christ is in you except ye be reprobats, And if Jesus Christ be in you must not he speake in you is it not he y^{t} must speake for y^{e} natureall man perceives not the thinges of god because they are spiritually discerned and they are foolishnesse unto him, and did not y^{e} Apostle say he did not live but by Christ, it was Christ y^{t} lived in him, it was Christ y^{t} spake in him, mark if it was Christ y^{t} lived in him & y^{e} life y^{t} he now lived was by y^{e} faith of y^{e} sonne of god

[a] Narrative continued on page 266.

mark what a life was this, and did he not say y^t^ y^e^ sonne of god was revealed in him, and if y^e^ sonne of god be reveiled in any must it not be he y^t^ must speake & declare y^e^ father, but people have had y^e^ forme of godlinesse since y^e^ dayes of y^e^ Apostles, but have wanted y^e^ thinge & wants y^e^ thinge y^t^ y^e^ Apostles were in whoe had the sonne of god Christ Jesus, and therefore it is by them y^t^ have y^e^ forme wondred att & stranged att and not y^e^ power of god wondred & stranged where Christ is manifest and speakes & acts & rules, & was it not y^e^ Apostles doctrine to preach Christ in them and tould them y^e^ hope of y^e^ glorye which was Christ in them which was y^e^ mistrye hid from ages & genneracions and is not this Christ y^e^ hope of glorye a mistry in this age as it was in y^e^ dayes of y^e^ Apostles to y^e^ world, and had beene to genneracions before, & had it not beene a mistrye in those ages past amongst them y^t^ have had y^e^ forme of godlinesse since y^e^ Apostles, but where Christs within this mistrye this hope of glorye is witnessed must he not speake without offence & did not Christ say he would come againe to his disciples & make his aboade with them & did not say I in you, & y^e^ spirit of y^e^ father which speakes in you, & they were not to take thought when they were brought before magistrates & rulers and not to speake, and is not y^e^ spirit of y^e^ father y^e^ spiritt of Christ, and are not they y^t^ have not y^e^ spirit of Christ none of his: Therefore take heed, I am moved to warne you, & charge you in y^e^ presence of y^e^ Lord god ye rulers & magistrates of this nation least ye be found actinge against the spirit of y^e^ father where he speaks in such as are brought before you, who have y^e^ forme of godlinesse, such as witnesse Christ in them & y^e^ spirit of y^e^ father to speake and y^e^ sonne of god come accordinge to his promise which doth witnesse y^t^ fullfilled doth not John say in his gennerall epistle y^t^ y^e^ sonne of god was come & they were in him & this was y^e^ true god & eternall life, & doth not y^e^ Apostles in theire severall epistles which have beene rede amonge you speake y^t^ Christ is in you and of theire being y^e^ sonnes of god and y^e^ sone of god revealed in them and the spirit of y^e^ father in them and Christ y^e^ mistrye in them, have ye not heard these things read amongst you & hath not these thinges longe beene hid amongst them y^t^ have had y^e^ forme of godlinesse & Christ

in the male & female and god will dwell in you & walke in you and ye word is in thy harte & is not Christ name called ye word of god; now thinke you not it strange for any to witnesse these thinges & yt these thinges should be possessed, you yt have had ye forme of godlinesse ye night of Apostacy hath beene longe since these words hath bene spoken forth & ye things enioyed yt these words spoke of but now comes to be possessed the things that they did enioye.

Which spake forth the words which longe they have had ye forme of in the night of Apostacye, since ye dayes of ye apostles, now if it be not ye spirite of god nor the voice of ye father nor ye spirit of Christ yt speakes in man it is natureall or devillish & yt is it yt stands against ye voyce of Christ & ye spirit of God, but if any meare creature of himselfe saith yt he is Christ yt is false[1] & is not soe for all creatures yt were created were by him & for him, And all thinges yt were made were created for his service Christ Jesus ye power of God by which all thinges were made and created where the power of god is there is Christ & Christ is ye power of god, take notice of that ye power of god is everlastinge, where ye power of god is receved and felt, Christ is received & felt and where ye power of god speakes Christ speakes, and ye yt feele ye power of god ye feele Christ & will not be offended att ye power of god where it speakes which is Christ, & soe Christ is one in all whoe are in the power, and where ye power of god doth not rule & speake the power of ye divell yt speakes and yt is it which is tormented at the power of god which is Christ yt speaks, if ye truth speake is it not Christ, doth he not say I am the truth, and if ye life speake is it not Christ is it not yt I which is ye life: if ye unrighteous speake it is a false thinge, but if the power of god speake it is true, if it be {not} ye power of god yt speakes which is the true Christ it is the power of ye divell which is ye false Christ, soe examine yourselves if Christ be {not} in you ye body is dead because of sine and there the sin is dead and is not Christ Jesus which except he be ye are reprobates {& your sins is alive}, is not he the Emmanuell and the saviour, and is not he the prince of peace? the prince of life and ye Hosanna, and is not this witnessed within where he is made manifest or is he devided from these, and is not he the Lambe of god, and are not

they against him where he is manifest within y^t^ would not have him to speake, and such as would not have him to raigne here you may see what hath beene lost since y^e^ Apostles y^t^ they were in & enioyed in this night of Apostacye to which time had the forme but not y^e^ power but now is comeinge againe to be made manifest which have beene lost which is the truth y^e^ power of y^e^ forme and y^e^ life of Christ and Christ himselfe the Emannuell: therefor take heed of persecuteinge y^t^ which is created and made by his power where the power is received and dwell{t} in for y^e^ powers sake which is Christ and which the power speakes through, and where the power of god rules where there is a faulte it is Judged, but where the seed is y^t^ is to be owned, & it is not Just y^t^ y^e^ mouth of y^t^ y^e^ seed should be stopt; in the feare of god and meekenesse wigh & considder these thinges before you doe Act & considder what was in y^e^ Apostles y^t^ caused them to suffer.

The first day of y^e^ nyn^th^ month 1656.

G: ff:

Postcript.

Iff y^e^ seed speake which is Christ he hath noe other name for y^e^ seed is Christ Jesus and it is not blasphemie but truth, but if y^e^ seed of the serpent speake and say he is Christ y^t^ is the Liar & y^e^ blasphemie and y^e^ ground of all blasphemie and is not y^e^ seed which is Christ, but y^e^ seade of y^e^ serpent is to be bruised which is y^e^ cause of all enmitye strife & debate with the seede of y^e^ woman which is Christ.

G: ff:]

[a][{And I was moved of ye Lord to sende for one or two out of a County to Swarthmoor & to sett uppe ye mens meetinges[1] where they was not: & to setle y^t^ meetinge at Skipton concerneinge ye affaires of ye chuch[2] which continued till 1660.

And at ye first ye north tooke 600 of every sorte of bookes y^t^ was printed[3] & y^t^ continnued for many yeeres till ye truth was spreade over ye nation & this was setled

[a] Narrative continued from page 263.

when wee first begann to printe: & then when ye truth was spreade as aforesaid Itt was left to freindes liberty for every County to sende for what they liked from all parts of ye nation: butt ye north att ye first boare ye charghes of all ye printinge for severall yeeres but when ye Lords[a] spreade over ye nation & people came to bee turned to Christ then they was eased.}]

And about this time I was moved to sett uppe ye mens Quarterly meetinges {throughout ye nation} though in ye north they was setled before.

[1657] And I was moved againe to goe & speake to O: P: {when there was a talke of makeinge him Kinge} [& I mett him in ye parke & tolde him y^t^ they y^t^ woulde putt him on a crowne woulde take away his life: & hee askt mee what did I say: & I saide againe they y^t^ sought to putt him on a crowne woulde take away his life: & bidd him minde ye crowne y^t^ was Immortall]: & hee thankt mee [& bid mee goe to his house].

And then I was moved to write to him & tolde him howe hee would ruin his family & posterity & bringe darknesse upon ye nation if hee did soe: & severall papers I was moved to write to him.

Soe after a while I passed out of London Into Kent Surrey & Sussex & visited ffreindes In most countyes & had great meetinges: & many times mett with Jangelinge professors & baptists but ye Lords power went over all.

And I came to Basingestoake a very rude place: & they had formerly very much abused ffreindes in y^t^ tounde: & there I had a meetinge in ye eveninge which was quiett for ye Lords power chained ye unruly.

And soe I was made to putt off my hat & to pray to ye Lord to open there understandinges: & then they raised a reporte [upon mee & saide] y^t^ I [was a very good man &] putt off my hatt to y^m^ & bid y^m^ good night which was never in my hearte.

And soe wee went to an Inn in Basingestoake [{ye George}] & wee sent for ye man of ye house ye Innkeeper as I used to doe: & hee came Into ye roome to us a very rude man & I begann to admonish him & hee caled for faggotts

[a] Word omitted, perhaps *truth*

& a pinte of wine & drunke it off himselfe: & then caled for another: & then caled for half a dozen men uppe Into our chamber: & I bid him goe out of our Chamber & saide hee shoulde not drinke there: for wee sent for him uppe to admonish him concerneinge his eternall good & hee was exceedinge madd & rude & drunke but I tolde him ye chamber was mine for ye time whilst I lodged in it: & soe I caled for ye key: & soe att last hee went his ways in a great rage but in ye morninge would not bee seene: but I tolde his wiffe of his unchristian & rude cariage towards us.

And ye night before wee lay att Farnsworth & wee had a litle meetinge but ye people were exceedinge rude: & att last ye Lords power came over y^m & wee went to our Inn & desired any y^t feared God y^t they might come to our Inn: & there came aboundans of rude people & ye magistrates of ye tounde & some professors: & I declared ye truth unto y^m & ye magistrates putt ye rude people out of ye roome: & when they were gonne there came uppe another rude company of professors & some of ye heads of ye tounde & they caled for ffaggotts & drinke though wee forbad y^m: whoe were as rude a carriaged people as ever I mett withall but ye Lords power chained y^m y^t they had not power to doe us any mischeife: but when they went there ways they left all there faggotts & beere y^t they had caled for Into ye roome for us to pay in ye morninge & wee shewed ye Inkeeper what an unworthy thinge it was: yett hee tolde us wee must pay it: & pay it wee did.

And then I was moved to write a paper to ye magistrates & ye heads of ye tounde & ye preist to shew him how hee had taught his people & of there rude inhumane uncivill cariage to strangers y^t sought there good.

And from thence wee passt through ye Countryes till wee came to Burport & had meetinges: & there wee came to an Inn & sent Into ye tounde for such as feared God: & there came a shopkeeper & putt of his hatt to us & seeinge wee did not againe to him but saide thee & thou to him: hee saide hee was not of our religion: & after some discourse with him wee did admonish him & his wiffe was somewhat loveinge: & Tho: Curtis was with mee: & this professor went doune & stirred uppe ye preist & magistrates & hee sent to us to our Inn to come & speake with him for there

was some woulde speake with us att his house: & soe Tho: Curtis went doune & when hee came there hee had layde a snare for him & gotten ye preists & magistrates: & they boasted mightily y^t^ they had catcht G: ffox thinkeinge I had beene ye man: & they was in a great rage but ye Lords power came over y^m^ & when they perceived Itt was not mee they lett him goe againe.

And as wee were passinge out of ye tounde sober people came to us & saide ye officers were comeinge uppe to fetch mee: but ye Lords power came over y^m^ all soe as they had not power to touch mee: neverthelesse there was some convinct in y^t^ tounde y^t^ time & was turned to ye Lord: & they stande to this day: where there is a fine meetinge.

And att night wee came to a place caled Lime: & wee went to an Inn & ye house was taken uppe with mountebankes: & there was hardely any roome for us or our horses: & att night wee drew uppe some Queryes:

Off ye grounde of all diseases:

[And whether Adam or Eve had any before they fell:

And whether there was any in ye restoration by Christ Jesus againe:]

[a]And whether any knew ye virtue of all ye Creatures in ye creation whose virtue & nature was accordinge to Itts first name except they was in ye wisedome of God by which they was made & created.[a]

And many other particuler queryes wee sent to y^m^ & told y^m^ if they woulde not aunswer y^m^ wee woulde sticke y^m^ on ye crosse to morrow & Itt made y^m^ very coole & low for they coulde not aunswer y^m^ but in ye morninge reasoned a litle with us: but coulde not aunswer us & soe wee left y^m^ with some freindely people which were convinct to stick upon ye markett crosse: & ye Lords power came over all & some was turned by ye light & spirit of Christ to his free teachinge.

Butt before wee came to Lime wee had beene att Portsmouth & Poole where wee had glorious meetinges & many was turned to ye Lord [there: & fine meetinges there is there y^t^ stands to this day].

And att Ringewood wee had a large generall meetinge

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *and the Natures and Vertues of Medicinable Creatures*

where ye Lords power was over all: & att Weymouth wee had a meetinge: & soe wee passt to Dorchester & soe through ye country till wee came to Exeter att ye 7 starrs att ye bridge foote att an Inn where wee had a generall meetinge off freindes out of Cornewall & Devonsheere: & ye Lords everlastinge power came over all: & thither came Humfry Lower & Tho: Lower & Jo: Ellis[1] from ye Lands ende & freindes from Plymouth: & Justice Polixphen & Elizabeth Trelauny & diverse other freindes where was a blessed heavenly meetinge & I sawe & saide that ye Lords power had surrounded this nation rounde about as with a wall & bulwarke & his seede reacht from sea unto sea: & ffreindes were established in ye everlastinge seede of life Christ Jesus there life rocke teacher & shephearde.

And ye next morninge after ye meetinge was donne Major Blackemoore[2] sent doune souldyers to apprehende mee butt I was gonne before they came: & as I was rideinge uppe ye street I sawe ye officers goeinge doune: soe ye wolfe misst ye lambe & ye Lords power crosst y^{m} in there designe: & ffreindes passt away peaceably & Quietly: though ye souldyers examined some freindes after I was gonne what they did there: & they tolde y^{m} they was in there Inn & had occasion & busnesse to ye citty: soe they passt away without any farther medlinge with y^{m}.

And after this I came through ye country & had meetinges till I came to Bristoll to ye meetinge there: & after ye meetinge was donne I did not stay [not soe much as to eate nor drinke] in ye tounde & soe passt uppe Into Wales & had a meetinge att ye Slowe[3a] & soe past through ye country to Cardiffe: & there a Justice of peace sent for mee & saide hee desired halfe a dozen might come uppe with mee to his house: & soe I tooke a freinde or two & went uppe to him & hee & his wiffe received mee very civilly & ye next day wee had a meetinge In Cardiffe in ye tounde hall & the Justice aforesaid sent about 17 of his family to ye meetinge: & there came some disturbers but ye Lords power was over all: & many was turned to ye Lord there: & some that had runn out with James Naylor y^{t} did not come to ye meetinge I

[a] Ellwood editions have *Slone* and the word as written in the MS. might so be read, but a place known as Slow or Slough is probably intended and the word in the MS. can also be read *Slowe*

sent worde to y^m y^t ye day of there visitation was over: & they did not prosper noe ways.

Soe wee past through ye country to Swansey: & past over a passage in a boate with ye high sheriffe of ye county: & wee had a blessed meetinge there & a meetinge was setled there {in ye name of Jesus} [which stands to this day].

And ye next day I went to have spoaken with ye high sheriffe aforesaid butt hee woulde not bee spoaken withall.

And from thence wee went to another meetinge in ye country where much of ye presence of ye Lord was with us: & from thence wee went to a great mans house: whoe received us very loveingely butt ye next morninge hee woulde not bee seene one y^t came had Incensed him y^t wee coulde not gett to him to speake with him hee was soe changhed yett overnight was exceedinge loveinge.

Soe wee past through ye Countryes & had meetinges & gathered people in ye name of Christ to there teacher till wee came to Bracknocke: & there wee sett uppe our horses att an Inn: & there went with mee Tho: Holmes & John app John: whoe was moved of ye Lord to speake in ye streets & I had walkt out a litle Into ye feildes but by y^t time I came in all ye tounde was uppe in an uproare: & when I came Into ye Inn ye chamber was full of people & they were speakinge in Welch: & I desired them to speake in English: & they did & great discourse wee had: & after a while they went there ways: butt at night ye magistrates gathered togeather in ye street & a multitude of people & they bid y^m shout & gathered uppe ye tounde y^t for about 2 houres togeather there was such a noise as ye like wee had not hearde: & ye magistrates sett y^m on to shout again when they had left {& there was never such an uproare amongst Dianas handy craftsmen as there was att y^t time soe} y^t if ye Lords power had not prevented y^m they might have pluckt doune ye house & us to peices: & this they did till Itt was within night.

And after It was night ye woman would have had us goe to supper in another roome butt wee discerned her plott [& her designe] & then when shee could not gett us foorth shee woulde have had six men come Into ye roome to us under pretence to discourse with us: soe wee tolde

her y^{t} noe persons should come Into our roome y^{t} night neither woulde wee goe out to y^{m}.

And then shee tolde us wee should suppe in another roome: but wee tolde her wee would have none then: If wee had it not in our owne roome: & att last shee brought it uppe in a great rage: & soe shee & they was crosst in there designe for they had an Intent to have donne us a mischeife but ye Lord God prevented y^{m}.

And ye next morninge after I had given foorth a paper to ye tounde of there unchristian cariages sheweinge ye fruites of there preists & magistrates: wee past away: & I spoake to ye people as I went foorth of ye tounde howe they shamed both Christianity & religion.

And from thence wee passt to a great meetinge in a steeplehouse yarde where was Justice Jenkins & a preist & another Justice & a blessed glorious meetinge wee had & there was a many professors & I was moved of ye Lord to open to y^{m} ye scriptures & ye objections y^{t} they stucke att in there profession {as aforesaid} for I knew y^{m} very well & to turne y^{m} to Christ whoe had Inlightned y^{m} with which light they might see there saviour & sins & trespasses they had beene deade in & him y^{t} redeemed them out of it whoe was there way to God there truth & life & there preist made higher then ye heavens soe y^{t} they might come to sitt under his teachinge & many was convinct & setled y^{t} day: & a peaceable meetinge it was.

And after ye meetinge was donne I went with Justice Jenkyn to ye other Justices house: & hee saide unto mee you have given this day great satisfaction to ye people & aunswered all ye objections y^{t} was in there mindes: for ye people had ye scriptures butt they were not turned to ye spiritt which {shoulde} lett y^{m} see y^{t} which gave y^{m} foorth {which is} ye key to open y^{m} ye spiritt of God.

And from thence wee past to Pontamile to Rich: Hamboroughs[1] where there was a great meetinge & there came another Justice of peace & severall great people to it: & there understandinges was opned by ye Lords spiritt & power: & ye light of Jesus Christ y^{t} they came to bee turned to Christ from whence it came & a great Convincement there was & a large meetinge {there is} gathered in ye name of Jesus which continnues there aways to this day.

Soe from thence wee returned backe againe Into England & soe came to Shrewsbury where wee had a great meetinge {& visited freinds} all uppe & doune ye Countryes {in there meetinges} till wee came Into Chesheere to Will: Gandys[1] & there wee had a meetinge of about two or 3 thousande people & ye everlastinge worde of life was helde foorth & received y^t^ day: & a blessed meetinge it was: for freindes was setled by ye power of God upon Christ Jesus ye rocke & foundation: & att this time there was a great drought: & after ye generall meetinge was ended there fell a mighty raine y^t^ there was soe much raine ye next day y^t^ freindes saide they beleived wee coulde not passe ye brookes & waters woulde bee soe risen: but I beleived soe farr as they had come y^t^ day to ye meetinges soe farr they had rain.

Soe ye next day about ye afternoone wee came backe Into some partes of Wales again & there was all dust & noe raine had falen thereabout [& Itt was a noted thinge generally amongst people y^t^ when I came still I brought raine {& It had beene soe for many yeeres}].

And when O: P: gave foorth a proclamation for a fast[2] throughout ye nation for raine when there was such a mighty drought: & as farr as truth had spreade in ye north [& south] there was rain enough & pleasant showers: when uppe in ye south in places they was almost spoiled for want of raine.

And I was moved to give foorth an aunswer to O: P: proclamation y^t^ if hee did come to owne Gods truth hee shoulde have raine & y^t^ drought was a signe unto y^m^ of there barrennesse of ye water of life [as you may see in y^t^ booke given foorth in aunswer to his proclamation[3]].

[{And the like observation & expectation they have beyonde ye seas: when there is a drought they generally looke for ye Quakers generall meetinges for then they know they shall have raine: & as they receive ye truth & become fruitefull unto God they receive from him there fruitefull seasons alsoe.}]

And soe wee past uppe Into Wales through Mountgomery sheere & uppe Into Radnoll sheere where there was a meetinge like a leager for multitudes: & I walkt a litle off from ye meetinge whilst ye people was a gatheringe & there came Jhon appe Johns to mee a welch man: & I bidd him

goe uppe to ye people & if hee had any thinge upon him from ye Lord to speake to ye people in Welch hee might.

And then there came Morgan Watkison[1] to mee whoe was loveinge to freindes & says hee ye people lyes like a leager & ye gentry of ye country is come in: soe I bid him goe uppe to ye meetinge for I had a great travell upon mee for ye salvation of ye people: & soe I past uppe to ye meetinge & stoode atoppe of a chaire about 3 houres [& sometimes leaned my hande off a mans heade]: & stoode a pretty while before I began to speake: & many people sate a horsebacke & att last I felt ye power of ye Lord went over y^m all & ye Lords everlastinge life & truth shined over all: & ye scriptures was opned to y^m & there objections aunswered in there mindes & every one of y^m turned to ye light of Christ ye heavenly man y^t with it they might all see there sins & see there Saviour there redeemer there mediator: & feede upon him there bread from heaven & many was turned that day to ye Lord Jesus Christ & his free teachinge & all was bowed doune under ye power of God & parted peaceablely & quietly with great satisfaction & they saide they never heard such a devine[a] in there lifes: & ye scriptures soe opned: & ye new covenant & ye olde covenant & ye parables & ye state of ye Church in ye Apostles days & Apostacy since & Christ & ye Apostles free teachinge sett atoppe of all ye hirelinge teachers: & people turned to him.

[And people saide y^t they thought if I would come Into ye country againe all ye Country woulde bee convinced people were soe generally satisfyed & reacht att y^t meetinge & ye Lord had ye praise for many was turned to him y^t day & a Justice of peace was convinced y^t came to bee a fine minister since one Peter Price] {& there was a preist & his wiffe sate a horseback y^t day & hearde patiently: but made noe objections.}

And I came backe from thence to Lemster where there was a great meetinge in a close & many hundreds of people & there was a matter of six seperate preachers & preists: & there was one Tho: Tayler with mee: which had beene a preist butt now was become a free minister of Christ Jesus.

And after I had stoode a matter of 3 houres & none of

[a] Ellwood editions read *Sermon*

ye preists was able to open there mouths ye Lords power & truth soe reacht y^m^ though many times there mouths was opninge to speake: & att last one preist went about a bowe shoote off mee & there hee drew severall of ye people after him & fell a preachinge to y^m^ & I kept my meetinge & hee kept his meetinge: & att last Tho: Tayler was moved to goe to him & speake to him & hee gave over: & then hee & ye people came uppe to mee againe & ye Lords power went over y^m^ all.

And att last a baptist y^t^ was convinct says hee where is preist Toms howe chance hee does not come out: & this preist Toms was preist of Lemster[1].

And then some went & tolde ye preist & uppe comes hee with ye bailiffes of ye tounde & magistrates & officers.

And when hee came uppe they sett him upon a stoole over against mee: & I was speakeinge of ye heavenly devine light of Christ which hee enlightens every one y^t^ cometh Into ye worlde withall & turneinge them to it to give y^m^ ye knowledge of ye glory of God in ye face of Christ Jesus there saviour.

This preist Toms cryes out: y^t^ is a naturall light & a made light.

And then I desired all ye people to take out there bibles: & then I askt him whether hee did affirme y^t^ was a created naturall made light y^t^ John a man y^t^ was sent from God to beare witnesse to did speake off whoe saide In him was life to witt ye worde: & this life was ye light of men.

And soe I askt him whether this light was y^t^ created naturall made light hee meant on & affirmed & hee saide yes.

Then saide I: before I have done with thee I will make thee bende to ye scriptures[2].

The naturall created made light is ye sun moone & starrs & this outward light & does thou say y^t^ God sent Jhon to beare wittnesse to ye sun moone & starrs which are ye made lights.

Then saide hee did I say soe: yes saide I: thou saide Itt was a naturall created made light y^t^ John bare wittnesse unto: & if thou dost not like thy words take y^m^ & mende y^m^ againe.

For John came to beare wittnesse to ye light which was ye life in ye worde: by which all ye naturall lights were

made & created as sun moone & starrs & ye like: & in him {to witt} ye worde was life & y^t^ life was ye light of men.

[And then hee tooke att it againe: & saide y^t^ light I spoake off was a naturall created light: & soe made Itt worse & worse in his argument.]

And soe I made manifest to ye people how y^t^ in ye beginninge was ye worde & ye worde was with God & God was ye worde & all thinges y^t^ was made was made by him as aforesaid: & without him there was not any thinge made y^t^ was made.

And soe all naturall created lights was made by Christ ye worde & in him was life & y^t^ life was ye light of men: & this was ye true light y^t^ enlightens every man y^t^ cometh Into ye world. And Christ saith hee was ye light of ye worlde & bids y^m^ beleive in ye light: & God saith I will give him for a covenant of light & hee shall bee my salvation to ye endes of ye earth.

Soe Christ in his light is saveinge: & ye Apostle sayde ye light y^t^ shined in there heartes was to give y^m^ ye knowledge of ye glory of God in ye face of Christ Jesus: & y^t^ was there treasure in there earthen vessells.

[Oh says ye people hee is a cunninge fox oh] says ye preist to ye magistrates take this man a way or else I shall not speake any more.

Butt saide I preist {Toms} thou art not in thy pulpitt now nor in thy olde masse house: thou art deceived wee are in ye feildes: & soe hee was shuflinge to bee gonne.

And then Tho: Taylor [a]woulde make it out[a] by Christs parables concerneinge ye sower.

Then cryes ye preist lett y^t^ man speake & not ye other: & soe hee was lett uppe Into a litle Jangelinge till ye Lords power catcht him againe & beinge by ye power of ye Lord God stoppt & confounded then a ffreinde stoode uppe & tolde him howe hee had sewed him for tyth eggs {& freinds for tyths}: for hee was an anabaptist preist & yett had ye parsonage att Lemster & had severall Journey men under him.

And hee saide hee had a wiffe & hee had a concubine & his wiffe was ye baptised people & his concubine was ye

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *stood up, and undertook to make out our Principle*

worlde: but ye Lords power came over y^{m} all & his everlastinge truth was declared y^{t} day & many were turned by it to ye Lord Jesus Christ there teacher & way to God: & of great service y^{t} meetinge was in those parts & Tho: Taylor went to ye preist ye next day to reason with him & came over him by ye power of ye Lord.

And soe I past through Wales & had severall meetinges till I came to Tenby: & when I came uppe ye street a Justice of peace came out of his house & desired mee to alight & stay att his house & I did {soe}.

And one ye first day ye maior & his wiffe & severall others of ye heads of ye tounde came in about ye 10th houre & stayde all ^{a}day att ye meetinge^{a} & a glorious metinge Itt was & John appe Johns was with mee & hee went to ye steeplehouse: & ye governor cast him Into prison: & one ye seconde day morninge ye governor sent one of his officers to ye Justices house for mee & it greived ye maior & ye Justice for they was both with mee in ye Justices house & soe ye maior & ye Justice went uppe before mee & after I went uppe to ye governor with ye officer: & ye governor had gotten another Justice of peace with him. And when I came In I saide peace bee unto this house: & before hee coulde examine mee I was moved to aske him why hee did cast my freinde in prison & hee saide for standinge with his hatt on his heade in ye church: & I saide had not ye preist two capps on his heade a blacke on & a white: & cutt off ye brims of his hatt & my freinde {then} had but one: & ye brims of ye hatt were onely to save ye raine from his necke.

These are frivolous thinges saide hee: saide I then why dost thou cast my freinde in prison for such frivolous thinges.

Soe then hee began to aske mee whether I owned election & reprobation.

Yes saide I: & thou art in ye reprobation: then hee was uppe in a rage & saide hee woulde send mee to prison till I proved it & then I tolde him I woulde prove y^{t} quickely if hee woulde confesse truth.

And then I askt him whether wrath fury & rage & persecution was not in ye reprobation for hee y^{t} was borne

^{a}...^{a} These words have been inserted by the same writer at a later period, in place of *night*

of ye flesh persecuted him y^t^ was borne of ye spiritt for Christ & his disciples never persecuted nor Imprisoned any.

And soe hee confest y^t^ hee had to much of {wrath} hast & passion {in him} soe I tolde him Esau was uppe in him ye first birth & not Jacob ye seconde birth.

Soe ye Lords power soe reacht ye man & came over him y^t^ hee confest to truth: & ye other Justice came & tooke mee by ye hande: & soe as I was passinge away I was moved to speake to ye governor againe & hee Invited mee to dinner with him & sett my freinde att liberty.

Soe I went backe to ye other Justices house & ye maior & his wiffe & ye Justice & his wiffe & diverse other freinds of ye tounde went abut halfe a mile with us to ye waters syde: & there I was moved of ye Lord to kneele doune with y^m^ & pray to ye Lord to preserve y^m^.

And soe after I had turned y^m^ to ye Lord Jesus Christ there free teacher & Saviour I past away: & ye Lords power came over all: & ye Lord had ye glory & there is a metinge continnues in y^t^ tounde to this day.

And soe from thence wee past through ye Country to Pembroke sheere.

And in Pembrooke tounde wee had some service for ye Lord: & from thence wee past to Hartforde west where wee had a great meetinge & all was quiett & ye Lords power came over all: & many was setled in ye new covenant Christ Jesus & built upon him there rocke {& foundation} & {they} stands a pretious meetinge to this day.

And ye next day beinge there fayre day wee past through there fayre & sounded ye day of ye Lorde & his everlastinge truth amongst y^m^.

And after y^t^ wee came to another county: & att noone wee came Into a great markett tounde & went to severall Inns: & yett coulde not gett any meate for our horses & at last wee came to an Inn where wee did gett some meat for our horses & Jhon ap John beinge with mee hee spoake through ye tounde declareinge ye truth to ye people: & after hee came to mee hee saide hee thought all ye tounde was as people asleepe.

And after a while hee was moved to goe againe: & then ye tounde was all in an uproare & cast him Into prison & soe there was severall of ye heades of ye tounde & others

came doune to ye Inn where I was & saide they had cast my man in prison: for what saide I: they saide hee preacht in there streets & then I askt ym what did hee say: had hee reproved some of ye drunkards & swearers & warned ym to repent & leave off there evill doeinges & turne to ye Lord.

And then I askt whoe had cast him Into prison & they saide ye high Sheriffe & ye Justices & ye maior: soe I askt ye names of ym & whether they did understande ym selves & whether yt was there cariage to travailers yt passt through there tounde & {to} strangers yt did admonish ym & exhort ym to feare ye Lord & reproved sin in there gates: soe they went upp again & tolde those officers what I saide: & after a while they brought doune John app John guarded with [there officers &] halberts to ye Inn doore In order to putt him out of tounde: soe they comeinge to ye Inn with him I bid ym take there hands off him & they saide ye maior & officers[a] had commanded to putt him out of ye tounde & I tolde ym I woulde talke with there maior & Justices anon off there uncivill & unchristian cariages towards him.

And soe I bid John goe & looke after ye horses & gett ym ready: & charged ye officers not to touch him: soe they went there ways after I had declared ye truth to ym & shewed ym ye fruites of there preists & ye incivillity & unchristian like cariage: for they were a kinde of Independants: but a very wicked tounde for ye Inkeeper whome wee bid give our horses a pecke of oates noe sooner had wee turned our backes [{from ym}] butt all ye oates was stolen from our horses [yt wee ordered him to give ym].

And soe after wee had refrest our selves a litle & were ready I tooke horse & ridd uppe to ye Inn where I hearde ye maior & sheriffe & officers[a] were: & I caled to speak with ym & askt ym ye reason wherfore they had Imprisoned John app John & kept him in prison about two or three houres butt they woulde not aunswer a worde to mee {but lookt out att ye windowes upon mee}.

And then I shewed ym how unchristian there cariage was to travalers & strangers & ye fruites of there teachers & declared unto ym ye truth & warned ym of ye day of ye Lord yt was comeinge upon all ye evill doers [& how yt they

[a] Ellwood editions: *Justices*

all knew y^t^ there was few Inns in there country: & to hinder us in our Journey what an unworthy thinge Itt was & they woulde not bee soe served y^m^ selves]: & ye Lords power came over y^m^ they was ashamed soe but I coulde not gett a worde from y^m^ in aunswer: & soe I warned y^m^ to repent & turne to ye Lord: & soe wee past away.

And att night wee came to a litle Inn: very poore: butt very cheape for wee & our two horses cost but 8^d^· [but ye horses woulde assoone eate ye heath one ye common as there oates].

And wee declared unto y^m^ ye truth & sounded ye day of ye Lord through ye countryes.

And before y^t^ wee came to a great tounde & went to an Inn: & Edwarde [of] Edwards[1] went Into ye markett & declared ye truth amongst y^m^ & the people came to ye Inn & filled ye Inn yarde & a good service wee had for ye Lord but ye people was exceedinge rude but some there was reacht & convinct: ye life of Christianity & ye power of it tormented ye chaffy natures & exceedingely came over y^m^: & ye Lords power came over all soe ye magistrates was bounde they had noe power to medle with us.

And after this wee past away & came to another great tounde on a markett day: & John app Johns declared ye everlastinge truth through ye streets & declared ye day of ye Lord amongst y^m^ & many people in ye eveninge gathered about ye Inn: & many beinge drunke they woulde fain have had us foorth Into ye street againe butt wee saw there designe: & I tolde y^m^ if there was any y^t^ feared God & desired to heare truth they might come Into our Inn or else wee might have a meetinge with y^m^ ye next morninge.

And soe some service for ye Lord wee had with ye people both over night & in ye morninge though ye people was harde to receive ye truth yett ye seede was sowne: & y^t^ aways ye Lord has a people turned to himselfe.

And in y^t^ Inn also I turned butt my backe from ye man y^t^ was giveinge oates to my horse[s]: & I looked back againe & hee was fillinge his pocketts with ye provender y^t^ was given to my horse: a wicked theiveish people to robbe ye poore dumbe creature of his foode which I had rather they had robbed me.

And another time as I was rideinge alonge there was a

great man overtakes us in ye way: & hee thought to have taken us uppe att ye next tounde for high way men: but before wee came to ye tounde I was moved of ye Lord [God] to speake to him & it reacht to ye wittnesse of God in ye man y^{t} hee was soe affected y^{t} hee had us to his house & entertained us very civilly: & hee & his wiffe desired us to give y^{m} scriptures both for our principles & for Christs alone teachinge & against ye preists.

Soe wee was glad of it & furnisht him with scriptures enough & hee layde[a] y^{m} doune: & was convinct of ye truth both by ye spiritt of God in his hearte & confirmed by ye scriptures: & after sett us on in our Journey.

And then wee came to [another tounde & went to an Inn: & comeinge a toppe of] a hill which they say was 2 or 3 miles high: & on this hill syde I could see a great way: & I was moved to sounde ye day of ye Lord[1] there: & sett my face severall ways & tolde John app Jhons a faithfull Welch minister in what places god would raise upp a people to sett under his teachinge: & those places hee tooke notice off & since there has a great people risse in those places: & ye same thinge I have beene moved to doe in many other places & countryes ye which have beene rude places & yett I was moved to declare ye Lord had a seed in those places & after there has beene a brave people raised uppe in ye covenant of God & gathered in ye name of Jesus where they have salvation & free teachinge.

And from y^{t} hill wee came doune to a place caled Dalgelthly & wee went to an Inn: & John app Jhon declared through ye streets & ye toundespeople risse & gathered about him: & there was two {Independant} preists in ye tounde & they came out.

And soe they both of y^{m} discourst with him: & I went uppe to y^{m} & they were speakeinge in Welch & I askt y^{m} what was ye subject they spoake about & askt y^{m} why they was not more moderate & speake one by one: for ye thinges of God were weighty & they shoulde speake y^{m} with feare & reverens: & then I bid y^{m} speake in English & then they saide y^{t} ye light which John came to beare wittnesse off [which was Christ ye true light which enlightens every one

[a] Ellwood editions have *writ*

y^t^ cometh Into ye worlde] was a created naturall & made light.

Soe then I tooke ye bible & lett y^m^ see y^t^ ye made & created naturall lights was ye sun moone & starrs [& ye elements]: but ye true light which John bore wittnesse to was ye life in Christ ye worde by which all thinges was made & created: & Itt was caled ye light in man & woman which was ye true light which had enlightned every man y^t^ came Into ye worlde: which was a heavenly & devine light which lett y^m^ see all there evill words & deeds & there sins: & ye same light would lett y^m^ see Christ there saviour from whence it came to save y^m^ from there sin & to blott it out.

Soe this light shined in ye darknesse in there heartes & ye darknesse could not comprehend it but where God had commanded it to shine out of darknesse in there hearts It gave y^m^ ye knowledge of ye glory of God in ye face of Christ Jesus there saviour: & soe I opned ye scripture largely to y^m^ & turned y^m^ to ye spiritt of God in there heartes which would reveale ye scriptures to y^m^ & leade y^m^ Into all ye truth of y^m^ & soe I turned y^m^ to y^t^ which woulde give every one of y^m^ ye knowledge of there saviour whoe dyed for y^m^ & was there way to God & made there peace betwixt y^m^ & God: & ye people generally received it & with handes lifted uppe blessed & praised God: & ye preists was stoppt & quiett all ye while: soe I brought y^m^ to bee sober y^t^ when they spoak of ye thinges of God & Christ there saviour they might speake y^m^ with reverens & feare.

And soe I was moved to speake to Jhon app John to stande uppe & speake in Welch to y^m^ & hee did: & soe ye meetinge broake uppe in peace in ye street & many people accompanyed us to our Inn & rejoyced in ye truth y^t^ had been declared unto y^m^ {y^t^ they was turned to y^t^ light & spiritt by which they might see there sin: & knowe salvation from it}.

And when wee went out of tounde ye people were soe affected they lift upp there hands & blest ye Lord: & ye Lord has a great people y^t^ aways: & there is a great people gathered to ye Lord {Jesus Christ free teachinge & have suffred much for it} thereaways.

And from thence wee past to a Citty like a Castle[1]: & wee ridd Into it & went to an Inn: & after wee had sett uppe our

horses [att ye gates where ye stable was y^t^ belonged to ye Inn]: & after wee had refreshed our selves John app Jhon spoak through ye streetes for one might stande in ye midle of ye tounde & see both ye gates & a multitude of people was gathered abut him & a preist whoe was as darke as darke coulde bee & his mouth was soone stoppt: & I declared ye worde of life amongst y^m^ & turned y^m^ to ye light of Christ in there heartes y^t^ by it they might see all there ways religions & teachers & to come of all to Christ there way & free teacher: & some of y^m^ was rude & some were civill & they tolde us how they did heare how wee had beene persecuted & abused in many places butt they would not doe soe to us there: & soe I commended there moderation & sobriety.

And soe I warned y^m^ of ye day of ye Lord y^t^ was comeinge upon all sin & wickednesse & howe y^t^ Christ was come to teach his people himselfe by his power & by his spiritt.

And soe from thence wee past Into Beumarris: & went to an Inn: & there was a garrison in y^t^ tounde & Jhon app Jhon had been formerly a [seperate] teacher in y^t^ tounde.

And hee went & spoake through ye streets & they cast him Into prison: & ye Innkeepers wiffe tolde mee y^t^ ye governor & ye magistrates was sendinge to mee to sende mee to prison alsoe: & I tolde her they had donne more then they could Aunswer already & had acted contrary to Christianity in Imprisoninge John {app John} for reproveinge sin in there gates & for declareinge ye truth.

And there came other freindely people & tolde mee if I went out Into ye street they woulde Imprison mee alsoe & therfore they desired mee to keepe in ye Inn.

Upon which I was moved to goe & walke upp & doune In there streetes & tolde ye people what an uncivill & unchristian thinge they had donne in Castinge Jhon in prison for they was high professors: & was this ye entertainement they had for strangers: woulde they bee soe served y^m^ selves had they any example from Christ or ye Apostles to doe soe whoe lookt upon ye scriptures to be there rule.

And soe after a while they sett Jhon att liberty {againe}: & ye next day beinge markett day wee was to crosse over a great water not farr of: where wee was to take ye boate

many people out of ye markett drew to us amongst whome wee had good service for ye Lord & declared ye worde of life & everlastinge truth to y^m & preacht ye day of ye Lord which was comeinge upon all wickednesse & turned y^m to ye light of Christ which ye heavenly man had enlightned y^m withall by which they might see all there sins & false ways religions worshipps & teachers & by ye same light they might see there saviour Christ Jesus there way to God.

Soe ye Lords truth was declared amongst y^m {& Christ there teacher set over all} [& his power came over all: & then] I bid Jhon gett his horse Into ye boate: butt [they had made a plott amongst y^m for] there came a company of wilde gentlemen as they caled y^m but wee founde y^m rude men for they & others kept his horse out of ye boate: & soe I came to y^m & shewed y^m what an unmanly & unchristian thinge it was: soe I leapt with my horse Into ye boate amongst y^m & it beinge pretty deepe Jhon coulde not gett his horse in {to ye boate} soe I tolde y^m they shewed an unworthy spiritt & below Christianity or humanity: soe seeinge I coulde not gett John in I leapt out a horseback again Into ye water & staide with John on y^t syde & there wee stayde from ye 11^th houre to ye 2^d before ye boate men came back again to fetch us & then wee had forty two miles to ride y^t eveninge: & wee had but one groate left both of us of money.

And soe wee came on about 16 miles {& gott a litle hay for our horses}: & after came to an Alehouse for ye night but wee could not have oates nor hay {there} & soe wee travailed all night & about foure a clocke in ye morninge wee gott within 6 miles of Rexam in Wales where y^t day wee mett with many freindes & had a glorious metinge & large & ye Lords everlastinge power & truth came over all: where there is a meetinge continnues to this day.

Butt wee were very weary with travaileinge soe hard uppe & doune in Wales & it was harde in some places to gett meate for our horses or our selves either in many places.

And ye next day wee past from thence [through Tenby[1]] Into Flint sheere & sounded ye day of ye Lord through ye toundes & came Into Rexam att night: where many of Floydes people came to us: but very rude & wilde & ayry {they were} & litle sense of truth {they had} yett there

was some convinct in ye tounde: & ye next morninge there was a Lady sent for mee & shee had a teacher att her house.

And they was both very light ayry people & was to light to receive ye weighty thinges of God: & in her lightnesse shee came & askt mee whether shee should cutt my haire: & I was moved to reprove her & bid her cutt doune ye corruptions in her with ye sworde of ye spiritt of God: & soe after I had admonished her wee past away & after shee made her boast in her froathy minde y^t^ shee came behinde mee & cut of a locke of my haire which was a lye.

And to y^t^ tounde aforesaid[a] y^t^ had Imprisoned John as aforesaid I writt unto the maior & sheriffe to lett y^m^ see there conditions & ye fruites of there Christianity & there teachers.

And after I mett with some of those Justices neere London & they were ashamed of there actions.

And soe from Rexam wee came through ye country to West Chester[1] & stayde there a while Itt beinge there fayre time {& visited friends}[b].

[2][1657. And in ye olde parlaments days many people y^t^ used to weare ribans & lace & costly apparrell {& followed Juncketinge & feastinge with preists & professors} came to leave it off when they came to bee convinced of Gods eternall truth & to walke {& serve God} in ye spiritt as ye Apostle did they left of there curious apparrell & ribands & lace & there sportinge & feastinge with preists & professors & wolde not goe to wakes nor plays nor showes as they formerly had used to doe & woulde not weare golde nor sylver nor lace nor ribans nor make y^m^.

And then ye preists & professors raged exceedingely against us & printed bookes against us & saide y^t^ our religion lay in not wearinge ffine cloaths & lace & ribands & in not eatinge good cheere when wee coulde not make feasts for ye preists & profeffessors as wee used to doe nor feasts for companyes in ye cittyes but if they woulde Joine

[a] That is, Beaumaris; see Ellwood editions.

[b] This insertion is in a different hand. Note the change in the spelling of the last word.

with us when they made feasts to feast such as coulde not feast y^m^ againe wee woulde make a feast for all ye poore of ye parish y^t^ coulde not feast us & y^m^ againe[1] & this was accordinge to Christs commande but in this there selfeish principle woulde never Joine with us.

And wee tolde y^m^ when they went to there sports & games & plays & ye like y^t^ they had better serve God {then spende there time soe vainely}: & y^t^ costly apparrell with ye lace: y^t^ wee formerly had hunge upon our backes y^t^ kept us not warme with y^t^ wee coulde mainetaine a Company of poore people y^t^ had noe cloaths.[2]

And soe our religion lay not in meates nor drinkes nor cloaths nor thee nor thou nor puttinge of hatts nor makeinge curseys att which they were greatly offended because wee theed & thoud y^m^ & coulde not putt of our hatts nor bowe to y^m^: & therfore they saide our religion lay in such thinges but our aunswer was nea ffor though ye Spiritt of God ledd Into y^t^ which was comely & decent & from Chamberinge & wantonnesse & from sportinge & pastimes & feastinge as in ye day of slaughter & from wearinge costly apparrell as ye Apostle commands & from ye worldes honor fashions & customes: but our Religion lyes in y^t^ which bringes to visitt ye poore & fatherlesse {& widdows} & keepes from ye spotts of ye worlde which religion is pure & undefiled before God & this is ye religion which wee owne which ye Apostles was in above 1600 yeeres since & doe deny all vaine religions gott uppe since which are not onely spotted with ye worlde but pleads for a body of sin & death to ye grave & there widdowes & fatherlesse lyes begginge uppe & doune ye streets {& countryes}: & this was not like ye pure religion ye Apostle was in y^t^ was pure & undefiled before God {which wee owne & practise & cannot Joine with noe other}.]

[3][1657. And in O: Cromwells days as I was walkeinge upp by Ludgate {hill} there was a stoppe with coaches & carrs comeinge from ye Lord mayors feast & there was Olivers secretary Thirleys[4] coach & as I was standinge by it & coulde not gett forwarde nor backwarde there came a

man with a naked rapier out of his[a] coach & I lookeinge at him to see what hee woulde doe with it {it beinge darke} hee runns att a Carr man standinge harde by whoe was stoppt alsoe: & ye carr man uppe with his slinge[b] & knockt out his braines: & soe ye man cryed out & I bid y^m^ putt him Into ye Coach but Thirley woulde not lett him bee brought Into ye coach: then I bid y^m^ carry him Into some house & wrappe him uppe whilst his bloode was warme but hee dyed presently.

And this was ye fruites of such an one whoe shoulde have kept ye peace: which might have cost many more lifes & his owne {alsoe but ye Lord prevented it}.

And wee had a meetinge in ye pallace yarde butt it was soe pesterd with rude preists water men & lackeys & rude professors y^t^ sometimes there woulde bee many hundreds about it & wee could seldom keepe any glasse whole in ye windows it woulde bee soe often broaken doune by ye rude Company[1] {& alsoe other meetinges in ye Citty were soe abused}.

And this was in ye Presbyterian & Independants anti-gospell times whoe were against ye gospell of peace.

And one time att ye pallace yarde as I was declareinge ye eternall worde of life & preachinge ye everlastinge seed of life: & many hundreds of people were gathered some beinge attentive but many of ye rude ones soe bespattered mee with dirt & muck y^t^ my hayre nor cloaths coulde bee hardly be seene nor face for dirt & mucke: & some outlandish & other civill people were soe ashamed to see what a dishonor this was to Christianity that they began to reprove & stoppe ye rude people soe as the rude ones fell upon y^m^ soe y^t^ they were forct to take sanctuary in Westminster hall & fled there for safety.

And after this our meetinge broake uppe in ye power of ye Lorde & not much hurte donne unto us & such disturbans wee had in our meetinges in Citty & In many places of ye Country alsoe.

And when ye preists coulde not gett doune our meetinges with there rude rabble then they woulde write to O: P: y^t^ wee mett to plott to bringe in kinge Charles: &

[a] Originally written *ye* and altered to *his* in the same hand.
[b] Originally written *pole* and altered to *slinge* in the same hand.

soe went about to make y^m^ treasonable meetinges: but ye Lord did give y^m^ there portion att last as is saide before & his lambes & birdes did escape there snares & ginns.

And all these thinges was of service for truth ffor it manifested y^m^ & there fruites to sober people & all these thinges did worke togeather for good to y^m^ y^t^ feared God.

For wee knew y^t^ not a sparrow coulde fall to ye grounde without ye will of ye father whoe upholdes all thinges by his worde & power & carryed his lambes in his armes & brought y^m^ to mounte uppe as one eagles winges over all there stormes & waves & floudes y^t^ they cast out against us: his name has ye praise for ever & ye glory whoe is worthy of all whoe is ye helper of his people & there rocke & foundation & with y^m^ in all there afflictions & there deliverer out of ye 6 & 7 troubles yea even ye perfection of troubles.

And this I know by experiens & therfore it is good to trust in ye Lord.

For ye persecutions cannot bee utterd y^t^ wee underwent in y^t^ time & ye troubles & suffringes & reproaches every way: without as before I came Into it my troubles within coulde not bee uttered: but ye Lord has ye praise whoe is ye upholder of us through all {& gives ye dominion over all}.

For y^t^ spiritt which makes ye Just & ye good & seede of God to suffer within is ye same y^t^ makes to suffer without when it is cast out within.

Soe I was not ignorant of Sathans wiles & all ye suffringes without is nothing to ye suffringes within.

But ye Lord hath given mee dominion over both & doth give dominion over both to his people & hee alone is worthy of ye glory & praise.]

And {soe from Weschester aforesaid}[a] wee came through ye Country to Liverpoole: & there beinge a fayre alsoe there was a freinde standinge a toppe of ye crosse declareinge as I ridd through ye fayre: whoe also gave notice y^t^ G: F: {ye servant of ye Lorde} woulde have a meetinge upon such a hill if any feared ye Lord they might come

[a] This insertion is in an ancient handwriting, but it is not that of Thomas Lower.

there & heare him declare ye worde of life to y^m & this I heard him declareinge as I ridd by ye crosse.

And soe from Liverpoole wee went to Rich Cubhams[1] whoe was convinct but not his wiffe butt att y^t time his wife was convinct alsoe.

And ye next day wee went to ye meetinge one ye toppe of ye hill which was very large: & some rude people with a preists wiffe came & made a noise for a while but ye Lords power came over y^m & ye metinge was quiett: & ye Lords truth came over all: & many was setled upon ye rocke & foundation Christ Jesus & under his teachinge whoe made there peace betwixt y^m & God.

And wee had a meetinge att Malpoth where wee had a few freindes & people.

And from thence wee came to another place where wee had another metinge & there came a bayley with a sworde a rude man: but ye Lords power came over all & freindes were established in ye truth.

And from thence I came to Manchester & there came a many rude people out of ye tounde ye sessions beinge there y^t day: & in ye meetinge they threw att mee coales clotts stones water: & I was moved of ye Lord to stande: till at last when they could doe noe good with there water stones & dirt & Informed ye officers[a]: & then there came in ye officers as I was declareinge ye worde of life to ye people who were sent from ye Justices from there sessions & they pluckt mee doune & haled mee uppe Into there Court & all ye Court was in an outrage & a noise: & I askt where was ye officers or magistrates y^t they did not keepe ye people civill: yes saide some of ye Justices they were magistrates: & I askt y^m why they did not appease ye people & keepe y^m sober & one cryed I will swear: & another cryed I will swear: soe I declared to ye Justices how wee were abused in ye meetinge by ye rude people throweinge stones & clotts & water: & how I was haled out & brought out of ye meetinge contrary to ye Instrument of goverment[2] which was y^t none should bee molested {in there meetinges} y^t professed God & owned ye Lord Jesus Christ.

And soe ye truth came over y^m y^t when one of y^m cryde

[a] Ellwood editions have *Justices*

hee woulde swear: one of ye Justices saide what will you sweare hold your tongue.

Soe att last they bid ye Constable have mee to my lodgeinge & there I should bee secured till to morrow morninge y^{t} they sent for mee.

And soe ye people was exceedinge rude: but I lett y^{m} see ye fruites of there teachers & howe they shamed Christianity & dishonord ye name of Jesus which they profest.

And soe ye Constable had mee to my lodgeinge: & at night wee went to a Justices house {in ye tounde} y^{t} was pretty moderate & I had a great deale of discourse with him: & ye next morninge wee sent to ye Constable if hee had any thinge more to say to us but hee sent us worde hee had nothinge to say to us wee might goe where wee woulde [& soe wee past out of ye tounde]: & ye Lord has raised upp a people to stande for his name & truth in y^{t} tounde over those chaffy professors.

And soe from thence wee past through ye country & had many pretious meetinges in severall places & came to Preston [& many came gaseinge about us]: & I had a generall meetinge betwixt y^{t} & Lancaster[1].

And after wee came to Lancaster & there mett Coll: West att ye Inn: whoe was mighty glad to see mee: & hee told Judge Fell y^{t} I was mightily growne In ye truth: but ye grounde was because hee was come neerer to see ye truth.

And from thence wee came to Rob: Withers: & on ye first day I had a generall meetinge neere ye sandes syde out of Westmorland & Lancasheere & ye Lords everlastinge power & worde of life was over all: & freindes was setled upon ye foundation Christ Jesus & under his free teaching & many was convinced & turned to ye Lord.

And ye next day I came over ye sands to Swarthmoore & freindes all thereaways was glad to see mee: & I stayde there two first days visitinge freinds in there meetinges.

And soe haveinge travailed through every county in Wales I returned to Swarthmoore againe: & ye Lord in his eternall power had carryd mee through & over all[2].

And after those two first days y^{t} I tarryed att Swarthmoore I passed Into Westmoreland visitinge ye meetinges there & att Joh: Audlands there was a generall meetinge: & I

had a vision ye night before of a desperate creature y^{t} was comeinge to destroy mee: but I gott victory over it [like a wilde horse or colt].

And soe in ye meetinge time there came one Otway[1] [Jo: Otways[2] brother] with some rude fellows with his sworde or rapier & hee was strucke by ye Lords dreadefull power before hee came uppe to ye meetinge: but hee came upp & ridd rounde abut ye meetinge & would faine have gotten in to mee through ffreindes but they stood thick soe as hee could not come at mee: soe hee ridd abut rageinge but att last hee went his way.

And soe ye meetinge ended gloriously & ye Lords everlastinge power came over all: & this wilde man went home & became distracdely & not longe after dyed {but I sent a paper to Jo: Blayklinge to reade to this man when hee was in his distractions sheweinge him his wickednesse & hee did acknowledge somethinge of it to him}[3].

And after I past through ye meetinges visitinge of y^{m} till I came to Stricland heade where I had a great meetinge & most of ye gentry of ye country was gathered to a horse race not farr of ye meetinge: & I was moved to declare ye truth unto y^{m}: & there was a cheife Constable did admonish y^{m} alsoe & wee had our meetinge quiett & ye worde of ye Lord came over all & freinds was setled in ye eternall truth.

And from thence wee past Into Cumberland & had many liveinge pretious meetinges there.

And from thence wee travailed through to {Gilslande & had a meetinge there: & from thence came to} Carlile where they used to putt frends out of ye tounde & there came a great floude soe as they coulde not putt us out of ye tounde & ye first day wee had a meetinge there.

And from thence wee past through ye country to Abby Home where wee had a litle meetinge where I tolde freindes {longe before} there woulde a great people come out of y^{t} place to ye Lord which has since & there is a large meetinge in those parts.

And soe I passed from thence to a generall meetinge att [Crist: ffells[4]][a] in Cumberland which was very large & most of ye people had soe forsaken ye preists y^{t} ye steeple-houses in some places stoode empty.

[a] In place of *Crist: ffells* Ellwood editions have *Langlands*

And preist {John} Wilkison aforesaid y^t^ had three steeplehouses hee had few auditors left: soe as hee first sett uppe a meetinge in his house & preacht amongst y^m^ {y^t^ was left} & then after sett uppe a silent meetinge like freindes[1] att which came a few for most of his auditors were come off to ffriendes: & att last hee had not passt halfe a dozen left they still forsooke him & came off to freindes & soe att last hee had soe few left y^t^ hee woulde come to Pardsey Cragge where freinds had a meetinge of [a]about a thousand[a] people whoe were all come to sitt under ye Lord Jesus Christs teachinge & hee woulde come & walke about ye meetinge on ye first days like a man y^t^ went about {ye Commons} to looke for sheepe.

And I went to this Pardsey Cragge meetinge & there was hee & three or foure of his folowers y^t^ were yett left behinde came to ye meetinge: & they was all throughly convinct & after ye meetinge was donne preist Wilkison askt mee two or three questions & I satisfyed him: & from y^t^ time hee came amongst freinds to there meetinges: & became an able minister & freely preacht ye gospell & turned many to Christs free teachinge & hee continued many yeeres in ye free ministry & preachinge of ye gospell & dyed in ye truth.

And Coll: Osburne[2] beinge come out of Scotland to y^t^ meetinge {saide hee never sawe such a glorious meetinge in his life} whom I had sent for & some others with him: & after ye meetinge was donne I past with him & y^m^ towards Scotland[3] & Rob: Withers went alongst with mee: a thunderinge man against hypocrisy & deceite {& ye rottennesse of ye preists}.

[1657.] And ye first night wee came Into Scotland wee lodged att an Inn: & ye Inn keeper tolde us there was an Earle[4] woulde faine see mee & had left worde att his house y^t^ if ever I came Into Scotland hee shoulde sende him worde & hee saide there was 3 draw bridges to his house & it woulde bee ye 9^th^ houre before ye last draw bridge was drawn.

And soe wee went doune to ye house beinge but a quarter of a mile of & hee receved us very loveingely &

[a]...[a] *several hundreds of* in Ellwood editions

woulde have gonne with us on in our journey butt y^t^ hee was prengaged to goe to a funerall.

And soe from thence wee past through Dumfreese to Douglas where wee mett with some freindes & from thence wee past to {ye} Headdes where wee had a blessed meetinge in ye name of Jesus & felt him in ye midst.

And from thence wee past to Badcowe & had a meetinge & aboundans of people came to it & was convinct.

And from thence wee past towards ye high landes to Coll: Osburnes house where wee gathered uppe ye suffringes: & ye principles of ye Scotts preists as they may bee seene in ye booke caled ye Scotch preists principles[1].

And from thence wee came backe again to Hedds & Badcowe & Cashor where there was ye Lady Hamilton[2] convinct y^t^ went upp to warne Oliver C: & C: Fleetwoode[3] of ye day of ye Lord y^t^ was comeinge upon y^m^.

And on ye first day wee had a great meetinge & severall professors came out & they had frightned people with the doctrine of election & reprobration: & saide y^t^ ye greatest part of men & women God had ordained y^m^ for hell lett y^m^ pray or preach or singe & doe what they coulde Itt was all nothinge if they was ordained for hell.

And God had a certain number which was elected for heaven lett y^m^ doe what they woulde as David an adulterer & Paul a persecutor yett elected vessells for heaven.

Soe ye fault was not att all in ye creature lesse or more but God had ordained it soe.

Soe I was made to open to ye people ye folly of there preists doctrines & shewed y^m^ how ye preists had abused those scriptures which they had brought & quoted to y^m^ as in Jude & other places.

And whereas they saide there was noe fault att all in ye creature I shewed y^m^ y^t^ ye Apostle speakes there in Jude of Cain Core & Balam which were ordained of old to Condemnation [& such Christians as went in there way]: but I shewed y^m^ ye fault was in Cain Core & Balam for did not God warne Cain & Balam & gave a promise to Cain if hee did well hee shoulde bee accepted.

And did not ye Lord bringe Core out of Ægypt & his Company & yett did not hee gainesay both God & his law & his prophett Moses.

And soe cannot you see heere y^t^ there was a fault in Cain Core & Balam & soe in all y^m^ y^t^ goes in there ways.

For if those caled Christians resist ye gospell as Core did & erre from ye Spiritt of Christ as Balam did : & if they doe not well as Cain is not heere a fault which fault is {in y^m^ selves &} ye cause of there reprobation & not God.

And doth not Christ say goe preach ye gospell to all nations which is ye gospell of salvation : soe hee woulde not have sent y^m^ out into all nations to preach ye doctrine of Salvation if ye greatest parte of men was ordained for hell.

And was not Christ a propitiation for ye sins of ye whole worlde for ye reprobates as well as ye saintes & soe dyed for ye ungodly as well as ye godly : & dyed for all men as ye Apostle boare wittnesse to : & enlightens every man y^t^ cometh Into ye world y^t^ through him they might all beleive & Christ bids y^m^ beleive in the light & soe all they y^t^ hates ye light which Christ bids {all} beleive in they are reprobated.

And ye manifestation of ye spiritt of God is given to every man to profitt withall & they y^t^ vex quench & greive it are in ye reprobation & there is ye fault in y^m^ & alsoe in y^m^ y^t^ hates his light.

And alsoe ye Apostle saith : ye grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men which teacheth us says hee to live soberly & godly : & to deny ungodlynesse & worldely lusts.

Soe all those men & women y^t^ lives ungodly & in ye lusts of ye worlde & turnes this grace of God Into wantonnesse & walkes despitefully against it & soe denys God & ye Lord Jesus Christ y^t^ hath bought y^m^ there is ye fault in all such y^t^ turnes {ye grace} Into wantonnesse & walkes despitefully against y^t^ which shoulde bringe there salvation out of ye reprobation.

Soe ye preists can see noe fault in such as denyes God & ye Lord Jesus Christ y^t^ has bought y^m^ & such as denyes his light which they shoulde beleive in & his grace y^t^ shoulde teach y^m^ to live Godly & which should bringe y^m^ there salvation.

Soe all y^t^ beleives in ye light of Christ as hee commands are in ye election & setts under ye grace of Gods teachinge

y^t^ bringes there salvation & such as turnes this grace Into wantonnesse are in ye reprobation & such as hates ye light are in ye condemnation.

And therfor all people beleive in ye light as Christ commandes & owne ye grace of God your free teacher: & Itt will bringe you your salvation for it is sufficent.

And ye people was opned to see & a springe of life risse uppe amongst y^m^ & many other scriptures was opned concerneinge reprobation.

And these thinges came to ye preists eares: & ye people y^t^ sate under there dark teachinges began to see light & came Into ye covenant of light: y^t^ ye noise was spreade all over Scotlande amongst ye preists y^t^ I was come there: & a great cry was amongst y^m^ y^t^ all was undonne & y^t^ I had spoiled all ye honnest men & women in Englande: soe then ye worst was left to y^m^: & they gathered great assemblyes of preists togeather & drew upp articles to bee reade in there parishes in ye steeplehouses & y^t^ all ye people shoulde say Amen to y^m^: which are as followeth In parte: & ye rest may bee seene in ye booke of ye scotch preists principles.

Scotch Preists ffirst principle:—Cursed is hee y^t^ saith every man hath a light within him sufficent to leade him to salvation & lett all ye people say Amen.

2^d^:—Cursed is hee y^t^ saith faith is without sin & lett all ye people say Amen.

3^d^:—Cursed is hee y^t^ denyeth ye saboth day: & lett all ye people say amen.

[with many other such blasphemous {& darke} principles]: for upon ye saboth day {which is ye 7^th^ day of ye weeke} which ye Jewes keepe which was ye commande of God they kept marketts & faires on & soe brought ye curse of God upon there owne heads.

And Christ saith beleive in ye light y^t^ yee may become children of ye light & beleive & bee saved & hee y^t^ beleiveth shall have everlastinge life: & hee y^t^ beleiveth passes from death to life & is grafted Into Christ: & yee doe well y^t^ yee take heede unto ye light y^t^ shines in ye darke place untill ye day dawne & ye day starr arise in your heartes: so ye light is sufficent to layde unto ye day starr.

And faith is ye gift of God & every gift of God is pure: & faith which Christ is ye author of is pretious & devine

without sin & this is ye faith which gives victory over sin & accesse to God in which faith they please God: & they are reprobates ym selves concerneinge this faith & in there deade faith yt charges sin upon this faith under paine of a curse: which faith gives ye victory over there curse & returnes Itt into there owne bowells.

And there was a company of Scotts chalenged a dispute with some of ye Scotch freinds neere Badcowe for with mee they woulde not dispute.

And soe some Scotch freindes mett ym att ye market crosse: & the dispute was upon some of there principles aforesaid & ye saboth day: & a scotch ffreinde a [gun] smyth overthrew ym cleerely for I had gotten there principles & assertions & shewed him my Aunswers whereby hee might easily overthrowe ym.

And then ye preists were in such a rage yt they poasted uppe to Edenborough to O: Cromwells Councell there with petitions against mee & a great cry was amongst ym yt all was gonne.[a]

And soe after yt I had setled freindes upon Christ there foundation there aways & gathered uppe ye principles of ye Scotts {preists} & ye sufferinges of freindes I went uppe to Edenborough & severall freinds was come Into ye nation & spreade over Scotland soundinge ye day of ye Lord & preachinge ye everlastinge Gospell of salvation & turneinge people to Christ Jesus yt dyed for ym there free teacher.

And as I went to Edenborough I came by Lithgoe & there was ye Innkeepers wiffe whoe was blinde: & shee receved ye worde of life & came under Christ Jesus her saviours teachinge: & att night there came in aboundans of souldyers & officers & much discourse wee had with ym & some was rude & one of ye officers saide yt hee woulde obey ye turkes or Pilates commande if hee shoulde commande him to guarde Christ to crucify him hee was soe farr of all tendernesse or sense of ye spiritt of Christ yt hee woulde rather crucify ye Just then suffer for or with ye Just which many officers

[a] At this point a mark in the margin indicates the insertion here of some detached matter, but such matter does not appear to be included in the MS. The lost portion may have contained the narrative of Andrew Robinson[1] respecting the Pastor who *Cursed the Light and fell down dead in his Pulpit.* See Ellwood editions.

& magistrates lost there places before they woulde turne against ye Lord & his Just {one}.

And from thence wee came to Edenborough: & stayde there a while & I went to Leith & there a many officers came in & there wiffes & many was convinct: & there came Ed: Billinges[1] wiffe with a great deale of corall in her hande & threw it before mee on ye table {to see whether I woulde declare against it or noe}: but I tooke noe notice of it but declared ye truth to her & shee was reacht.

And there came in a many baptists very rude but ye Lords power came over y^m y^t they went away confounded & then there came in another sorte & one of y^m saide hee woulde dispute {with mee} & deny there was a God for arguments sake.

Soe I tolde him hee was one of those fooles y^t saide in his hearte there was noe God but hee shoulde knowe him in ye day of Judgement: soe hee went his ways: & a fine pretious time wee had with severall people of account & ye Lords power came over all.

And Coll: Osburne was with mee: & Coll: Lithgoes[2] wiffe was convinct & Will: Welchs[3] wiffe was convinct & severall of ye officers y^t were there were convinct att y^t time alsoe.

And soe after Ed: Billinges wiffe came to bee loveinge: & shee & her husband was then seperated one from ye other: & wee sent for him & hee came & ye Lords power reacht unto y^m both & they Joyned togeather in it {to live togeather in & love & unity as man & wife}.

And from thence wee went to Edinborough again & many thousands of people was gathered there & abundans of preists about burneinge of a witch & I was moved to declare ye day of ye Lord amongst y^m & soe went from thence to ye meetinge & a many rude people & baptists came in & there ye baptists begann with there logick & syllogismes but I was moved in ye Lords power to thresh there chaffy light mindes: & shewed ye people after y^t manner of light discourseinge they might make white[a] black & black white[a] & because a cock had two leggs & they had two leggs therfore they was cocks & soe turne any thinge Into lightnesse: which was not ye manner of Christ nor his Apostles teachinges &

[a] First written *light*, and later altered to *white*

speakeinges & after they went there ways wee had a blessed metinge in ye Lords power which was over all.

And then Olivers Councell sent an order to ye In where I lodged by one of there officers[a] [y^t^ I must appeare before ye Councell at ye parlament house y^t^ day 7 night by 8 a clocke in ye morninge before y^m^ at ye Councell table].

Soe hee askt mee whether I woulde appeare or noe but I woulde not aunswer him whether I woulde or not.

And I askt him whether hee had not forged it: soe hee saide Itt was a reall thinge from ye Councell & hee was sent as there messenger with it to give mee notice.

So y^t^ day 7 night I appeared before y^m^ & they had mee uppe Into a great roome where many great persons came & looked att mee.

And after a while ye doore keeper came & had me in & as I was goeinge In to ye Councell Chamber hee tooke off my hatt & I askt him why hee did soe what was there y^t^ I might not goe in with my hatt on for I had beene before O: Cromwell with my hat one soe hee tooke it off & hunge it uppe & had mee in before y^m^ & when I came before y^m^ after I had stoode awhile & they sayde nothinge to mee I was moved of ye Lord to say peace bee amongst you & waite in ye feare of God y^t^ you may receive his wisdome from above by which all thinges was made & created & y^t^ with it you may all bee ordered & y^t^ with it you may order all thinges under your handes to Gods glory.

And soe standinge still they askt mee what was my busnesse of comeinge Into y^t^ nation & I tolde y^m^ to visitt ye seede of God which had longe layne in death & bondage & to ye Intent y^t^ all in ye nation y^t^ did professe ye scriptures of Christ ye prophetts & ye Apostles {wordes} might come to ye light spiritt & power as they was in y^t^ gave y^m^ foorth soe y^t^ with ye spiritt they might know Christ & God {& ye scriptures} & have fellowshippe with y^m^ [& with ye scripturs] & one with another.

And then they askt mee whether I had not any outward busnesse there: & I saide nea.

And then they desired mee to withdraw & then ye doore keeper tooke mee by ye hande & had mee foorth.

[a] The word was originally *clarks*

And presently after they sent for mee in againe : & tolde mee y^t^ I must departe ye nation within 7 days & I askt y^m^ for what or what I had donne what was my transgression y^t^ they past such a sentence upon mee to depart out of ye nation.

Soe they tolde mee they would not dispute with mee : then I desired y^m^ to heare what I had to say to y^m^ & they saide they wulde not hear{e mee}. I tolde y^m^ Pharoth hearde Moses & Aron & yett hee was a heathen & noe Christian & Herod hearde John Baptist & they shoulde not bee worse then y^m^.

And then they cryed withdrawe withdrawe : & then ye doore keeper tooke mee by ye hande & had mee foorth.

[{There order & my examination as followeth :—}[a]]^b^

[1]*gf be the olefers Counsell in Skotland 1657*

Thursday the 8^th^ of October 1657
At his Highnes Counsell in Scotland.

Ordered

That George Fox doe appeare before the Counsell on tuesday the 13^th^ of October next in y^e^ fore-noone.

Emanuell Downing
Clarke of y^e^ Counsell.

[Upon the 13^th^ of y^e^ eight month, George accordinge to the former order appeared : the keepers of the doore said to George Fox as he was goeing in to the Counsell that he must put of his hatt, for he was goeinge before the counsell.

Ans: He said his hatt did not offend, & when they tooke of his hatt, he said alack for you, what doeth it offend, for the Protector himselfe would not have done soe, & when he came into the Counsell he said peace be amongst you, waite for the wisdome of God, by which all things was made, that you may come by it to order all things to his glory.

Query. They asked him what occation he came into this Country for.

Ans. He tould them to visit the seed of God which had long lyne in bondage by the Corruptions which I have

[a] This insertion is in another ancient handwriting.
[b] Narrative continued on page 300.

felt as ever in any place, & suffered with the seed of God, & came to visit the seed of God in them, that they might receive the wisdome of God, & that into the life & power that gave forth y^e^ scriptures they might be brought.

Query. Had I noe other callinge hither.

Ans. I said nay, I had noe other callinge, for the forme of godlynes had long raigned but the seed had beene in death, which I came to visit that they might come to the knowledge of God, that God might be knowne, & that they might know God.

Query. {Then} They asked how long I should stay in the Country.

Ans. I should say little of that but my time was not to be long, {in my freedom I spoke}, & I desired if they would be patient for I had afew words to speake to them that they might come into the life & into the wisdome of God, & then they put me forth & fetched me in againe:

They said I must depart the Cuntry of Scotland by tuesday next, or else they might take an order.

Ans. I bid them accuse me of any evill I had done, or what evill I had done since I came into the nation {& as for departing y^e^ nation} I stood in the will of God as for that.

{Then} G: F: askt y^m^ whether they had an order from the Protector for it was not long since I was with him, & he had said I might goe whether I pleased.

{Thir} *Ans.* They were not to dispute powers but bid me goe away.

{Then} G: ff: said heare afew words & let moderation appeare & heare, for Phariah heard Moses, & Herod heard Jo: Baptist, but then they would not, then they said they had done, & the keepers put him out.]

[a]And after I had visited freindes in Edenborough & thereaways I writt to ye Councell of there unchristian cariage to banish mee whoe was an Innocent man & sought there eternall good & salvation: & some of y^m^ was troubled as I hearde: for I shewed y^m^ what an unchristian cariage it was & y^t^ they woulde not bee soe served y^m^ selves {as you may see more at large as followeth}.[b]

[a] Narrative continued from page 299.
[b] Narrative continued on page 302.

[1]*To oleferes counsell in skotland who paneshed gff 1657*

You that sit in counsell & bringes before your Judgment seate the innocent the iust without shewing the least cause what evill hee has don or convinceing of him of any breach of any law, & after you banish him out of your nation out of your countrie, & not telling him for what evill hee has done, & hee tould yee when you querd of him how long hee would stay in the nation hee tould you his tyme was not longe (innocently) & yet you after banish him, now if all that feare god will not iudge this to be wickednes consider did not they sit in counsell about Stepven when they stoned him to death, did not they sit in counsell about Peter & John when they healed them out of the temple & put them out of their counsell a litle season & brought them in agayne & counseld together & threatned them & charged them to speake noe more in that name, & was not this to stopp the truth for spreading in that tyme, had not the preists a hand in these things with maiestrates & examining Stephen when hee was stoned to death, was not the counsells getherd together agaynst Jesus Christ to put him to death & had not the cheife preists a hand in it & when they goe to crucifie the iust & persecute the iust doe they not then necleckt iudgment & mercie & Justice & the wightie matters of the law which is iust [when yee turne agayne the iust, prison or banish]; was not the Apostle Paull tosst up & downe by the preists & rulers & prisond, was not [a]John bannisht[a], are not you doeing the same worke shewing what spirit you are of. Now doe not you shew the end of your profession the end of your prayers the end of your religion & the end of your teaching who are now come to bannish the truth & they life it self shewes that you be in the words but out of the life of the prophets Christ & the Apostles for they did not use such practisis as to banish any, how doe (you) receave strangers which is a command of god among the prophets Christ & the Apostles for some by that meanes entertaynd Angells at unawares & you banish that which comes to visit the seed of god & is not chargable to any of you will not all that feare god looke

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *John Baptist cast into Prison?*

upon this to be spite & wickednes agaynst the truth, how doe you love enimies how doe you doe good to them that hate you how doe you heape coalls of fire upon the heade overcom evill with good, when you banish doe yee not make manifest your spirits to all men that love truth to have noe christian spirits how did you doe Justice to him when you would not convince him of the evill hee had don but banish him this shewes that truth is banisht out of your harts & yee have taken part agaynst the truth with evill doers & the wicked envious preists & the stoners strikers & mockers in the streets those have you taken part that banish, which you should have beene a terror to & a prayse to them that doe well {& soccorers of them that be in the truth}, & then might you have beene a bleessing in the nation & not have banisht him which was moved of the lord to visit the seed of god & brought your names upon record & made them to stinke in ages to come amongst them that feares god was not the Maiestrates sterd up in all ages to persecute or to banish by the currupt preists, & did not the currupt preists sterr up the rude multitude agaynst the iust in all ages therefore are your streets like Sodom & Gomoragh did not the Jewes & the preists make the gentles myndes envious aganst the Apostles for who was them that would not have the prophet Amos to prophesie at the Kings chappell but bad him fly his way, & Jeremiah when hee was put in the dungon & put in the prison & the stockes had not the preists a hand with the princes in doeing of it: now see all who was in this worke banishing prisoning persecuting whether they was not all out of the life Christ the prophets & Apostles to the witnes of god in you all I speake whether or noe those was not allwayes the blinde Maiestrates which turned their sword alwayes backward that knew not their frends from their foes & soe hit their frends & such maiestrates was deceaved by flatterie.

[a][And I saw generall Monke[1] y[t] hee was as a man y[t] bowed under O: P: & had a Coveringe over him: & take away y[t] Coveringe & then hee was ye man as hee was

[a] Narrative continued from page 300.

before: as hee did fulfill it in a few yeers after] & y^m y^t banisht mee came to bee banisht y^m selves not many yeeres after whoe woulde not doe good in ye day when they had power nor suffer others y^t woulde.

And from Edenborough I past againe to Heddes & there freindes had beene in great sufferinges for ye presbyterian preists had excommunicated y^m & y^t none might buy or sell with y^m nor eate nor drinke with y^m soe they coulde neither sell there commodityes nor buy what they wanted: soe as it went very harde with some of y^m for if they had bought breade or victualls of any of there neighbors ye preists threatned y^m soe with curses y^t they woulde runn & fetch it from y^m againe.

Butt Coll Ashfeilde[1] beinge a Justice of peace in y^t country hee gave a stoppe to ye preists proceedinges: & after was convinct & has a meetinge since att his house: & declares ye truth amongst y^m.

And soe after I had visited freindes at Hedds & y^t aways I went to Glascoe: & a meetinge was appointed there but never a one of Glascoe came to it but as I went Into ye Citty ye guarde att ye gates had mee uppe before ye governor: where I had a great deale of discourse with him & hee was moderate but to light to receive ye truth {but hee sett mee at liberty & soe I past to ye meetinge.

And seeinge none of ye tounds people came out to ye meetinge wee declared through ye tounde & soe past away & visited freindes in there meetinges thereaways & returned towards Badcowe: & severall frendes went to declare ye truth in there steeplehouses & ye Lords power came over y^m all}.

And one time as I was goeinge to Coll: Osburnes there lay a company of rude fellows y^t hid y^m selves under ye hedges & in bushes & I espyed y^m & askt Coll: Osburne what they was & hee saide says hee oh they are theifes.

And it was upon Rob: Withers to goe & speake to a preist [& to admonish him] & soe wee had left him behinde us: & soe I saide to Coll: Osburne I will stay in this valley & doe thee goe & looke after him: soe there was about 3 or 4 of y^m & I caled them uppe to mee & I askt y^m what they hid y^m selves in ye bushes & hedges for: & Coll: Osburne was afraide to leave mee alone {whilst hee went to

looke after Rob: Withers} & I saide I feard y^m not: & soe they came trembleinge {to mee} for ye dreade of ye Lord had strucke y^m & soe I admonished y^m to bee honnest: & brought y^m to ye spiritt of God in there heartes y^t they might see what an evill it was to follow after theft & robbery: & soe I stayde till Coll: Osburne & Rob: Withers came uppe: & then wee past away: for Its like had wee passt away: they woulde have robbed Rob: Withers.

Butt when I first caled to y^m to come to mee they was loath to come uppe but I charged y^m to come uppe to mee or else It might be worse with y^m: soe ye power of ye Lord came over y^m: & wee past on to Coll: Osburnes house & declared ye truth to severall people y^t came Into his house.

And after wee went amongst ye clans[a] & they were Divelish & like to have spoiled us & our horses: & runn with pitch forkes att us: but through ye Lords power wee escapt y^m.

And from thence wee past to Sterlinge where they souldyers tooke us uppe & had us before ye main guarde: & after a few wordes with there oficers wee was sett att liberty & ye Lords power came over y^m but noe meetinge coulde wee gett amongst y^m in ye tounde they were soe closed uppe in darknesse.

But ye next morninge there was a man was to runn a race with a horse & most of ye tounds people & officers went to see it: & soe as they came back againe {from ye race} I had a brave opportunity to declare ye day of ye Lord & his worde of life amongst y^m & some confest & some opposed: but ye Lords truth & power came over y^m all.

And from thence wee past through ye country till wee came to Brunt Island: & I had a meetinge at one Capt Pooles[1] house both in ye morninge & in ye afternoone.

And whilst they went to there dinner I walkt to ye sea syde beinge not free to eate with y^m.

And hee & his wiffe was convinct & became fine freindes {afterwards} & severall officers of ye army came in & received ye truth.

And from thence wee passt through {severall other places in} ye country {& att last wee came} to Johnstons & there was severall baptists y^t were very bitter & in a rage which

[a] Altered in another hand to *Hilands*

came to us to dispute with us : & vaine Janglers & disputers they were : but they went & Informed ye governor against us : & ye next morninge they raised a whole company of foote & banished mee & Alex: Parker & Jam: Lancaster & Rob: Withers out of ye tounde.

Soe when they was guardeinge us out of {ye} tounde [wee gott one our horses] & Jam: Lancaster was moved to [a]sounde & singe[a] in ye power of God & I was moved to sounde ye day of ye Lord & ye glorious everlastinge gospell : & all ye streetes was uppe & filled with people & ye souldyers were soe ashamed that they cryed & saide they had rather have gonne to Jamaica then to guarde us soe : & then they sett us in a boate & sett us over ye water.

And ye grounde & cause of our banishment out of this place was ye baptists : whoe were y^m selves not longe after banished out of ye army & ye governor himselfe when ye Kinge came in was turned off alsoe.

And soe from thence wee came to another markett tounde where Ed: Billinge [& his wiffe] quarterd : & a many souldyers lay there: soe wee came to an Inn & there desired y^t wee might have a meetinge y^t wee might preach ye everlastinge gospell amongst y^m : & soe ye souldyers & officers saide wee shoulde have it in ye tounde hall : & ye Scotch Magistrates in spite went & appointed a meetinge there upon tounde busnesse y^t day.

And soe when ye officers saw y^t they did it in malice : they woulde have us goe Into ye tounde hall neverthelesse but wee tolde y^m by noe meanes for then they might Inform ye governor against y^m & say y^t you tooke ye tounde hall from them by force when they were to doe there tounde busnesse therein.

And soe wee tolde y^m wee coulde goe to [ye publick Crose in] ye markett place & then they sayde Itt was markett day & wee sayde Itt was best of all for wee woulde have all people to heare ye truth & to knowe our principles.

And soe Alex: Parker went a toppe of ye Crosse with a bible in his hande & declared ye truth amongst ye souldyers & markett people but ye Scotch beinge darke carnall people never heeded it nor hardely tooke notice of it.

And att last I was moved of ye Lord God to stande

[a]...[a] Ellwood editions read *Sing with a Melodious Sound*

uppe att ye crosse & [commanded] to declare with a loude voice ye everlastinge truth & ye day of ye Lord y^{t} was comeinge upon all sin & wickednesse & they came runninge out of ye tounde hall & people gathered soe as at last wee had a large meetinge for they sate but in ye Court onely for a color to hinder us from haveinge ye hall.

And then ye officers[a] & all came out & some hearde & some walkt by: soe ye Lords power came over y^{m} all [& they was left without excuse whether they woulde heare or forbeare].

And many was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ y^{t} dyed for y^{m} & had Inlightned y^{m} y^{t} with his light they might see ther evill deeds & there sins: & with ye same light they might see there saviour Christ Jesus there teacher: & if they woulde not receive Christ & owne him y^{t} light which came from him woulde bee there condemnation: & soe there was severall was loveinge to us: & some came to bee convinct afterwards especially ye English people.

{And there was a souldyer there y^{t} was very envyous against us: & hated us very much & spoake evill of truth: & mighty Zealous for ye preists & one time as hee was hearinge ye preists haveinge his hat before his face whilst ye preist was at prayer one of ye preists hearers stabbed him: [whoe as aforesaid was a man very envyous against ye light of Christ]: & soe came to bee murdered by y^{m} whome hee had soe cryed uppe & rejected Jesus Christ to bee his teacher.}

And from thence wee came through ye country to Leith warneinge & admonishinge people to turne to ye Lord: & when wee came att Leith wee went to an Inn: & ye Inn keeper tolde mee y^{t} ye councell had graunted warrants out for to apprehend mee because I was not gonne out of ye nation after ye 7 days y^{t} they had ordered mee to depart ye nation in[1].

And severall freindely people came & declared ye same & soe I tolde y^{m} what doe yee tell mee of there warrants against mee if there were a cartloade of y^{m} I doe not heede y^{m} for ye Lords power is over y^{m} all.

Soe from Leith I went upp to Edenborough where they saide there warrants was from there Councell: & I came to ye Inn where I used to lodge & went & visited freindes

[a] Ellwood editions: *Magistrates*

[soe ye noise of these warrants was all over]: & soe after I had visited freinds I desired ye freindes y^{t} was with mee to sadle there horses & ride out of ye tounde with mee ye next morninge [for there were now y^{t} afred to medle with mee]: & there was Tho: Rawlinson & A: Parker was with mee {& Ro: Withers}.

And when I was out of ye tounde they askt mee whether I would goe: & I tolde y^{m} Itt was upon mee from ye Lord to goe back again to yonder Jhonstons whence wee had been banished & soe sett ye power of God over y^{m} alsoe & his truth.

And Alex: Parker saide hee woulde goe alonge with mee: & I tolde ye other two y^{t} they might stay at a tounde a matter of 3 mile of Edenborough till wee returned.

And soe A: P: & I gott over ye water which was about 3 miles over & soe rid on through ye country: & in ye afternoone his horse beinge weake was not able to holde out with mee & I putt on: & Just as they was upon draweinge upp ye bridges I came In to Jhonstons & ye officers & souldyers never questioned mee.

And soe I ridd uppe ye street to Capt: Davenports house from whose house wee had beene banished before.

And when I came there there was a many officers more with him in his chamber: & when I came amongst y^{m} they lift uppe there hands & admired y^{t} I shoulde come againe & I tolde y^{m} ye Lord God had sent mee amongst y^{m} againe.

Soe they went there ways: & ye baptists & others sent mee a letter by way of challenge y^{t} they woulde discourse with mee ye next day.

Soe I sent y^{m} worde I woulde meet y^{m} att such a house {about} a halfe mile out of {ye} tounde att such an houre soe thither I went: & Capt: Davenport & his son went with mee: & stayde there some houres but never a one of y^{m} came.

And then as wee was lookeinge out wee espyed A: Parker comeinge whoe had layne out y^{t} night & coulde not reach to ye tounde: & when I saw him I was exceedinge glad y^{t} wee mett againe.

[And soe ye Lords power came over y^{m} all: & they had noe power to touch mee] for if I had stayde in ye tounde to discourse with y^{m} they under pretence of discourseinge

with mee might have putt mee out of ye tounde againe [& therfore Itt was upon mee to try y^m out of ye tounde].

And soe after this wee past away: & Capt: Davenport returned to ye tounde: whoe afterwards was turned out of his place for not puttinge of his hat & for sayinge thou & thee to y^m [& hee remaines a freinde to this day][1].

And A: Parker was moved to goe to ye tounde where wee had ye meetinge att ye crosse aforesaid: & soe I past alone through ye countryes to Leutenant ffosters[a] quarters: where there was severall other officers y^t were convinct.

And soe from thence I came uppe to ye tounde where I had left freindes: & from thence wee came back to Edenborough againe.

And I bid Rob: Withers follow mee & soe in ye dreade & power of ye Lord: wee came to ye first two Centerys & ye Lords power came soe over y^m y^t wee past by y^m without any examination.

Soe wee ridd upp ye streets to ye markett place & by ye maine guarde & then out att ye gate by ye 3 Centery & soe cleere out att ye suburbs & there wee came to an Inn & sett uppe our horses one ye 7^{th} day.

Soe I saw & felt y^t I ridd against ye canon mouths [pistolls pike endes] sworde pointes: & soe ye Lords power & immediate hande carryed us over ye heades of y^m all.

And soe on ye first day wee went uppe to ye meetinge freinds haveinge notice y^t I woulde bee at it in Edenborough citty & there was a many officers & souldyers & a glorious meetinge it was: & ye everlastinge power of God {was} sett over ye nation & his son reigned [& shined over it] in his glorious power & all was quiett & never a one medled with mee.

Soe when meetinge was donne & I had visited freinds I came out of ye citty againe to my Inn.

And soe ye 2^d day wee sett forward through ye country towards ye borders of Englande.

[And there was Leutenant foster & Lt Dove & Capt Watkison[2] was turned out of ye army for owneinge truth & severall other officers & souldyers & because they woulde not putt of there hatts to y^m & saide thee & thou to y^m.]

[a] First written *Doves* and subsequently altered by the same writer to *ffosters*

And soe as wee travailed alonge ye country I espyed a steeplehouse & I askt y^m what steeplehouse it was & they sayde Dunbar & It strucke att my life: & when I came thither & had taken uppe our Inn I walkt uppe to ye steeplehouse & a freinde or two went with mee.

And when I came Into ye steeplehouse yarde there was one of ye cheife men of ye tounde was walkinge there & I bid ye freind goe & tell him there wulde bee a meetinge of ye people of God in scorn caled quakers there to morrow about ye 9^{th} houre: & wee bid him give notice to ye tounde of it.

And hee sent mee worde againe y^t they were to have a lecture there by ye 9^{th} houre: & therfore wee might have our meetinge by ye 8^{th} houre {if wee woulde} soe I tolde him with all my hearte lett him soe give notice.

And in ye morninge [about ye 8^{th} houre] both poore & rich came & there was a captaine lay in ye tounde & hee came upp & his troopers soe y^t wee had a glorious meetinge & ye Lords power was sett over all.

Soe at last ye preist came but hee went Into ye steeplehouse & wee beinge in ye steeplehouse yarde most of ye people stayde with us: & freindes voices was soe full & high in ye power of God y^t ye preist coulde do litle in ye steeplehouse: soe as hee came out againe & stoode a while & after went his ways.

And when I had opned to ye people where they might finde Christ Jesus haveinge turned y^m to ye light which hee had Inlightned y^m withall: y^t with ye light they might see Christ y^t dyed for y^m & turne to him there saviour & free teacher: & lett y^m see all ye hirelinge teachers y^t they had followed which made ye gospell chargeable: & shewed y^m all ye ways they had walked in ye night of Apostacy & turned y^m unto Christ there way to God: & the religions & worshipps y^t they had beene in which men had sett uppe & had lost Christs which hee sett uppe in spirit & truth.

[This great man of ye tounde askt ye Capt: leave to speak to mee: & I tolde him hee might freely if hee had any thinge to say: but then hee was silent & saide litle.]

And soe after I had turned people to ye spirit of God which led ye holy men of God to give foorth Scriptures with y^t measure of ye spiritt [truth grace faith] they might

know it in y^m^ selves if they came to knowe God & Christ or ye scriptures.

And soe freinds beinge full of ye power of ye Lord to speak I stept doune & lett y^m^ declare what they had to say from ye Lord to ye people.

And I walkt a litle by: & presently some professors begann to Jangle: & soe I [came againe &] stoode uppe againe & aunswered there questions: & they seemed to bee satisfyed [& soe I did once or twice]: & soe our meetinge ended in ye Lords power quiett & peaceable[a] & ye truth & ye power of God was sett over y^t^ nation: & many was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ by his power & spiritt there saviour & teacher whoe shed his blood for y^m^ [& remaines to this day]: & since a great Increase there is & great there will bee {in Scotland}.

For when I sett my horse feete a toppe of ye Scottish ground[1] I felt ye seed of God to sparkle about mee like unnumerable sparkes of fire though there is abundans of thicke cloddy earth of hypocrisy & falsenesse y^t^ is a toppe & a bryarry brambly nature which is to bee burnt upp with Gods worde & plowed uppe with his spirituall plowe before Gods seed brings foorth heavenly & spirituall fruite to ye glory [of ye heavenly glorious & omnipotent Lord God almighty]. But ye husband man is to waite in patiens.

And soe from Dunbar wee came to Barwicke where wee was questioned a litle by ye souldyers: & att night wee had a litle meetinge & ye governor was loveinge towards us: & ye Lords power came over all.

And from thence wee came to Malpus[b] & soe through ye country to Newcastle {visitinge freindes}: where I had beene once befor for ye Newcastle preists had given foorth many bookes against us: & one Ledger[2] an alderman {of ye tounde} & {hee &} they saide ye Quakers would not come Into noe great toundes but lived in ye ffells like butter flyes.

And soe I went & Anthony Pearson went with mee to severall of these Aldermen & to this Ledger & desired a meetinge amongst y^m^ for wee was now come Into there great tounde.

But Ledger begann to plead for ye saboth day: & soe I

[a] Ellwood editions add *This was the last Meeting I had in Scotland*

[b] *Morpeth* in Ellwood editions.

tolde him they kept marketts & faires on it for y^{t} day which Christians meets on nowe {which they call there saboth} was ye first day of ye weeke.

Soe wee desired to have a meetinge with y^{m} seeinge they had written soe many bookes against us but they woulde not nor woulde not bee spoaken withall but this man & one other: soe I tolde y^{m} had they not caled freinds butterflyes & y^{t} they woulde not come into {any} great toundes: & now wee was come Into there toundes they woulde not come att us but print bookes against us[1]: whoe was ye butterflyes now.

And neverthelesse wee gott a litle meetinge amongst freindes & freindely people att ye Gate Syde where there stands a metinge to this day {in ye name of Jesus}.

And soe as I was passinge away by ye markett place ye power of ye Lord risse in mee to warne y^{m} of ye day of ye Lord y^{t} was comeinge upon y^{m}.

And soe not longe after all these [5] preists of Newcastle & there profession was turned out when ye Kinge came in.

Soe from thence wee came through ye countryes & had meetinges visitinge frendes in Bishopricke & Northumberland & had a fine meetinge at Leutenant Doves where many was turned to ye Lord & his teachinge.

And I went to visit a Justice of peace there a very sober loveinge man y^{t} had confest to truth.

And soe from thence wee came to Durham & there was a man come doune from London to sett upp a Colledge there to make ministers of Christ as they saide.

And soe I & some others went to ye man & reasoned with him & lett him see y^{t} {was not ye way} to make y^{m} Christs ministers by Hebrew greeke & latine & ye 7 arts which all was but ye teachinges of ye naturall man: for ye many languages begann att Babell & ye greekes y^{t} spoake ye naturall greeke ye preachinge of ye crosse of Christ was foolishnesse to y^{m} & to ye Jews y^{t} spoake naturall Hebrew Christ was a stumbleinge block to y^{m} & as for ye romans y^{t} had Ittalion & latine they persecuted ye Christians: & Pilate {one of ye Roman Magistrates} coulde sett Hebrew greek & latine atoppe of Christ when hee crucifyed him.

Soe hee might see ye many languges began att Babell & they sett y^{m} a toppe of {Christ} ye worde when they cruci-

fyed him & John ye devine saide y^t^ preacht ye worde which was in ye beginninge y^t^ ye beast & ye whor has power over tongues & languages & they are waters.

Soe heere hee might see ye whore {& beast has power over} ye tongues & many languages {which} are in mystery Babilon for they began at Babell & how ye persecutor of Christ {Jesus} sett y^m^ over Christ when hee crucifyed him {but hee is risen over y^m^ all whoe was before they was}.

And did hee thinke to make ministers of Christ by these naturall confused languages at Babell & in Babilon a toppe of Christ ye life sett {by a persecutor}: oh noe.

For Peter & John y^t^ coulde not reade letters preacht ye worde Christ Jesus which was in ye beginninge before Babell was. Soe ye man confest to many of these thinges.

For wee shewed him further Itt was Christ y^t^ made his ministers & gave gifts unto y^m^: & hee desired y^m^ to pray to ye Lord of ye harvest to send foorth laborers. And Paul was made an Apostle not of man nor by man neither received hee his gospell of man but by Jesus Christ[1].[a]

[1][And when I was in Bishopricke Antho: Pearson came to mee & had a great desire y^t^ I shoulde goe with him to see Henery Vane[2]: but I had litle upon mee to goe att y^t^ time: & hee commended him to mee & said Henery Vane had much enquired after mee.

And I went to Henery Drapers[3]: & there Henery Vanes chaplaine came to mee & began to declare to mee of ye righteousnesse of man & selfe righteousnesse & ye righteousnesse of ye law: soe I made aunsur to him & saide y^t^ I was in ye righteousnesse of Christ before selfe righteousnesse & ye righteousnesse of man was & Christ his righteousnesse ends ye righteousnesse of ye law: oh says his Chaplaine take heede of blasphemy & presumption: & I saide unto him is not Christ ye ende of ye law for righteousnesse sake & was not hee before selfe righteousnesse & mans righteousnesse {or ye righteousnesse of ye law either} & will bee when theres is gorne whoe fulfills ye righteousnesse {of ye lawe}: & thou y^t^ calls this blasphemy & presumption knows not what thou sayst.

[a] Two numbered leaves of the MS. are missing at this point.

Soe hee askt mee whether I woulde come doune to Raby Castle & I tolde him I shoulde say litle to y^{t} : but ye next day I went doune & they had mee uppe Into ye Chamber to Sir Henery Vanes wiffe & after a while hee came uppe & one of New Englande magistrates & saide hee is this George ffox : I thought hee had beene an elder man.

And soe I was moved of ye Lord to speake to him of ye true light which Christ doth enlighten every man y^{t} cometh Into ye worlde withall & hee saith beleive in ye light y^{t} yee may become children of ye light.

And howe y^{t} Christ had promised to his disciples to sende y^{m} ye holy ghoast ye spiritt of truth which shoulde leade y^{m} into all truth which wee witnessed & howe y^{t} ye grace of God which brought salvation had appeared unto all men & was ye saintes teacher in ye Apostles days & soe it was nowe.

Then says hee none of all this doth reach to my experiens nea saide I then howe camst thou in if thee didst not by beleiveinge in ye light as Christ commandes & how comes thou Into truth if thou hast not beene led by ye spirit of truth which led ye disciples {into all truth} which Christ promised {to sende y^{m}} & how camst thou to know salvation if it bee not by ye grace of God which bringes it which taught ye saintes.

And therfore what is thy experience off & in : & soe hee begann to tell mee how ye worde became flesh & dwelt amongst y^{m} yes saide I y^{t} is true amongst ye disciples but hee was revealed by ye light & spiritt : soe thou art climbed uppe another way then by ye doore. And thou hast knowne somethinge formerly : but now there is a mountaine of earth & imaginations uppe in thee & from y^{t} rises a smoake which has darkned thy braine : & thou art not ye man as thou wert formerly.

And I declared unto him y^{t} ye promise of God was unto ye seede & this they might know within y^{m} : & ye worde became flesh but not corrupt flesh for Christ tooke not upon him ye nature of Angells but ye seede of Abraham soe hee might knowe y^{t} seede in himselfe y^{t} Christ takes upon him for whoe are of faith are of Abraham : & comes to bee flesh of Christs flesh & bone of his bone.

And then hee saide y^{t} I saide ye seede was God : &

because hee saide it ye New Englande man affirmed it {alsoe}: but I saide I did not say soe but I saide hee tooke not upon him ye nature of Angells but ye seede.

And then hee remembred my words & confessed his mistake but hee grew Into a great frett & a passion y^{t} there was noe roome for truth in his hearte: but I was moved of ye Lord to sett ye seede Christ Jesus over his heade: & howe y^{t} ye seede which ye promise was to: not many but one which all must feele it in there owne particulers.

And soe I went away & hee saide to some frends afterwards y^{t} if Anthony Pearson & some others had not beene with mee hee woulde have put mee out of his house as a mad man & soe freinds y^{t} was with mee stranged to see his darknesse & impatiens butt ye Lords power came over all.

And I did see hee was vaine & high & proude & conceited & y^{t} ye Lord wulde blast him & was against him & hee greived ye righteous life: & very high hee was till ye Kinge came in & afterwards hee was beheaded: but hee coulde haredly bear freindes without they woulde putt off there hatts to him.][a]

[1][*G: ff:^{s} Queryes to S^{r} Henery Vane. 1657*

Freind a feiw Queries I would have thee to answer in writeing.

1. Whether or noe the Body of Christ which thou calls Elementary of the Elements is that thou eates, or hast not life?

2. Whether or no the body of Christ, (which thou saist is corruptible) thou eatest?

3. Whether or no the blood of Christ (which was shed upon the Crosse which thou sayest was corruptible) be the blood which thou art Justified withall, that corruptible thing as thou saist?

4. Whether or noe y^{t} Corruptible blood which thou speakes of, is y^{t} thou drinkes, & not drinking hast not life?

5. Whether or no y^{t} body of Christ which thou saist

[a] Narrative continued on page 323.

is corruptible and of the elements is y^t^ which makes free from the Lawe?

6. Whether or no {that} body which thou saist is of the foure Elements & corruptible, be the Church, for the Apostle sayes the body of Christ which is the Church?

7. Whether or no Christ has another bloode[a] then y^t^ which was shed, & another body then y^t^ flesh, y^t^ wuld not see corruptions, and how dost thou agree with the Apostles, & David {said} his flesh should see no corruption, and thou saist his flesh and his blood is corrupt, and saw Corruptions?

8. What is the corruption y^t^ must put on Incorruption, whereby it may be made like unto his glorious body, here is Corruption, must put on incorruption, before it be like his glorious Body?

9. And againe thou saies y^t^ nothing doth dye, but sees corruption, and Christ died & rose againe, and the Apostle said his flesh sawe noe corruption, how dost thou differ with the Apostle here againe?

10. And can a corruptible body take away corruptions?

11. And can a corruptible blood cleanse & Justifie?

12. Was Christ borne by the will of man, did not he take upon him the seed of Abraham acording to the flesh, he y^t^ came out of the Idolatry, kindred and native country as much as children were partakers of the flesh & blood did not he take parte with the same? And did not Christ say to the Jewes, ye are of the devill your ffather, who pleaded they were of Abraham, and pleaded the promise, but was not the promise to the seed? to Abraham before he was circumcised? and is not the seed of the Gentiles, as well as the Jewes? and was not the seed in death in the Jewes when Christ was come, did he not call them graves, and did he not say I put my sheep forth?

13. And is y^t^ an Elementary seed, y^t^ Bruises the serpents head, made of the foure Elements?

14. And is not the devill him y^t^ compasses the earth, and does not he y^t^ was disobedient get into the children of disobeidience, and what is the earth y^t^ he compasseth?

[a] First written *body* and corrected by T. Lower to *bloode*

15. And how comes thou to have any experience of Christ, or come to the dore? who when it was spoken y^t^ to the light which enlightenneth every one y^t^ comes into the world, & to y^t^ which must be knowne of god made manifest in thee, thou must come before thou retaine god in thy knowledge, and to the spirit of truth which leads the Saints into all truth, and reproves the world of sin, said this reached not to thy experience, then how art thou come at the dore who counted this the preaching of selfe.

16. Whether or no the Saints of Christ (which said they were of his flesh) were not of y^t^ flesh which saw no corruption? and whether or no Christ did not take upon him the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, and takeing upon him y^t^ flesh whether or noe he does not bring under it all flesh which sees corruption, & destroyes y^t^ flesh which whoso joyneth unto becomes an harlot, & so all come into his body, y^t^ wittnes his flesh?

17. Whether or no all y^t^ come to eate his flesh & drinke his blood, doe not come to be of the flesh of Christ.

18. Whether or no Christ did not take upon him the seed of Abraham y^t^ all might come into his body, & whether or noe y^t^ is not his body?

19. Whether or noe doth the scriptures speake, or the Apostles, or Ministers of Christ & say y^t^ the blood of Christ is Corruptible, or the body of Christ is corruptible, and whether doe the scriptures say it was made of the foure elements, or where doth the scripture speake of the foure Elements.

20. Doth y^t^ which is corruptible Justify unto god, doth y^t^ which is corruptible cleanse from all sin?

Are not you disputing about the body of Christ, as the devill was about the Body of Moses, and as the Jewes were disputeing with Christ about a Christ y^t^ was to come, & in the meane while neglected him who was the thing it selfe.]

[1]*A paper of G: ffs what was spoken to ffrends in ye ministry att Jo: Crookes 1657*[a]

[This is sumthinge of what was spoken to frends in y^e^ ministery particularly att John Crookes y^e^ 31^th^ day of y^e^ 3^d^ month 1658 : by G. ff.]

ffrends take heed of destroyinge y^t^ which yee have begoten for y^t^ which destroyes goes out & is y^e^ castaway, & though y^t^ be true & may be y^e^ pure truth which he speakes, yet if hee doth not remaine in y^t^, & live in y^t^, in y^e^ perticular, but goes out, y^t^ same y^t^ which he is gone out from, cometh over him ; soe y^t^ y^t^ calmes y^e^ spiritt & cooles y^e^ spirit, y^t^ goes over y^e^ world : & brings to y^e^ father, to inheritt y^e^ life eternale, & reatches to y^e^ spirits in prison in all.

In y^e^ livinge unmovable word of {y^e^ lord} god dwell, & remaine in y^e^ renowne, & remaine in y^e^ foundation y^t^ is pure, y^t^ is sure, & soe all y^e^ other y^t^ goes furth from y^e^ pure, & from y^t^ Ministers, he cometh to an end, & doth not remaine, though y^t^ had itts time, & was servicable for a time, while he lived in y^e^ thinge [& soe y^t^ is itt y^t^ will overturne all y^t^ which doth not remaine, which they goe from, & soe y^t^ cometh over].

And take heed of many words, but what reatcheth to y^e^ life, y^t^ setles in y^e^ life, y^t^ which reatcheth to y^e^ life from y^e^ life, receved from god, y^t^ setles others in y^e^ life, & soe now y^e^ time[b] is not now, as itt was att first, y^e^ time[b] now is otherwise, to setle & stay in y^e^ life, for as frends have bene led to minister in y^e^ power, y^e^ power hath gone through, there hath growen an understandinge among people, both amonge frends & amonge y^e^ world ; & soe frends must be kept in y^e^ life, which is puer, & soe with y^t^ they may Answer y^e^ life of god in others which is puer ; for if frends doe not live in y^e^ life which they speake of, y^t^ they Answer y^e^ life in those y^t^ they speake too, y^e^ other part steps in, & soe there coms an acquaintance ; & soe he letts y^t^ com over him.

Soe as every one is kept in y^e^ livinge lif of god over all

[a] More correctly, as given three lines below, 1658.

[b] Ellwood editions have *work*

y^t^ is contrary, then they are in there place; they doe not lay hands on any sudenly, soe y^e^ danger is now, for if he doth he may louse his discerninge, may lay hands on y^e^ wronge part, & soe let y^e^ deceipt com to neare him, & y^e^ deceipt will steale over, & itt will be A hard thinge for him to gett it downe.

There is noe one strikes his felow servants, but first he is gone from y^e^ puer in his owne perticular; he goeth from y^e^ light he is enlightned withall, then he strickes, then he hath his reward; y^e^ light which he is gone from, Christ he cometh & giveth him his reward; this is y^e^ state of {y^e^ evill} servants, soe all y^e^ boisterous & hasty & rash begetts nothinge to God, but y^e^ life which doth reatch y^e^ life, is y^t^ which begetts to god.

Soe now frends, when all is setled in y^e^ life, as they are in y^t^ which remaines for ever, & what is there receved is receved from y^e^ lord, & what he receveth from y^e^ lord he kepeth, & soe he sitteth still & coole & quiet in his owne spirit, & gives itt furth as he is moved, but not to y^e^ harlots, but y^e^ Judgment.

Soe frends y^e^ word of y^e^ lord [god] to you all In all meetings you com into when they are sett silent, they are many times in there owne; now aman when he is come out of y^e^ world he cometh out of y^e^ dirt, then he must not be rash, for now when he cometh into A silent meetinge y^t^ is another state, then he must com & feele his owne spirit, how itt is when he cometh to y^m^ y^t^ sitt silent, for if he be rash then they will Judge him; when he hath bene in y^e^ world & amonge y^e^ world y^e^ heate is not yeat of him, for he may com in y^e^ heate of his spirit out of y^e^ world; now y^e^ other is still & coole, soe his condition in y^t^ is not to theres, he may rather doe y^m^ hurt, begett y^m^ out of y^e^ coole state into y^e^ heatinge state, if he be not {in y^t^} which comands his owne spiritt, & gives him to know itt.

Now there is agreat danger to in travelinge abroad in y^e^ world, y^e^ same power y^t^ moves y^m^ is itt must keepe y^m^, for itt is y^e^ greatest danger to goe abroad except aman be moved of y^e^ lord, by y^e^ power of y^e^ lord, for then he kepinge in y^e^ power is kept in his Jorney, & in his worke, & itt will preserve him to Answer y^e^ transgresed & keepe above y^e^ transgresor.

Soe now every one feelinge y^e^ danger to his owne perticular in travelinge abroad there y^e^ puer feare of y^e^ lord will be placed, for now though one may have openings when they are abroad to minister to others, but as for there owne perticular groath is to dwell in y^e^ life which doth open; & y^t^ will keepe downe y^t^ which will boast, for y^e^ minister coms into y^e^ death to y^t^ which is in y^e^ death & in prison, & to returne up againe into y^e^ life & into y^e^ power & into y^e^ wisdome, to preserve him cleane.

Soe this is y^e^ word of y^e^ lord god to you all, feele y^t^ y^ee^ stand in y^e^ presents of y^e^ lord god, for every mans word shall be his burthen, for y^e^ word of y^e^ lord is puer, & Answers y^e^ puer in every one, y^e^ word of y^e^ lord is y^t^ which was in y^e^ begininge, & brings to y^e^ begininge, itt is as a hamer to beat downe y^e^ transgresor & not y^e^ transgresed, & as afire to burne up y^e^ other y^t^ is contrary to itt.

Soe frends com into y^t^ which is over all y^e^ spirits of y^e^ world & fathoms over all y^e^ spirits of y^e^ world, y^t^ stands in y^e^ patience with y^t^ he may see another, & reatch y^t^ which is of god in every one; soe here is noe strife nor noe contention out of transgresion, for he y^t^ goeth into y^e^ strife & into y^e^ contention he is from y^e^ puer, for where any goeth into y^e^ contention if any thinge by him before hath bene begoten, then y^t^ doth gett atopp & spoile y^t^ which was begoten, & quench his owne profesie, soe if y^t^ be not subiected with y^e^ power in y^e^ perticular, which would arise into y^e^ strife y^t^ is dangerous.

Soe if any one have Amovinge to any place & have spoken what they were moved of y^e^ lord, returne to there habitation againe, & live in y^e^ puer life of god & feare of y^e^ lord; & soe will y^ee^ in y^e^ life & in y^e^ souber & seasoned spirit be kept, & preatch as well {in life} as with words, for none must be light, out, & wilde, for y^e^ seed of god y^t^ is weighty & brings solid {& into} y^e^ wisdome of god {by} which is y^e^ wisdome of y^e^ creation {knowne}, now y^t^ which runs into y^e^ imaginations & y^t^ part standinge in which y^e^ imaginations coms up [y^e^ puer not com up], y^e^ puer not quite com upp through to rule & raigne, then y^t^ will run out, then y^t^ will glory, & soe he hath spoiled y^t^ which opened to him & will boast & vapor, which is for condemnation; soe all minde y^t^ which feeles through & comands his spirit, whereby

every one may know what spirit he is of whereby he may try his owne spirit & then try others, & know his owne & then know others.

Soe yt which doth comand all theese spirits where heats & burnings coms in, In yt waite which cheanes ym downe & cooles, yt is ye elect ye heire of ye promise of god, for there is noe hasty rash brickle spirits, though they have prophesies, have gone through, he not beinge subiected in ye profesie, ye earthly will not abide for it is brickle, for in yt state ye ministery was anothers, thats not ye sons, for ye sone hath life in himselfe, & ye sun hath ye power [now ye power is anothers the] which [in its time], man beinge obedient to itt he may be servicable, but if he goe from itt & ye pure power, then he falls & abuseth itt, soe lett your faith stand in ye puer power of ye lord {god} & doe not abuse itt, yt seartcheth through & worketh through, soe every one stand in ye power of ye lord god yt reatcheth ye seed of God, which is ye heire of ye promise of life without end, & none to be hasty to speake for yee have time enough, for with an eye yee may reatch ye witnese, & none to be backward when yee are moved for yt brings destruction; now truth hath an honour in ye harts of people which are not frends, soe yt all frends beinge kept in ye truth they are kept in ye honor, they are honorable & yt will honor ym, but if yee loose ye power yee loose ye life, they loose there crowne, they loose there honor, they loose ye crose which should crusifie ym, & they crusifie ye Just, & by loosinge ye power ye lambe coms to be slaine, & soe as itt is heare it will have soe in other nations, for all frends here are as one family, ye seed ye plants, they are as a family.

Soe now beinge kept in yt which subiects all & kepes all under, ye seed itt selfe, ye life it selfe, yt is ye heire of ye promise, ye bond of peace, for there is ye unitie with god & unitie in ye spirit & one with another, for in ye life he heares god, & sees mans instruction, & with yt he Answereth ye life in others yt heares god, soe one frend yt is comd into yt, he fathoms ye world.

Soe in yt which frends doe speake they must live in, & soe may they looke yt others may com into yt which they speake, to live in.

The power of ye lord god hath bene abused, & ye worth

of truth hath not bene minded, there hath bene atramplinge on & maringe with your feet, & soe y^t^ abuseth y^e^ power: now every frend to kepe in y^e^ power, to take heed to y^t^ y^t^ must be kept downe which would trample & mar with y^e^ feete y^e^ pure life & power of god, to be over y^t^ & y^e^ puer life lived in, y^t^ none with y^e^ feete might foule or mar, but every one may be kept in y^e^ pure power & life of y^e^ lord, then y^e^ water of life cometh in, then he drincketh & giveth others to drincke.

Now when any one shall be moved to goe to speake in asteplehouse or amarket, turne in y^t^ which moves & be obedient to itt, now y^t^ which would not goe must be kept downe, for y^t^ same y^t^ would not goe will gett up, & take heed y^t^ y^e^ lavishing part doe not gett up, for it is abad savor, therefore y^t^ must be kept downe & be kept subiect; & soe waite in y^e^ light of y^e^ lord god y^t^ y^ee^ may be all kept in y^e^ wisdome of god.

Now when y^e^ seed is up in every perticular then there is noe danger, but now when there {is} an openinge & profesey & y^e^ power stirs before y^e^ seed coms upp, then there is sumthinge y^t^ will rash out & run out, there is y^e^ danger & there must be y^e^ feare & y^e^ patience.

Now itt is amightie t(h)inge to be in y^e^ worke of y^e^ ministery of y^e^ lord god & to goe forth in y^t^, for itt is not as acustomary preatchinge, but to bringe people to y^e^ end of all preatchinge, for your once speakinge to people, & then people com into y^e^ thinge y^ee^ speake of, they here y^e^ thinge & many declarations out of y^e^ life may gett y^m^ into a forme.

Now if words be rashed out againe unsavory, then they will Judge him y^t^ is com into y^e^ thinge which he spoke, there he may hurt againe y^t^ which he hath gott upp; soe frends y^ee^ must all come into y^e^ thinge y^t^ is spoken, & soe walke in y^e^ love of god to Answer y^e^ things he spoke too.

And take heed of all runinge into uncleanese & when people cometh to owne you, then there is danger of y^e^ wronge part to gett upp, there was a strife amonge y^e^ desciples of Christ who should be y^e^ greatest; Christ saith unto y^m^ y^e^ heathen exersitheth lordshipe & have dominion over one another, but itt shall not be soe amonge you, for Christ y^e^ seed was to com up in every one of y^m^; soe then

where is y^e^ greatest, for y^t^ part in y^e^ disciples y^t^ louked for greatest was y^e^ same y^t^ was in y^e^ Gentiles.

Soe who cometh here in y^e^ word to live y^t^ sanctified him, his lips sanctified, tonge & hart sanctified, to live in y^e^ word of wisdome, y^t^ y^t^ makes cleane y^e^ hart & reconsiles to god, all things beinge upheld by y^e^ word & power, times & seasons beinge upheld by y^e^ word & power, beinge in y^e^ word of god y^t^ uphoulds all things times & seasons, y^t^ gives all things increase, here y^ee^ come into y^e^ word of wisdom; then if there be tow or three agreed in this on earth, it is soe in heaven, & soe in this must all things be ordered by y^e^ word of wisdome & power y^t^ uphoulds all things y^e^ times & y^e^ seasons which are in y^e^ fathers hand to y^e^ glory of god whereby his blesinge will be felt amonge you, soe this brings to y^e^ begininge [soe kepe downe to y^e^ low], this is y^e^ word of y^e^ Lord god to you all, kepe downe, kepe low, y^t^ noe thinge may reule nor raigne but life itt selfe.

Now y^e^ pure beinge lived in, y^e^ crose is lived in, & where ever frends cometh, then they draw y^e^ power over & life, & they leave A witnese behinde y^m^, Answeringe y^e^ witnese in others, then there is noe want where this is lived in, y^e^ power & wisdome of god there is noe want of wisdome, noe want of power, noe want of knowledge, & he cometh with y^e^ eye of y^e^ lord to see {what} must be fed with Judgment & what is for y^e^ fire, & what is for y^e^ sword, what must be nurished; & this brings all to be downe low, every one kepinge to y^e^ pure, for lett aman gett upp never soe high yet he must com downe backe againe to y^e^ puer where he left what he went from, he must com downe to y^t^; soe now before all these wicked spirits be gott downe which are ramblinge abroad, frends must have patience & waite in y^e^ patience & y^e^ coole life, & who is in this doth y^e^ worke of y^e^ lord, he hath y^e^ tastinge & y^e^ feelinge of y^e^ lambs power & Authoritie.

Soe now all frends to be kept coole & quiet in y^e^ power of y^e^ lord god, & all y^t^ is contrary will be subiected, y^e^ lambe hath y^e^ victory, y^e^ seed is y^e^ patience.

Now none must ever goe furth {into wordes} after they have bene moved, & quenched y^t^ {which moved y^m^}, & y^e^ other part gett upp, & he goe furth y^t^ is his owne & y^e^ betrayor will com into y^t^.

And soe all frends not to medle with y^e^ powers of y^e^ earth, to kepe out of all such things, but as y^ee^ Answer y^t^ of god in you to bringe y^m^ to Justice, then y^ee^ kepe in y^e^ lambs Authoritie, which ends y^e^ law; & to kepe out of all vaine Janglinge, for all y^t^ be out from y^e^ law, they be in y^e^ transgresion, but all y^t^ be in y^e^ law coms to y^e^ lambs power in y^e^ lambs Authoritie, who is y^e^ end of itt, y^e^ law; for now livinge in y^e^ law of god, you live over all transgresion, now Christ who was glorified with y^e^ father before y^e^ world began is y^e^ end of y^e^ law, which every perticular must feele in himselfe.

Many things was spoken more to many of these perticulars which I could not take att large, as they were spoken.

[a][1][1658] And about this time wee had a dispute with a Jesuite y^t^ came over with some of ye embassadors from Spaine & hee chalenghed all ye quakers to dispute with y^m^ at ye Earle of Newports house[2].

And at last wee sent to him y^t^ wee coulde meete with him & then hee sent us worde hee woulde with 12 of ye wisest learned men wee had: afterwarde hee sent us worde hee woulde meete with but six: & after hee sent worde againe hee woulde have but three to come.

Soe I bid Nich: Bonde[3] & Ed: Burrough goe uppe & talke with him least hee putt it quite off at last for all his great boast: & I may walke in ye yarde heere: [& if ye Earle of Newport aske for mee] I may come uppe.

And soe I bid y^m^ state this question: whether or noe ye church of Rome was not degenerated from ye Churh in ye primitive times from there life & doctrine & ye power & spiritt that they was in which they did.

And ye Jesuite affirmed y^t^ they was in ye virginity & purity of it. Then by this I was come uppe.

And wee askt him whether they had ye same pouringe out of ye holy ghoast as ye Apostles had: but y^t^ hee utterly denyed.

Then said wee if you have not ye same holy ghoast &

[a] Narrative continued from page 314.

ye same power & spirit as ye Apostles had: then I tolde him there was a degeneration. And there needed litle more to bee said to y^{t}.

And wee was to make good what wee said by scriptures one both sydes.

And then I askt him what scripture they had for settinge uppe cloysters for Nunns & Monasteryes & Abbeys for men: & for all there severall orders.

And what scripture had they for prayinge by beades & to Images: & for makeinge Crosses & forbiddinge of meates & marriages & for putting people to death for religion.

Now if they were in ye purity & virginity of ye practise of ye primitive Church then lett us see some scriptures where ever they practised any such thinges.

Then said hee there is a written worde & an unwritten worde: then said I what dost thee call thy unwritten worde.

The written worde says hee is ye scriptures & ye unwritten worde y^{t} which ye Apostles spoake by worde of mouth: which are all these tradittions which wee practise was there unwritten worde.

Then I bid him prouve y^{t} And hee brought y^{t} scripture where ye Apostle said: when I was with you I tolde you these thinges: That is saide hee I tolde you of nunneryes & monasteryes & puttinge to death for religion & prayinge by beades & to Images & all ye rest of ye practises of ye Church of Rome: hee said was ye unwritten worde of ye Apostles which they {tolde then & since} have continnued unto y^{m} doune alonge by tradition.

Then I bid him reade y^{t} scripture againe: & there hee might see howe hee perverted ye Apostles words where hee tells ye Church of disorderly persons & such as did not follow ye Apostles: whoe did not worke att all: & therfore hee had commanded y^{m} when hee was with y^{m} {in his unwritten worde} y^{t} they should eate there owne bread: & therfore now againe in his epistle his written words hee againe commands y^{m} as in ye 2 of Thess: ye 3^{d} [& ye 10th to ye ende].

And soe this plainely overthrew all there Invented traditions soe y^{t} hee had noe more proofe to stande by.

Soe then I tolde him there was another degeneration of

theres Into such Inventions & traditions which ye Apostles & ye Saintes never practised.

Then hee came to his sacrament & altar : & began att ye paschall lambe & ye shew breade : & Christ said this is my body & what ye Apostle said to ye Corinthians & y^{t} after ye preist had consecrated ye breade & ye wine it was immortall & devine & hee y^{t} received it received ye hole Christ.

Then I followed him in ye Scriptures hee brought till I came to Christs words & ye Apostles : & y^{t} ye Apostle tolde ye Corinthians after they had taken breade & wine in remenbrans of Christ y^{t} they was reprobates if Christ was not in y^{m}.

Now if y^{t} was ye Christ after they had eaten it then they had Christ in y^{m}. [And Christ sayde as oft as yee eate this breade & drink this cuppe doe it in remenbrans of my death : & shew foorth my death till I come.]

Now if this breade & this cuppe was Christs body [& bloode & y^{t} ye Apostle gave] then how can Christ bee with a body in heaven.

And Christ & ye Apostle said as often as yee eate this & drinke this doe it in remenbrans of him : soe then it was not ye body but a sheweinge foorth his death till hee come.

Soe marke heere is ye breade & wine to bee taken in remenbrans of his death till hee come : soe then ye breade & wine cannot bee hee if it bee to bee taken in remenbrans of his death till hee come.

Now Christ said : this is my body : alsoe hee said I am the vine & ye doore & rocke of Ages : therfore is Christ an outwarde Rocke doore or vine.

Oh said ye Jesuite that is to bee Interpreted : then said I Interprett his words alsoe : this is my body [which hee said take this in remenbrans of mee till I come].

Then I said unto him seeinge y^{t} hee said y^{t} ye breade & wine was imortall & devine & ye very Christ : & whoesoever received it received ye whole Christ : therfore lett ye pope & some of his cardinalls & Jesuites give us a meetinge & wee woulde have a botle of wine & a loafe of breade & wee woulde devide ye wine Into basons & ye breade Into two peices.

And they should consecrate which parte they woulde

& woulde sett ye Consecrated & unconsecrated Into a Cellar & wee would have a watch sett on it on each syde 7 & 7 lockes sett upon ye doores & if ye consecrated breade & wine altered not its property & grew mouldy ye breade & wine soure but proved devine & immortall: wee would all turne to them.

But if the breade grew mouldy & ye wine soure & deade then they shoulde acknowledge there error & turne all to us.

And therfore come foorth & lett it bee tryed: for this woulde bringe glory to god: & ye truth to bee manifest for much bloode had beene shed about these thinges as in Queene Marys days.

And then ye Jesuite said take a peice of new cloth & cutt it Into 2 peices & make two garments of it & putt one upon Kinge Davids backe & another upon a beggars & ye one garment should wear away as well as ye other.

Saide I is this thy aunswer: yes said hee: then said I I am satisfyed for have you tolde people y^{t} the consecrated devided loafe & wine was Immortale & devine & now says Itt will weare away as well as ye other.

I must tell thee Christ remaines and is ye same to day as yesterday: & is ye saintes heavenly foode in all generations & never decays through which they have life.

Soe this assertion of his proved erroneous & hee went noe farther with it for all people saw him.

Then I askt him why they did put people to death & persecute y^{m} for religion & hee said: it was not ye Church did it but ye magistrates.

Then I askt him whether those magistrates were not counted & caled beleivers & Christians & hee said yes: why then said I: are they not members of ye Church: & hee said yes: why then dost thou say ye Church does not persecute: soe I left it to ye people to Judge & soe wee parted & his subtilty was comprehended by simplicity.

[1]And after ye meetinge was donne I was walkeinge in Jo: Crookes garden & there came a party of horse with a constable but freindes were mostly gonne: & I hearde y^{m} aske what freindes was in ye house & whoe was there & one of y^{m} made aunswer & saide I was there & ye souldyers & constables saide I was ye man they lookt for but they never

came Into ye garden but went Into ye house & after many wordes y^t they had with Jo: Crook & some few freindes in ye house they went away in a rage & never minded mee in ye garden ye Lords power soe confounded y^m.

And soe after I went Into ye house: & freindes was very glad to see y^m soe confounded & y^t I had escaped y^m.

And ye next day {I past away &} after I had visited freindes in severall places I past to London & thus ye Lords power came over all [& frends were setled upon ye foundation Christ Jesus & all ye quickned & those y^t were made alive knew Christ Jesus & came to sett doun togeather in him in ye heavenly places in Christ Jesus].

And soe I visited ye meetinges uppe & doune in London: & some of y^m was troubled with rude people & Apostates y^t had runn out with J: N: & [a]I was moved to write[a] to O: Cromwell[b] & Layde before him ye suffringes of freindes in ye nation & in Ireland & was moved to goe againe to O: Cromwell & tolde him y^t they which woulde putt him on an earthly crowne woulde take away his life: & hee askt mee what say you: & I repeated ye same words over to him againe: & hee thankt mee after I had warned him of many dangers & howe hee woulde bringe a shame & a ruine upon himselfe & posterity.

And [c]after this[c] I mett him rideinge Into Hampton Courte parke & before I came at him hee was rideinge in ye heade of his life guarde & I saw & felt a wafte of death goe foorth against him y^t hee lookt like a deade man & when I had spoaken to him of ye suffringes of freindes & warned him as I was moved to speak to him: hee bid mee come to his house & soe I went to Kingston & ye next day went uppe to Hampton Courte: & then hee was very sicke & Harvey[1] tolde mee which was on of his men y^t waited upon him y^t ye Doctors was not willinge I shoulde come In to speake with him: & soe I past away & never saw him noe more[2].

And another time her they caled ye Lady Claypole[3] was

[a]...[a] Originally written *hee was had before ye parlament & I was moved to write to y^m &*

[b] The following words are crossed out *& much about this time there was a great noice*

[c]...[c] These words are inserted in the place of the following, which have a line through them, *another time I went to him when hee was at Kingston &*

very sicke & troubled in minde & nothinge coulde comfort her & I was moved of ye Lord to write a paper[1] & sent it to her to bee reade unto her & shee saide Itt setled {& stayde} her minde for ye present: & many freindes gott coppyes of y^t^ paper both in England & Irelande & reade it to distracted people & Itt setled severall of there mindes [& they did great service with it both in England & Ireland: which paper is in ye booke of {my} papers att London].

And after I had visited freindes in London & in ye country thereaways I went Into Essex & there I hearde O: P: was deade.

And then I came uppe to London againe when Richarde[2] was made protector: & about this time ye church faith was given foorth which was made at Savoy in 11 days time[3]: & I gate a copy of it: & when there booke {of church faith} was solde upp & doune ye streets my Aunswer[4] unto it was solde alsoe: & one of ye parlament {men} tolde mee they must have mee to Smythfeilde to burne mee as they did the martyrs but I tolde him I was over there fires & feared y^m^ not: ffor had all people beene without a faith this 1600 yeeres y^t^ now the preists must make y^m^ one.

And did not ye Apostle say y^t^ Christ was ye author of there faith & finisher & was not all people to looke unto Jesus ye author & finisher of there faith & not to ye preists.

[And had not Christ beene ye Author of ye Apostles {faith} & ye Church in ye primitive times & ye martyrs faith: else why doth ye Apostle say unto ye Church looke unto Jesus ye author & finisher of your faith & soe all true Christians are to look unto him.]

And a great deale of worke wee had about ye preists made faith: & yet they caled us house creepers leadinge silly women captive: because wee mett in houses & woulde not holde upp there preists {& temples} which they had tryed & made: but I lett y^m^ see how y^t^ they was y^m^ y^t^ ledd silly women captive & crept Into houses y^t^ kept people always learneing under y^m^: whoe were covetous & whoe had gott ye forme of godlynesse: & denyed ye power & spiritt y^t^ ye Apostles was in: & soe they begann to creepe in ye Apostles days: but now they had gott ye magistrates on there sydes whoe uphelde all those houses y^t^ they had crept Into {there temples} with there tyths.

Butt ye Apostle brought people of those temples & tyths & ofringes y^t^ God had commanded: & they mett in severall houses: & was to preach ye gospell in all nations which they did freely as Christ had commanded y^m^ & soe doe wee y^t^ bringes people of these preists temples & tyths which God never commanded & to meete in houses or mountaines as ye saintes did: which was gathered in ye name of Jesus & Christ was there prophett preist & shephearde.[a]

[1][*A paper to papists & all professors & others 1659*

Let all y^t^ y^ee^ doe be done in y^e^ name of y^e^ lord Jesus Christ by whome all things was mad & created, y^t^ y^ee^ may doe y^t^ which y^ee^ doe in y^e^ true dominion, & then what y^ee^ doe y^ee^ doe in y^e^ power {of God}, & all frends dwell in love, for y^t^ is y^e^ marke of adisiple & y^e^ fruits of faith: & y^e^ spirit which is y^e^ end of y^e^ comandment out of apure hart, & fullfils y^e^ law y^t^ edifies, & in y^t^ is edification & buildinge, & y^e^ fruits of beinge past from death to life, there is love to bretheren & enimies beinge in y^e^ seed y^t^ destroys death & y^e^ power of itt y^e^ devill.

We need noe masse for to teach us, for y^e^ spirit y^t^ gave furth scripturs teacheth us how to pray singe praise reioyce honour & worshipe god, & in what & how to walke, & to behave ourselves to god & man, & leadeth us in to all truth in which is our unitie & comforter & guid & leader & not men with out, which say they have not y^e^ spirit & power as y^e^ Apostles had y^t^ gave furth scripturs, & we need not your comon prayr to teach us, for y^e^ spirit y^t^ gave furth scripturs teatcheth us how to pray praise singe fast & to give thancks & praises & worshipe, & in what & how to honor & gloryfie god, & how to walke to him & men & all creaturs upon y^e^ earth; & leadeth & guideth into all truth which was given furth from itt, which reproves y^e^ world for sine, y^t^ is our comforter leader & guide by which we know sonshipe in which we have unitie, & this doth never change, but y^t^ which men doth invent, prayers & forms which doth say y^t^ they have {not} y^e^ same spirit which gave furth y^e^ scripturs,

[a] Narrative continued on page 334.

y^t will change worshipe & religion, which y^t in y^e spirit doth not.

And we are apeople y^t need not your directory to teach us, which y^ee have given furth, who saith y^ee have not y^e spirit & power as they had y^t gave furth y^e scripturs, soe y^e spirit y^t gave furth scripturs teacheth us how to pray how to speake singe fast give thancks & how to read & how to walke to god & man, & how to worshipe god & in what, for it leadeth us[a] into all truth, which is our comforter in which we have unitie & felowshipe & know soneshipe & to know our religion which doth never change, & soe y^e spirit of truth which gave furth scripturs is our directory guid leader & comforter, which reproves y^e world for sine, & this leadeth to see y^e end of all directories which men invent, which have not y^e spirit as y^e Apostles had, & when they canot hould it up they cry to y^e powers of y^e earth to helpe y^m, & these wee see from y^e spirit erd & without y^e spirit, with whome we canot trust our bodys spirits nor soules into there hands, but hath comited y^m up to y^e lord whose they are.

And we are apeople y^t are redemed from y^e earth & world & need none of your church faith: which y^ee have framed & made in eleven days time & your other 3 days set apart, for Christ is y^e author of our faith, which is y^e gift of god, which is amistery held in apure conscience: & we say y^t all y^e prests in Scotland[b] & London & in Newengland canot make y^e gift of god y^e mistery which is y^e faith which remaines, & by which men are Justified & saved: neither have they power over itt, which bringeth us to have accese to god, & giveth us victory over y^t which seperated us from god.

And soe we need none of there faith to lead us, for y^e faith which Christ is y^e author of we live by, which they canot make nor frame: & though they may cry to y^e maistrats to helpe y^m to hould up there made faith, which Idole they canot hould up y^m selves which they have invented: & {say they} are not in y^e life & power as they was in y^t gave furth y^e scripturs, & say revelations is seased from people, y^t there is noe victory while they be upon y^e earth: this is y^e fruits of there framed faith which wee need

[a] Another ancient copy of this paper reads *up*
[b] First written *England*

not, for ye spirit yt gave furth ye scripturs, teatcheth us to know who is ye author of {our} faith {which giveth victory} & ye finisher of itt, & this spirit teacheth us how to pray singe give thancks praise reioyce fast worshipe god & in what & how to walke to god & man, & leadeth us into all truth yt reproves ye world of sine, which is our comforter guid & leader & director in which we have unitie & felowshipe yt is without end & apure religeon yt d...[a] & agreat deale of stufe there is in there bookes which is not worth mencioning, which it & ye nature will rot yt gave it furth, but ye seed & life & power will stand.

Church faith changeth, directory changeth, comon prayer changes & masse changes, & here is ye 4 religions gott up since ye Apostles days which they {have} fought for & killed one another about, but ye pure religeon doth not change, which we are of & owne {in which is ye spirituale weapons and} which were amongst ye Apostles, ye true faith changes not for it abideth & remaineth, which is ye gift of god & a mistery held in the pure conscience, of which we are & which is our faith; mase for ye papist, comon prayer for ye episcopall men, & ye directory for ye presbiterians, church made faith for ye independants & mixt baptists & others, & these have had there felowshipe in these for which they fought for & about with carnale weapons got up since ye day of ye apostles, but ye felowshipe in ye spirit remaines & doth not change, which hath spirituale weapons {which are knowne to feight with all about religon} in which ye seed of god is knowne, which bruiseth ye serpents head yt led men from god & made ye seperation {betwixt man &} god, & ye election knowne before ye world began, who is ye head of our church & not ym yt is head of your mase, head of your directory, head of ye comon prayer head of ye church {made} faith, which we see: all changes & comes to nought, & god confounds & men stands in doubt & questoninge, & have noe asurance in there religion, but yt of god stands in ym all bound, they yt folowed ye pope was caled papists & ym yt protested against ye pope was caled protestants, & thus they gave names one to another & soe comon prayer men & directory men & independants men & baptists men, & thus

[a] Edge of sheet torn. Before-mentioned ancient copy reads *doth never change;*

in y^e^ envy out of y^e^ love out of y^e^ spirit which gave furth y^e^ scripturs gave names one to another {all which wee judge}; our faith our church our unitie is in y^e^ spirit, & our word at which wee tremble was in y^e^ begininge before y^e^ papist mens mass, & your episcopall comon prayer & y^e^ presbyterians directory, & independants baptists & other framed mad(e) church faith was, & our unitie church & felowshipe will stand when they are all ended, by which spirit we all Judge y^m^ & deny there works, which is our unitie with god with scripturs & one with another, for they have bene to people like soe many {changable} coverings, but now y^e^ spirit is takeinge y^m^ of by which we are covered, & is our weapons, in this day of great batell with y^m^ y^e^ scripturs which y^ee^ doe speake & shew furth in all your bookes is owned, but your imaginations of y^m^ we deny, but they are all owned in y^m^ selves & places, soe they are ours which end in Christ, who is ours & in whome we are y^t^ remaineth ; y^e^ mase is y^e^ papists sacrifice y^t^ they kill {about}, y^e^ comon prayer is y^e^ episcopalls sacrifice y^t^ they persecut & kill about, & y^e^ directory is y^e^ presbiterians sacrifice y^t^ they persecute & kill about, y^e^ mad(e) & framed church faith is y^t^ which y^e^ independants & baptists sacrifice which they kill & persecut about, which sacrifices y^e^ lord doth not acept, neither he has respect to, which is from y^m^ which have erd from y^e^ spirit which y^e^ Apostles was in & true Christians which with it ofered spirituall sacrifices to god y^e^ father of spirits {which we are in}, & all my deare harts all know y^e^ felowshipe of y^e^ seed in its suferings & {to be} made conformable to his death, y^t^ y^ee^ in this suferings & thorow it y^ee^ may know y^e^ power of y^e^ resurection of y^e^ just seed, & this is it which kileth all light spirits y^t^ will talke but not dy with y^e^ seed, such may crusifie Christ in y^m^ selves afresh : therefore mind y^e^ dayly suferings which y^e^ seed had, & have unitie with y^t^, y^t^ y^ee^ may rise with y^t^ which destroyeth y^t^ which causeth it to sufer & a great deale.

The papists crys higher power helpe helpe or else my mase will downe & all my serimones, y^e^ episcopall men cry {higher power} help help or else my comon prayer will downe, y^e^ presbiterian crys help help higher power or else my directory will downe, y^e^ independants & anabaptists & others crys help help higher powers or else my framed faith

which is my eleven days worke will downe & we shall not stand; are not y^ee^ ashamed all & shew y^ee^ are naked, out of y^e^ power & life y^t^ y^e^ Apostles were in & from there weapons naked, y^t^ outward powers neither upheld nor seperated y^m^ from y^e^ love of god {which they had} in Christ Jesus y^e^ end of y^e^ law.

I am not one of y^m^ which calls y^m^selves papists comon prayer men nor presbiterians independants anabaptists puritants nor heathens which be out of y^e^ life of god, but y^t^ which god has caled me to y^t^ I am & y^e^ elect before y^e^ world began. This is to goe everywhere all abroad amongst frends, who are of y^e^ royall presthood which destroys y^t^ y^t^ mad y^e^ seperation from god, from which royall seed goes y^e^ royall comand, which seed remaines for ever from y^e^ royall seed to y^e^ royall seed, which are y^e^ royall preisthood, which hath y^e^ royall law & love to {frends &} enimes, which is beyond y^e^ love of y^e^ world & before it was {for thats the royall Love where no enmity can come}.

Forgive us as wee forgive y^m^ crys papists, crys episcopall, crys presbiter Independants anabaptists, these crys & say y^e^ lords prayer: forgive us our debts & trespases as we forgive y^m^ y^t^ trespase against us, & then like a company of senslese men without understandinge faleth afeightinge one with another about there trespases & debts & never minds what they prayed, as though they never looked for forgivenese {& to receive y^e^ things they prad for} y^t^ prays forgive us lord as we forgive & then fall apersecutinge & imprisoninge {one another} & takinge there bretheren & felowservants by y^e^ throats about religeon {which in there prayers they said forgive us as we forgive} & will not forgive: but saith there praires as y^e^ fareses did scripturs & did not, this is he y^t^ must be cast into prison untill he pay y^e^ utmost farthinge {& must not come out}, & this has bene there worke since y^e^ Apostles days, & is not heare law? {The Apostles & Christ did not bid y^t^ any should kill about their words, but y^t^ you should love Enemies, & soe you will kill about their words which was killed for speakeing them forth, and soe all friends dwell in y^e^ seed of god which is heire of the power of the world, which is without end, in y^t^ dwell {and keepe your meetings}, y^t^ you may all be possesers}.

G: ff:]

[a]And one time as I was goeinge Into ye Country & 2 freindes was with mee when I was gonne a litle above a mile out of ye Citty there meets mee two troopers: & tooke mee & ye freindes y^{t} was with mee prisoners & brought us to ye mews & there kept us prisoners: & they were Coll: Hackers men butt ye Lords power was soe over y^{m} y^{t} they brought us not before any officers but after a while sett us at liberty againe.

And ye same day I took boate & went to Kingston & from thence I went to I: Penningtons where I had apointed a meetinge & ye Lords truth & power came over all.

And many freindes beinge in prisons att this time severall was moved to goe to ye [{severall}] parlament[s sometimes about 2 & 300 att a time &] to offer uppe y^{m} selves to ly in ye same Dungeons where there freindes lay y^{t} they y^{t} were in prison might goe foorth & not perish in ye stinkeinge Dungeons & goales: & this wee did in love to God & our bretheren y^{t} they might not dye in prison & {in love to y^{m} y^{t} they might not} bringe Innocent bloode upon there own heades which would cry to ye Lord: & bringe his wrath & vengans & plagues upon y^{m}.

And then ye parlaments woulde be in a rage & sometimes sende y^{m} worde y^{t} they woulde whippe y^{m} & sende y^{m} home againe & many times soone after ye Lord woulde turne y^{m} out: & sende y^{m} home whoe had not power to doe good in there day[1].

And severall rash spiritts woulde have bought Somersett House[2] {y^{t} wee might have meetinges in it} but I was moved of ye Lord to forbidd y^{m} soe to doe: for I did foresee ye Kinges comeinge in again {att y^{t} time}.

And some foolish rash spiritts y^{t} came amongst us were goeinge to take uppe armes: but I was moved of ye Lord to forewarne y^{m} & forbid y^{m} & they left it.

And in ye time of ye Committee of safety[3]: wee was Invited by y^{m} to take upp armes & great places & commands was offred us but wee denyed y^{m} all.

And they had a great discourse amongst y^{m} whether ye Quakers should have there liberty: & Itt was denyed by many of y^{m} [& Coll: Packer saide before ye Quakers shoulde

[a] Narrative continued from page 329.

have there liberty hee woulde draw his sworde to bringe in Kinge Charles].

And often ye parlaments {& O: Cromwell} & Committe of safety woulde proclaime fasts & then I was moved to write to y^m y^t there fasts was like unto Jesabells for many times when they began to proclaime fasts then there was some mischeife actinge against us [{& others}]: for I knewe there fasts was for strife & debate & to smite with ye fist of wickednesse [{as in this folowinge paper may bee more at large seene}].[a]

[1]*to o: p: 1656 consarng the soufering of the prodstantes be yond the seay*

To the heads and governours of this nation who have put forth a Declaration for the keepinge of a Day of Sollemne fasting & humiliation for y^e persecution (as y^{ee} say) of the poore Inhabittantes in the valleyes of Lucern Angroina [{in Piedmont}] & others professing the reformed Religion which hath been transmitted unto them from their Ancestors[2].

[*Answ:*] Proffessing the Reformed Religion may be transmitted to Generations & soe houlden by the Tradition: and in that where the profession and tradition is houlden; in that is the days of humiliation kept, which stands in the will of man: which is not the fast which the Lord requires to hould downe the head like a bullrush for a day, and the day followinge be in the same Condiçon as y^{ee} were the Day before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences doe I speake, which testifies for God every day & witnesseth against all sinn & persecution, which Measure of God if y^{ee} be guided by it, doth not lymitt god to a day, but leads to the fast which the Lord requires, which is to loose the bonds of wickednesse to undoe the heavy burdens and to lett the oppressed goe free, and to breake every yoake, 58: Isa: 6: 7: this is the fast the Lord requires, and this stands not in the transmition of tymes, nor in the traditions of men, but this was before tymes was, & this leads out of tyme, & this shall be when tyme shall be no more. And

[a] Narrative continued on page 340.

those that teach for Doctrine the Comandements of men are they which ever persecuted the life & power when it came. [7: Mark: 7: 8: 9: 13. 2 Coll: 8. 15 Math: 3: 9.]

And a decree or Edict as y^ee^ call it proceeds from the ground of the Popes Religion and supremacie, and there stands his tyranny and cruelty acted in that will which is in that nature which excerciseth Lordship over one another as y^ee^ may read 10. Mark. 42: Luke 22: 25 as all the heathen doe and ever did: and in the heathenish nature is all the tyranny and persecution excercised who are out of the obeydience of the light of Christ Jesus in the Conscience which is the guider & leader of all who are tender of that of god in the Conscience. And who is not led by this knoweth not what it is to ssuffer for Conscience sake.

And wheras y^ee^ take it into your Consideration the sadd persecution tyranny & cruelty excercised upon them (whom y^ee^ call your Bretheren protestants), and therin doe contribute and administer to their wants outwardly, This is good in its place, & we owne it and see it good to administer to the necessityes of others and to doe good to all {who are sufferers by a law derived from the pope}, and we are willing to Joyne & to contribute with you to their outward necessityes; for the Earth is the Lords & the fullnes thereof, who is good to all & gratious to all, and willing that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the meane tyme (while y^ee^ are doinge this, and taking notice of others Cruellty tyranny & persecution) turne your eye into your owne bosomes and see what y^ee^ are doeing at home. To the light of Christ Jesus in all your Consciences [(which never changes) doe] I speake which cannot lye, nor cannot erre, nor cannot beare false witnesse: which doth witnesse for God & crye for Equity & iustice & righteousnesse to be executed.

See what y^ee^ are doing, who professeth the Scriptures as they were given forth by the saints in Light, who dwelt in the light & in the life of them; and them who doth now witnesse the same light the same life {&} the same power which gave forth the scriptures (which y^ee^ professe) them y^ee^ persecute, hayle out of your Synagogues & marketts, beat stock & imprison. Now let that of god in your Consciences (which is iust and righteous & equall) examine &

trye wheither you have any example or president to exercise this persecution which now many in this nation suffer under, a people harmelesse and Inocent walking in obeydience towards god & man (though you acounte it Heresie) but therin doe they excercise themselves to have allwayes a Conscience void of offence towards god & man, as y^ee^ may read 24: Acts 14: 15: 16: not wronging any man nether givinge any Just cause of offence, only being obeydient to the Commands of the Lord, to declare as they are moved by the holy ghost for the Testimony of a good Conscience and say the truth in Christ and lye not, their Consciences alsoe bearinge them witnesse. [9 Rom: 1.] And for this doe they suffer under you who professe the same things for which they suffer.

Now see if any age or generation did ever persecute as y^ee^ doe, who professeth Christ Jesus who reveales the father, and persecutes them that witnesse it soe, who professeth Christ Jesus the light of the world which enlightens every one that cometh into the world ; and persecutes them who beares this witnesse and testimony, y^ee^ who professe that y^e^ word is become flesh, and persecutes them who witnesse it soe, you which professe that whosoever confesseth not y^t^ Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an Antichrist, and y^ee^ persecute them who doth confesse him come in the flesh, and calleth them Antichrists and deceivers, you professe that the kingdome of Christ is come and y^ee^ persecute them that witnesse it come, y^ee^ professe Christ Jesus who is the resurection and the life, and y^ee^ persecute them who witnesse him to be soe.

But y^ee^ will say how shall we know that these people who say the witnesse these things, doe so or no.

Answ: Turne your minds to the light which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withall {which is one in all} & if you walke in the light, y^ee^ shall have the light of life, and then y^ee^ will know and then y^ee^ will see what y^ee^ have done who have persecuted the Lord of glory {in whom is life, and y^t^ life is the light of men}, and to no other touchstone shall wee turne you, but into your owne consciences, and there shall y^ee^ find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what wee beare testimony to, and when the bookes of Consciences is open and all iudged out of them, then

shall you witnesse us to be of god, and our testimony to be true, though now y^ee^ may stopp your eares and harden your hearts while it is called to day, but then y^ee^ shall know what you have done and whom you have transgressed against, and then y^ee^ will see that no persecutors in any age or generation that ever went before you did ever transgresse against that light (as y^ee^ doe) and measure of god made manifest.

But y^ee^ will say that Christ and the Apostles were persecuted in their tymes.

[*Answ:*] The Jewes did not know that he was the Christ when he came, though they had the scriptures which prophecyed of him, neither did they beleeve that he was risen againe when the Apostles preached his resurection. But y^ee^ say y^ee^ beleeve he is come, and y^ee^ say you beleeve his resurection, and yet y^ee^ persecute those that witnesse him come in the flesh & those y^t^ are buried with him in Baptisme and those y^t^ are conformable to his death and knoweth the power of his resurection, those y^ee^ persecute, haile before Magistrates, suffer to be beaten in your synagogues, whipt and stockt and shamfully intreated, and into prison cast and kept, as many Goales in this nation (at this day) doth testifie to your faces.

Therfore honestly consider what y^ee^ are doing while y^ee^ are taking notice of others Cruelltyes least y^ee^ over looke your owne, for there is much diference in many things betweene the popish Religion & the protestant (as they call it) but in this persecution of yours there is no diference, for y^ee^ will confesse that the foundation of your Religion is grounded upon the Scriptures and now y^ee^ are persecutinge the same life as spoke forth the scriptures, under a profession of the words they spoke, and this you shall eternally witnesse, soe y^ee^ have the profession and forme, and persecute the possession & life & power of that forme. Therfore know assuredly that y^ee^ must come to Judgment, for he is made manifest [which is without forme], to whom all Judgment is committed. Therfore to the light of Christ Jesus in your Consciences [which changeth not], which searcheth and tryeth you, turne your minds and stand still & waite there to receive the righteous Law which acts accordinge to y^t^ of God in the conscience which is now

risinge and is bearinge witnesse against all ungodlynes and unrighteousnes of men, and those whom y^ee^ persecute is made manifest to that of God in all consciences, and that of God in all consciences shall witnesse for us to be of God, and this y^ee^ shall eternally witnesse whether y^ee^ will heare or forbeare, and our rejoycing is y^e^ testimony of our Conscience that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdome but by the grace of god we have had our conversation in the world [and more aboundantly towards you], not handlinge the word of God deceiptfully but in the manifestation of the truth, Comendinge ourselves to every mans Conscience in the sight of God, and if our Gospell be hid, it is hidd to them that are lost.

And for the witnessinge the houlding the Mistery of faith in a pure Conscience doe wee suffer and is subject for Conscience sake, and this is thanke worthy if a man for Conscience sake endure greefe sufferinge wrongfully, and here is our ioy and rejoycinge in this y^t^ havinge a good Conscience y^t^ wheras they speake evill of us as of evill doers, they may be ashamed that falsly accuse our good Conversation in Christ, which is not only the puting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answeare of a good Conscience towards god by the resurection of Jesus Christ: and this we witnesse made manifest [as it speakes by the same life that spoke it] {eternal prayses be to the living God}, wherby we see the truth of it, and beare testimony to it which spoke it in the Apostle in life & power, & therfore doe wee beare witnesse and testifie against the forme and profession of it who persecute the life and power. Therfore to the eternall light of Christ Jesus which is the searcher & tryer of all hearts, turne your minds & see what y^ee^ are doinge, least y^ee^ overturne your foundation and bottome wheron y^ee^ stand while y^ee^ are professinge the scriptures and persecuteinge the life, light and power that gave them forth, for the stone cutt out of the mountaine without hands is now strikinge at the feet of the Immage which the profession (that stands in the will of man) hath set upp; now is that made manifest that all must appeare before the Judgment seate of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body according to that which they have done whether it be good or badd. Knowing therfore the

terrour of the Lord we perswade men, but we are made manifest unto God, and shall be made manifest in all your Consciences which y^ee^ shall [eternally] witnesse.

[Written from the spirit of the Lord
the 16^th^ Day of the 4^th^ month.]

[a]For ye new England professors befor they putt ffreindes to death they proclaimed a fast {alsoe}.

And when ye Longe Parlament sate I was moved to sende severall papers to y^m^ & speak to y^m^ how ye Lord was bringeinge a day of darknesse upon y^m^ all y^t^ shoulde bee felt[1].

And great suffringes I had about this time & great confusion & distraction there was amongst ye powers & people.

And after this I past Into severall places off ye Country: & I had a meetinge att Serjant Birketts[2] where there was many considerable people & some of quality & a glorious meetinge it was: & ye scriptures was opned to y^m^ & Christ sett above all [soe y^t^ one man amongst y^m^ admired & sayde: this man is a pearle].

And there was great persecution about 7 miles of London: at a meetinge soe that they beate abused & bruised freindes exceedingely & one day: they [tore] beate & abused about 80 frends y^t^ went out of London: & toare there coates & cloakes of there backes & threw y^m^ Into Ditches & ponds: & al moyled y^m^ with dirt & when they had soe donne then they [b]said freindes looket like[b] witches: & out of severall parishes the rude people came to abuse freindes att this meetinge.

And ye next first day after I was moved of ye Lord to goe to it {though I was very weake} & when I came there I bid frends bringe a table & sett in ye close where they used to mete[c].

So accordinge to there wonted time & course these rude people came & I haveinge a bible in my hande I shewed y^m^ theres & there preists & teachers fruites & ye

[a] Narrative continued from page 335.
[b]...[b] Altered from *caled y^m^*
[c] Ellwood editions add *to stand upon.*

people came to be ashamed & was quiett & soe I opned ye scriptures to y^m^ & our principles & turned y^m^ from ye darkenese to ye light of Christ & his spiritt by which they might knowe ye scriptures & see y^m^ selves & there sins: & know there saviour Christ Jesus: & soe ye meetinge ended quietly & ye Lords power came over all to his glory.

And great suffringes wee went through in these times [of O: P: & ye Commonwealths time] & many dyed in prisons: soe y^t^ they have throwne Into our meetinges wilde fire: rotten eggs: brought in Drums beatinge & Kitles to make noises with: & ye preists as rude as any: as you may see in ye booke of ye fightinge preists[1] a list of ye preists y^t^ has beate & abused freindes.

And ^a^after a while^a^ I past to Redinge & was under great suffringes & exercises & in a great travell in my spiritt for ten weekes time: for I sawe how ye powers was pluckeinge each other to peices[2].

And many freindes was brought uppe to London prisones to bee tryed before ye Committee: & Henery Vane beinge chaire man hee woulde not suffer freindes to come in except they woulde putt of there hatts but at last ye Lords power came over him soe y^t^ through some others y^t^ perswaded him they were admitted.

For many of us was imprisoned upon contempts as they caled it for not puttinge of our hatts: soe it was not a likely thinge for freinds to putt of there hatts to him {y^t^ had soe longe sufferd for it}: butt ye Lords power came over y^m^ all soe y^t^ severall freinds was sett at liberty by y^m^[3].

And att Readinge as I sayde before I had a great travell & sawe howe {many} men was destroyinge ye simplicity & betrayinge ye truth & a great deale of hypocrisy & deceit & strife was gott uppermost in people y^t^ they were ready to sheath there swords in one anothers bowells for there was a tendernesse in people formerly but when they was gott uppe & had killed & had taken possession they came to bee ye worst of men soe y^t^ wee had soe much to doe with y^m^ about our hats & sayinge thou & thee to y^m^ y^t^ they turned there profession off patiens & moderation into rage & madnesse: & many of y^m^ woulde bee like distracted men for this hat honor.

^a...^a Altered from *before this*

For I severall times writt to O: Cromwell & tolde him while hee was persecutinge Gods people those hee lookt upon as his enimyes was preparinge to come upon him.

For there came a woman[1] to mee in ye Strann y^t^ had a prophesy concerneinge Kinge Charles three yeeres before hee came in & shee tolde mee shee must goe to him to declare it.

Soe I tolde her shee shoulde waite upon ye Lord & keepe it {to} her selfe for if it shoulde bee knowne y^t^ shee went they woulde looke upon it to bee treason: butt shee {saide shee} must goe & tell him y^t^ hee must bee brought Into England againe: & I saw her prophesy was true for those y^t^ had goten possession was soe exceedinge high & such great persecution {was acted} by y^m^ which caled y^m^ selves saintes for they woulde take away from freinds there copy holdes because they woulde not sweare in there Courtes: & sometimes when wee layde these suffringes before O: C: hee woulde not beleive it.

And Tho: Aldam & Anth: Pearson was moved to goe through all ye goales in Englande to gett {copyes of} freindes commitments under ye goalers hande & lay y^m^ upon O: C:[2]

And Tho: Aldam was moved to take his cappe of his heade & rent it to peices before O: C: & to tell him soe shoulde his kingedome bee rent from him.

And Another freinde was moved to goe to ye parlament y^t^ was envyous against friendes: & to take a pitcher in her hande & breake it to peices & to tell y^m^ soe shoulde they bee broaken to peices[3] which came to passe presently after.

And O: P: saide y^t^ now there was a people risen [meaneinge us] y^t^ hee coulde not win with honor high places nor gifts but all other people hee coulde.

For wee did not seeke any of there places gifts {n}or honors [but there salvation & eternall good {both} in this nation & elsewhere].

And soe in my great suffringes & travells att Readinge y^t^ I was burdned & almost choakt with there hypocrisy & treachery & falsenesse I saw God would bringe y^t^ a toppe of y^m^ which they had beene atoppe of & y^t^ all must bee brought doune to y^t^ which did convince y^m^ before they coulde gett over y^t^ bad spiritt within & without.

And soe It is ye invisible spiritt y^{t} doth & must worke doune all deceite in people.

And in this day many of our olde envyous persecutors were in great confusion.

[1][^{a}1658 when i was weeke & in great suferings^{a} & y^{e} Powers of y^{e} earth was on heaps, & friends under sufferings, then Rich Davis[2] & Henry Clarks[3] wifes Came to me : & Rich Davis wiffe Invited me to her house, & I told her ther was no Roome in her house for mee : & then she Railed upon mee & then they both turned out of y^{e} Lords truth & fellowship of his people ; & this time towards :59:] y^{e} powers y^{t} had been persecuting friends, & had many then in prison, & this time they was Crucifieing y^{e} seed Christ both in themselves & others, & at Last fell a biting & devouring one another untill they was Consumed one of another[4], who had turned & Judged y^{t} {both in themselves & others}, which god had wrought in them & shewed them, so god overthrew them & turned them upside downe & brought y^{e} king over y^{m}, who was always Complaining y^{t} y^{e} Quakers met together to bring in King Charles, wheras friends did not Concerne y^{m} selves with {y^{e} outward} powers ; but at last y^{e} lord brought him in & many of them voted at their meeting of y^{e} Parlament for y^{e} bringing in of King Charles.

So with hart & voice praise y^{e} name of y^{e} Lord to whom it doth belong & over all hath y^{e} suprieme. And y^{e} Nations will I Rock being on them atopp.

And soe when I had travailed with ye wittnesse of God which they had Quencht & gotten through with it & over all : y^{t} hypocrisy & saw how y^{t} woulde bee turned under & doune & y^{t} life would rise over it : I came to have ease & ye light {power & spiritt} shined over all.

And soe in ye Lords power I came to London again[5] : & After I had visited freindes & ye Lords power was {sett} over all I travailed Into ye Countryes againe.

And then Lambert[6] was comeinge uppe from Booths[7] defeate [& after a while went against a monke[8] & a great

^{a}...^{a} These words are in the handwriting of George Fox.

noise & Jumble there was in ye nation soe y^t^ people began to bee very rude against freindes].

And I past through ye Countryes {as} Norfolke Sufolke Essex [{Huntingtonsheere & Cambridgesheere}] & had severall meetinges {amongst freinds} till I came to Norwich.

And about ye time caled Christmas wee had a meetinge in Norwich: & ye maior hearde of it & graunted foorth a warrant to apprehend mee: & when I came Into ye tounde I hearde of ye warrant & soe I sent some frendes to ye maior to reason with him about it: & his aunswr was y^t^ ye souldyers shoulde not meete & did wee thinke to meete.

And hee woulde have had us gonne out of ye tounde & meete out of ye tounde & saide ye toundspeople were soe rude y^t^ hee coulde hardely order y^m^ & y^t^ our meetinge woulde make tumults in ye tounde.

But our frendes tolde him wee were a peaceable people: & y^t^ hee ought to keepe ye peace for wee coulde not but meete to worshippe God as our maner was: & soe hee becam pretty moderate & did not sende his officers to ye meetinge.

And a large meetinge it was & abundans of rude people came with an Intent to have donne mischeife: but ye Lords power came soe over y^m^ y^t^ they were chained by it: though severall preists was there & ranters & professors: & one preist {Towndesend}[1] stoode uppe & cryed error blasphemy & {an} ungodly meetinge.

And I bad him not burden himselfe with y^t^ which hee coulde not make good: soe I askt him what was our error & blasphemy for hee shoulde make good his words before I had donne with him.

And as for an ungodly meetinge I did beleive y^t^ there was many people y^t^ feared God there & soe it was uncivill in him to charge civill godly people with an ungodly meetinge.

Soe hee saide my error & blasphemy was because I saede y^t^ people must waite upon God by his power & spiritt & feele his presence when they did not speake words.

Then I askt him whether ye prophetts & holy men of God did not heare God speake to y^m^ in there silence before they spoak foorth ye scriptures: & before it was penned written or printed.

And hee saide yes David & ye prophetts did heare God

before they did pen ye scriptures {& felt his presence in silence before they spoake y^m^ foorth}.

Then saide I: all people take notice hee saide this was error & blasphemy in mee to say these words & now heere hee hath confest it.

Soe I lett ye people see y^t^ it was ye holy men of God whoe learnt of God y^t^ spoak foorth ye scriptures as they was moved of ye holy ghoast: soe they hearde & learnt before they spoak y^m^ foorth.

And soe must they all hearken & heare what ye spirit saith which will lead y^m^ Into all truth: & to know God & Christ & ye scriptures.

Then sayde ye preist: this is not y^t^ George ffox I would speake withall this is a subtile man sayde hee.

And soe ye Lords power came over all & all ye rude people was made moderate by it & reacht & other professors cryed to ye preist prove there blasphemy & errors {which you have spoaken so much off} butt nothinge you can prove nowe saide they {to there faces}.

And soe ye preist beinge goeinge away I tolde him wee had many thinges to charge him withall & therefore lett him sett his time & place to aunswer to y^m^: & soe hee did & went his ways.

And y^t^ day was a glorious day & truth came over all & people was turned to ye Lord by his power & spiritt & to ye Lord Jesus Christ there free teacher whoe was exalted over all.

And soe as I past away: generally people heartes was filled with love towards us yea ye ruder sorte of y^m^ desireinge for another meetinge.

And ye evill Intentions y^t^ they had against us was throwne out of all there heartes.

And att night I past out of tounde to a frendes house & from thence to Coll: Dinhams[a1] house where wee had a great meetinge.

And soe wee past through ye Countryes upp & doune visitinge freindes in Norfolke Huntington sheere Cambridgesheere And left G: W: & Rich: Huberthorn to meete ye

[a] Ellwood editions read *Dennis's*. The word was written originally *Dinhams* but there are strokes upon the *m* which may imply an erasure of that letter.

preist whoe was soone confounded & doun ye Lords power soe came over him.

[1659] And soe after I had past through many Countyes in ye Lords service & visited freindes & many was convinced though in many places ye people was rude: I returned to London againe where generall Monk was come to London: & ye gates & posts of ye Citty was pulling doune [& some of ye souldyers was rude but ye Lords power came over all].

And I had a vision {longe} before this for I saw ye Citty ly in heapes & ye gates doune: & I saw it Just as it was when I saw it severall yeeres after lyinge in heapes when it was burned[1].

And after I had visited frends in ye Citty & upp & doune theraways: I past Into Surrey & Sussex: & came to a great tounde where there was a great meetinge & severall frendes from Reading.

And a blessed meetinge there was: & ye preist of ye tounde was in a great rage but did not come out of his house.

And as I was passinge away hee was makeinge a noise & rageinge in his house: & wee bid him come out Into ye streets but hee would not: & soe ye Lords power came over all & freinds were refreshed in ye Lords power & truth: & from thence I went to another markett tounde where att night wee had a pretious meetinge & ye fresh sense of ye presence of ye Lord God {was felt} amongst us.

But ye yeere before in ye time of my travell at Readinge there came a company of uncleane spirits to mee: for through my travell & sorrow I lookt poore & thin & they tolde mee ye plagues of God was upon mee but I tolde y^m Itt was ye same spiritt y^t saide soe to Christ: when hee was stricken & smitten they hidd there face from him.

But when I recovered & gott through my travailes & sufferinges my body & my face was swelled: & then the bad spiritts saide I was growne fatt & envyed at y^t {alsoe}.

Soe I saide Itt seemes noe condition nor state woulde please y^t spiritt of theres but ye Lord God preserved mee by his power & spiritt through all & over all.

And soe I past through ye Countryes as I said before Into Hampesheere & Dorset sheere {& Poole & Ringewoode} visitinge freindes in ye Lords power & had great meetinges amongst y^m.

And at Dorchester I came to an Inn where wee had a great meetinge at night in ye Inn & many souldyers came in to ye meetinge & was pretty civill: & ye constables & oficers of ye tounde came in under pretence to look for a Jesuite whose heade was shaved.

And soe they woulde have all to putt of there hatts or else they woulde take y^{m} of to looke for ye Jesuites shaven crown. And soe they took of my hat for I was ye man they aymed att: & they looket it narrowely but not findeinge any balde or shaven place on my heade they went away with shame: & ye souldyers & other sober people was greveously troubled att y^{m}: but it was of good service for ye Lord & all thinges wrought togeather for good: & after wee had a fine meetinge & people was turned to ye Lord Jesus Christ there teacher whoe woulde reconcile y^{m} to God whoe had bought y^{m}.

Soe wee past from thence through ye countryes haveinge many meetinges wherein they y^{t} was convinct was established & many others added to y^{m}.

For as wee came through ye Countryes & had very pretious & blessed meetinges amongst freinds all through ye Countryes till wee came to Plymouth: & soe uppe Into Cornewall visitinge all ye meetinges of freindes among whome wee had many blessed meetinges till wee came to ye Lands end & through all y^{t} County Tho: Lower accompanyed mee: & brought mee over Horsebridge Into Devonsheer again {& at Lands ende in Cornewall there was an honnest man a fisher man: y^{t} became a faithfull minister[1]: which I tolde freinds hee was like Peter}[2].

And great feares & troubles was in many people & a lookeinge for ye kinges comeinge in & y^{t} all thinges shoulde bee altered but I tolde y^{m} ye Lords power & light was over all & shined over all: & y^{t} ye feare woulde onely take holde of ye hypocrites & such as had not beene faithfull to God our persecutors.

For in my travaile & sufferinges at Readinge when people was at a stande & coulde not tell what might come in nor whoe might Rule: I tolde y^{m} ye Lords power was over all for I had travailed through it & his day shined whoesoever shoulde come in: & all woulde bee well whether ye kinge came in or noe to y^{m} y^{t} loved God & was faithfull to

him : & soe bidd all freindes feare none but ye Lord {& keepe in his power y^t^ was over all}.

And soe after I had many pretious & blessed livinge meetinges in Cornewall & left all frends in peace & quietnesse & frends was glad & refresht whoe was turned to Christ there teacher & saviour : & setled upon him there foundation & severall eminent people longe convinced in y^t^ county which neither preists nor magistrates by spoileinge goods or Imprisonments coulde make them forsake there shephearde ye Lord Jesus Christ y^t^ had bought y^m^ : wee left y^m^ unto ye Lord Jesus Christ teachinge & orderinge {fresh & greene} & soe came Into Devonsheere.

And after wee had severall meetinges uppe & doune in Devonsheere wee came Into Somersetsheere where wee had severall large & peaceable meetinges.

[1][1659] And in Somersetsheere ye presbyterians & other professors were very wicked & often used to disturb ffrendes meetinges.

And one time there was a wicked man {which they} gott {to come to ye meetinge & hee sett} a beares skinn upon his back & hee woulde goe play pranckes in ye Quakers generall meetinge {which hee did : & stoode opposite against ye freinde y^t^ was speakeinge with his tongue lollinge out of his mouth & soe made sport to his wicked folowers & great disturbans in ye meetinge} : & there was a bull beateinge in ye way as hee {returned from ye meetinge} & hee stayde to see ye bull beate : & hee comeinge to neere ye bull ye bull struck his horne under his throate {& strucke his tongue out of his mouth which hung lollinge out of his mouth as hee had used in derision before} & strucke his horne uppe Into his braine & soe swonge him about upon his horne.

And soe hee y^t^ thought to have donne mischeife amongst Gods people was mischeifed himselfe.

And (wee) past through ye Country visitinge freinds in there meetinges till wee came to Bristoll.

And ye 6^th^ day before wee came : ye souldyers with there musketts came to ye meetinge for ye maior & ye Commander of y^m^ had combined togeather to make a disturbans

amongst freindes & ye souldyers were exceedinge rude & beate & strucke ffreinds with there musketts & drove y^m out of ye orcharde in a great rage & threatned what they woulde doe if freindes came againe.

And I comeinge to Bristoll ye 7^{th} day after this ffreindes tolde mee what a rage there was in ye tounde & threatninges against y^m by ye maior & ye souldyers & of there cruell cariage ye day before {to frendes}.

Soe I sent for severall freinds as G: Bishoppe Tho: Gouldney[1] & Tho: Speede[2] {& Ed: Pyott} & I desired y^m to goe to ye maior & officers seeinge y^t hee & they had broaken upp our meetinges & made such worke in ye tounde y^t they woulde desire ye maior & Aldermen y^t they woulde lett y^m have ye tounde hall to meete in & ffreindes woulde give y^m $20^{l.}$ a yeere to bee distributed to ye poore for ye use of it as aforesaid: & when ye maior & Aldermen had busnesse they woulde not meete in it but onely one ye first days.

And freindes were astonished att my sayinges & sayde ye maior & aldermen woulde thinke y^t they were madd: butt I saide nea ffor they shoulde offer y^m a considerable benefitt to ye poore. And it was upon mee from ye Lord to bid y^m goe: & at last they was willinge & went in ye crosse to there {owne} wills.

And when they had layde ye thinge before ye maior itt came soe over him y^t hee saide for his parte hee coulde consent to it but hee was but one.

But hee tolde freindes of another great hall they might have which freindes coulde not except beinge altogeather inconvenient soe ffreindes came away: & ye maior was very loveinge to y^m & they felt ye Lords power had come over all[a].

And when they came backe I spoake to y^m to {goe alsoe to} ye Coll y^t commanded ye souldyers & lay before him ye rude cariage of ye souldyers: & howe y^t they came armed amongst naked Innocent people y^t was waitinge upon & worshipinge ye Lord. But I coulde not gett y^m to goe to him.

Then ye next first day wee went to ye meetinge in ye orcharde where ye souldyers had broaken ye meetinge uppe as beforesaid.

And after I had declared ye truth a great while in ye

[a] Ellwood editions read *him* in the place of *all*

meetinge there came in many rude souldyers & people: some with drawne swords & ye Inkeepers had made some of y^m^ drunke: & one of y^m^ had bounde himselfe with an oath to kill & cut doune y^t^ man y^t^ spoake.

Soe hee came in through all ye crowde {of people} to within two yardes of mee & stopt att those foure freinds aforesaid y^t^ should have gonne to ye Coll: as I woulde have had y^m^ & fell a Jangelinge with y^m^ & soe off a sudden I saw his sworde was putt uppe & gonne. And ye Lords power came over all & chained {him &} y^m^ & wee had a blessed meetinge & ye Lords everlastinge power & presence was felt amongst us.

Soe upon ye 2^d^ day those 4 freindes aforesaid went to speake with ye Coll: & ye Coll: sent for ye souldyers & cut & slasht some of y^m^ before there faces which when I hearde I reproved freindes for lettinge him doe soe: & reproved y^m^ for not goeinge ye 7^th^ day as I woulde have had y^m^ which woulde have prevented this cuttinge off ye souldyers & ye trouble of y^m^ att our meetinge.

And thus ye Lords power came over all those persecutinge bloody mindes & ye meetinges there was setled in peace for a great while after & were without disturbans.

[1]And neere Bristoll I had a generall meetinge att Ed: Pyotts where there was many thousands of people: & ye baptist & Independant teachers came to us & all was quiett for most of ye sober people came out of Bristoll to it: & ye people y^t^ stayde in ye Citty saide ye Citty looket naked ye sober people was soe gonne foorth to this meetinge & ye Lords everlastinge seede Christ Jesus was sett over all y^t^ day: & many glorious thinges & truths was opned to ye people & ye Lord Jesus Christ was sett uppe whoe was ye ende of all figures & shadowes & ye law & first covenant: & howe y^t^ all figures & shadowes was given to man after man fell: & howe y^t^ all these rudements & Inventions of men were sett uppe in Christendom not by ye Commande of Christ beinge Jeweish & heathenish ceremonyes many of y^m^: & now y^t^ all might come to receive Christ Jesus by his light spirit grace & faith ye substans & live & walke in him ye redeemer & saviour & all images & likenesses man has made either of thinges in heaven or in earth to himselfe or for himselfe

hath beene since hee lost ye image & likenesse of God y^t God made him in.

But now Christ was come to redeeme translate convert & regenerate man all out of all these thinges y^t hee hath sett uppe in ye fall: & out of ye true types figures & shadowes & out of death & darknesse uppe Into ye light & life & image & liknesse of God againe as man & woman was in before they fell.

And a great deale a worke wee had with ye preists & professors pleadinge for Imperfection: but I did lett them see howe Adam & Eve was perfect before they fell: & all y^t God made hee said {y^t it} was good & hee blest it. And howe ye Imperfection came by ye fall: & man & womans hearkninge to ye Divell y^t was out of truth: & how y^t ye law made nothinge perfect but was for ye bringinge in of ye better hope which hope is Christ which destroys ye Devell & his workes y^t made man & woman Imperfect: & Christ saith bee perfect even as my heavenly father is perfect: for hee whoe was perfect comes to make man & woman perfect againe & bringe y^m againe to ye state as God made y^m in: soe hee is ye maker[a] of ye breach & ye peace betwixt God & man. And therfore I declared unto y^m by way of a comparison of two olde people y^t had there house broaken doune by an enemy soe y^t they was lyable to all stormes & tempests with all there children: & there came some men y^t pretended they woulde builde it uppe if they woulde give y^m soe much a yeere: but when they have gotten there money they leave there house as they founde it.

And soe there comes a first seconde thirde fourth fiveth & sixth with this pretens to builde up ye olde house & getts peoples money: & after cryes: they cannot reare upp ye house nor make uppe ye breach for there is noe perfection heere cryes they: ye house can never bee perfectly built uppe againe though they have taken peoples money for ye doeinge of it.

For all ye sects in Christendom has pretended to builde uppe Adam & Eves falen house & when they have gott peoples money they tell y^m ye house cannot bee perfected heere: & soe there house lyes as it did.

Butt I tolde y^m Christ was come {freely} whoe hath

[a] Ellwood editions insert here *up*

perfected for ever by one ofringe all y^m y^t are sanctifyed & renews y^m uppe in ye image of God: as man & woman was in before they fell: & makes man & womans house as perfect againe as God had made y^m at ye first & this Christ ye heavenly man has donne freely. And therfore all is to look unto him: & all y^t has received him are to walke in him ye life ye substans ye first & ye last ye rocke of ages & foundation of many generations: & largely was these thinges & many other thinges opned & declared unto ye people & ye worde of life y^t does abide & live & all was to heare & obey y^t did abide & live by which all might bee borne againe of ye immortal seed & soe to feede of ye milk of ye worde & a glorious meetinge there was & frends parted in ye power & spiritt of ye Lord in peace & in his truth y^t is over all[1].

And soe from thence I past through ye Countryes to Oldestone & to Nailsworth & Nathan: Crispes where there was a large meetinge & severall souldyers came but was quiett.

And soe from thence wee past to Glocester through freinds visitinge there meetinges.

And after wee had had our meetinge in Glocester which was peaceable though ye tounde was very rude & devided for one part of ye souldyers were for ye kinge & another for ye parlament. And as I past out of ye tounde over ye bridge ye souldyers there saide they was for ye kinge: & Ed: Pyott was with mee: & after wee was past away & ye souldyers understandinge Itt was mee they was in a great rage: & sayde had they knowne It had beene mee they woulde have shott mee with haile shott {rather then I shoulde have escaped y^m} but ye Lord prevented there divelish designe: & soe I came to Coll: Grimes his house where wee had a large generall meetinge & ye Lords truth & power was sett over all & people was established upon ye rocke & setled under ye Lord Jesus Christs teachinge.

And from thence wee past to Tewksbury [& Esom] & to Worcester & I never saw ye like Drunkennesse as then in ye toundes: for they had beene then chuseinge parlament men[2].

And wee visited ffreindes in all these toundes in there

meetinges & att Worcester & ye Lords truth was sett over all: & people was finely setled therein: & freindes praised ye Lord: nea I saw ye very earth rejoyced though great feares was in some people & many askt mee what I thought of times & thinges. And I sayde unto y^{m} ye Lords light shined over all & his power was {sett} over all.

And soe from Worcester I came through ye Countryes visitinge ffreindes in there meetinges till I came to Bagley & from thence I went to Dreiton to visitt my relations in Leistersheere: & there was one Burton[1] a Justice hearinge y^{t} I had a good horse graunted out his warrant: & came to search for mee & my horse three or foure days after I was gonne. And soe hee lost & misst his wicked ende.

And from thence I past to Twy Crosse & to Swanington & soe to Darby & visited ffreindes: & ye goaler y^{t} kept mee as aforesaid att ye house of correction was convinct[2].

And from thence I past uppe Into Darby sheere & soe came Into Nottingham sheere till I came to Synderlande greene visitinge ffreinds through all these Countryes in there meetinges.

And from thence I past to Balby where was our yeerly meetinge. And [many] thousands of people & freinds was gathered there.

And freindes mett in a great orcharde of Jo: Killams[3] & I heard off a troope of horse y^{t} was sent from Yorke {about 30 miles of} to breake uppe our meetinge & y^{t} ye new militia was to Join with y^{m} to breake uppe our meetinge.

And I went Into ye meetinge & stoode off a great stoole: & two trumpeters came uppe soundinge there trumpetts close to mee: & ye troopers cryed devide to ye left hande & right hande & make way: & they ridd uppe to mee & I was declareinge in ye mighty power of ye Lord ye everlastinge truth & worde of life: & the Captaine of ye troope bid mee come doune for hee was come to disperse our meetinge & I tolde him hee & they knewe y^{t} wee was a peaceable people And wee used to have such great meetinges: & if hee did question y^{t} wee mett in a hostile way I desired him to make search amongst us & if hee founde either sworde or pistoll about any there lett us suffer.

Soe hee tolde mee hee must see us dispersed for hee came all night {of purpose} to disperse us: but I tolde him

what honor woulde y^t^ bee to him to ride with swordes & pistolls amongst soe many {naked[a]} men & women as there was.

And if hee woulde bee still & quiett our meetinge might not continue passinge 2 or 3 houres: & when our meetinge was donne as wee came peaceablely & civilly togeather {soe wee} shoulde parte: ffor hee might perceive y^t^ ye meetinge was soe large y^t^ all y^t^ Country thereabouts coulde not entertaine y^m^ but that they Intended to depart towards there homes {att night}.

And hee said hee coulde not stay hee must disperse y^m^ before hee went: soe I desired him if hee coulde not stay lett a dosen of his souldyers stay & see ye order & peaceablenesse of our meetinge: soe hee permitted us an houres time & left halfe a dozen souldyers to stay with us.

And soe ye freindes of ye house gave ye souldyers & there horses meate & soe ye captaine went away.

And ye souldyers y^t^ were left tolde us wee might stay till night if wee woulde soe wee stayde about 2 or 3 houres & had a glorious powerfull meetinge.

And ye presence of ye liveinge God was manifest amongst us. And ye seede Christ was sett over all: & freindes {were} setled upon him ye foundation & under his glorious heavenly teachinge.

And freindes was all glad & refreshed y^t^ ye Lords power {had} give{n} y^m^ {such} dominion.

And after ye meetinge was donne freindes passt away in peace & Joy beinge refreshed with ye presence of ye Lord.

And ye militia souldyers many of y^m^ stayde alsoe: & were very much vext because ye Captaine & troopers had not broaken uppe our meetinge y^t^ day: & curst ye Captaine & ye troopers.

For It was reported y^t^ they Intended to have made a masacre upon us y^t^ day: & ye troopers Insteade of assistinge y^m^ they was rather asistant to us in preventinge y^m^ from doeinge mischeife & not Joineinge with y^m^.

And yett this Captaine was a desperate man for hee had saide to mee In Scotland[b] hee woulde obey commandes if it were to crucify Christ hee woulde doe it: or ye {great}

[a] Ellwood editions read *Unarmed*

[b] See page 296.

Turkes commande against ye Christians if hee was under him: but it was askt off him where was then his Christianity: but ye Lords power chained y^m^ all both troopers & ye militia soe as they went away not haveinge power to hurte us [{& one of ye troopers saide heere is more people flocke after him then are about my Lord protectors Courte}].

And ye next day wee had a heavenly meetinge att Warmsworth of freindes in ye ministry & severall others: & then freindes parted & as they past through ye Countryes severall was taken uppe {for} y^t^ day {y^t^} our first meetinge was off Lambert was routed[1]. And it made a great blunder in ye Country.

Butt freinds was not kept longe in prison at y^t^ time: & at Sekgeby as I was goeinge to this meetinge in Nottinghamsheere there came severall y^t^ was goinge to bee souldyers under Lambert & woulde have bought my horse: & because I woulde not sell him to y^m^ they was in a rage against mee useinge many threatninge words but I tolde y^m^ [& writt to y^m^] y^t^ God woulde confounde y^m^ & scatter y^m^. And soe they were about 2 or 3 days afterwards.

And soe ye Lords power came over all.

And from Warmsworth aforesaid in ye Lords power I past through ye country to Burton Abby where I had a great meetinge: & from thence to Tho: Taylors: & from thence to Skipton where there was a generall meetinge of men freindes out of many Countyes concerneinge ye affaires of ye Church.

And there a freinde declared naked[2] through ye tounde & they had much beate him & some other freindes which came to mee all bloody: & {as} I walket in ye street & there was a desperate fellow which had an Intent to have donne mee a mischeife but hee was prevented & our meetinge was quiett.

And att this meetinge some freinds did come out of most partes of ye nation for it was about busnesse of ye Church both in this nation & beyonde {ye} seas.

For when I was in ye north severall yeeres before I was moved to sett uppe y^t^ meetinge: for many freindes suffered & there goods were spoiled wrongefully contrary to ye Law.

And soe severall freindes y^t^ had beene Justices & magistrates & y^t^ did understand ye law came there & was

able to Informe freindes: & to gather uppe ye sufferinges y^t^ they might bee layde before ye Justices [{&}] Judges [{&} O: P:] & [his] parlaments before.

And this meetinge had stoode severall yeers [& att this time freindes was well established upon Christ ye foundation & rock of ages & ye truth & life & ye power of ye Lord was over all & freindes was Informed from this meetinge to there monthly & Quarterly meetinges: soe this meetinge had donne its service & {then all was} directed to keepe to there monthly & Quarterly meetinges].

And Justices & Captaines had come to breake uppe this meetinge & then when they saw freinds bookes & accounts of collections concerneinge ye poore how y^t^ wee did take care one county to helpe another: & tooke care to helpe freindes beyonde ye seas & y^t^ ye poore neede not trouble there parishes: ye Justices were made to confesse y^t^ wee did there worke [& freinds desired y^m^ to come & sett with y^m^ then].

And soe they passed away loveingely & commended freinds practise.

And many times there woulde bee two[a] hundred beggars of ye worlde {there for all ye country knewe wee mett about ye poore} which after ye meetinge was donne freinds woulde sende to ye bakers & give y^m^ each a [penny] loafe a peice bee y^m^ as many as woulde.

Soe wee was taught to {doe} good unto all but especially to ye householde of faith.

[And this was ye last generall meetinge y^t^ freinds had there & {then} freinds {was} turned all to ye Quarterly & monthly meetinges {as aforesaid} & there to doe there busnesse & many pretious papers may bee seene y^t^ was given foorth from this meetinge: as in ye bookes of Epistles may bee seene: & ye manner of there collections[1].]

And soe from thence I past through ye countryes {visitinge freindes in there meetinges} till I came to Lancaster & soe I past to Rob: Withers: & from thence to Arnesyde where I had a generall meetinge for all ye freinds in those countryes as Westmoreland Cumberland & Lancasheere.

And after ye meetinge was donne {which was peaceable

[a] Some alteration in the MS. is apparent here, but the word *two* can be read. Ellwood editions have *two*

& quiett: & ye liveinge presence of ye Lord was amongst us} there came severall rude fellows from one Midletons[1] a great man [{as by this following paper more appeares}]: but ye meetinge beinge ended they did nothinge: soe I past after ye meetinge to Rob: Withers & freinds all past away fresh in ye life & power of Christ in which they had dominion over all: beinge setled upon him ye heavenly rocke & foundation.[a]

[2]*g midelton a Knight a percekuter* 1660

Lancashire.
This 13th of this 3 month 1660.

One Sir Geoge Midleton has kepte men, servants, one of them whose name is Thomas set upon three women with impotent scoffes said he would kisse one of them and did abuse them and wrong them and pluck her coats loose and the same man did abuse friends and he would {have} cutt {friends} with an axe but that he was restrained {by some of his fellowes} and the same knits[b] man whose name is Thomas set upon six friends as goeing to ameeting to waite upon the Lord at Yellon {which gave him their backs & their cheeks} who beate them and abused them with bruiseing of theire faces, and shed much of the blood of [John Bessbrow and Richard Burrow[3]] likewise did the like to him shed much of his blood in severall partes of his bodie {and many places of his face and wounded them sore, and they never lifted a hand against him}.

[Cumberland. And at ameating of the people of god at Carlile the souldiers there with violence hailed and thrust them out of theire owne house and caried some to theire gard, whose name was Geo: Buley[4] {which was the sonne of the father of the house} and the plucte up [c]another ffriend[c] by the head when he was at prayer and plucte him down and this is done in the name of the higher power to destroy vertue and let libertie to vice now these actions doth not

[a] Narrative continued on page 358.

[b] O.E. *cniht*, M.E. *knit*, = servant.

[c]...[c] First written *Joseph Hellen*[c] and altered to *another ffriend* by a different hand.

honor iustice nor authoritie for authoritie is to beat down vice evill doers with trangresion this is the higher power and that is the meek man that saith would all the lords people were prophets, why envies thou them that prophisies in the campe this saith the man that is in the higher power {Moses}.

If {the} rulers {in Christendome} now were come to Moses state the would say with him would god all the lords people were prophets {so Moses did not despise prophesy, and commanded to stop them, hee knew the higher power was to stop vice: And to give liberty to the Just, to prophets}.][a]

[b][1660] And ye next day I came to Swarthmoore & F: Howghill & Tho: Curtis was with mee.

And when I had stayde a while[c] there: & severall freinds from severall parts came to visitt mee.

One Porter caled a Justice sends a warrant by ye Cheife Constable & three other petty Constables to apprehende mee.

And I had a sense of ye thinge before hande.

And I was in ye pearlor att Swarthmoore & Rich: Richardson[1] was with mee: & Margarett fell unto whome some of her servants brought her worde y^{t} some was come to seach {ye house} for armes: & they went uppe Into some of ye chambers under a pretence: & Itt came upon mee to goe out: & as I was goeinge by y^{m} I spoake some words to y^{m} & they askt mee my name: & I tolde y^{m} my name: & they then layde holde off mee {& sayde I was ye man they looked for} & ledd {mee} away to Ulverstone: & there kept mee all night att ye Constables house: & sett a guarde of 15 or 16 men to watch mee: & some of y^{m} sate in ye Chimney they was afraid I woulde goe uppe ye chimney: ye Lords power soe terrifyed y^{m} & they was very rude & uncivill to mee.

And ye next day: a matter of 30 foote & horse guarded mee to Lancaster & they woulde not lett mee ride of my own horse: but sett mee of a litle horse behinde ye sadle:

[a] At the foot of the page are 3½ lines in shorthand.
[b] Narrative continued from page 357.
[c] A month, according to the Short Journal.

& they woulde not lett mee speak to freinds: & there was one Mounte[1] a very wicked Constable: & a great noise they made & very rude & wicked they were: & they tooke my knife from mee: & one of ye Constables saide one Ashburneham[2] y^{t} hee did not think a 1000[a] men coulde have taken mee: & this constable Mounte saide hee woulde have served Judge ffell soe if hee had a warrant for him: if hee had beene alife.

And soe they beate ye poore horse: & made him kicke: & I slipt off ye horse againe: & then they lifted mee uppe behinde ye sadle again: & led ye horse with a haltar till they came to ye Carter forde[3]: & It beinge very deepe they lett mee gett one my owne horse: & then they led mee through ye water.

And there was one wicked fellow kneeled doune & lifted uppe his handes & blest God y^{t} I was taken: & a great triumph they thought to have had.

And as they led mee I was moved to singe praises unto ye Lord in his triumphinge power over all.

And when I came over ye sands I tolde y^{m} I had liberty to choose my Justice: & might goe before whom I woulde but Mounts & ye other Constables raged & sayde I shoulde not.

And soe to Lancaster they brought mee before major Porter[4] caled a Justice: & severall others was with him.

Soe I begann to aske him wherfore hee sent out his warrant for mee & shewed him ye abuse of ye Constables & ye other officers towards mee: & tolde him I was a peaceable man: & y^{t} wee was a peaceable people.

Soe hee tolde mee hee woulde not dispute with mee: but hee had an olde clarke though hee was a younge Justice: come says hee {to him} is ye mittimus ready: & where is his horse saide hee hee hath a good horse I heare have you brought his horse. Soe I tolde him where ye horse was but hee did not medle with him.

Soe hee sent for ye goaler: & commanded him to putt mee in ye dark house: {& keepe mee} a close prisoner & to lett none come att mee & there to keepe mee till delivered by ye kinge or parlament[5].

[a] The last 0 is slightly darker than the two preceding and may have been added later by the same hand.

And as I went to ye goale ye constable gave mee my knife again & askt mee to give it to him & I tolde him nea hee had not beene soe civill to mee.

And soe ye {under} goaler {one Hardy a wicked man} was exceedinge rude: & many times woulde not lett mee have meate but under ye doore: but ye Lords power was over all: & many {of ye worlde} came to mee in great rage & were very uncivill & rude.

And one time two younge preists came whoe were very abusive & rude: ye worst of people coulde not bee worse. [ᵃOne of yᵐ was tuter to ye younge Miles Dodinge[1].ᵃ]

And there came ye olde Preston[2] of Hookers wiffe & a great company with her: & {shee} used many abusive words to mee & tolde mee my tongue shoulde bee cutt out: & I should bee hanged: but ye Lord God cutt her of & shee dyed in a miserable condition.

And Margarett fell went to London: & spoake with ye Kinge about my takeing & shewed him ye maner of it [as may bee seene in ye followinge relation more at large {& Margarett ffell offerd uppe her life to ye kinge to stande as a pledge for ye peace & quietnesse of all frends & for there faith}].

And Anne Curtis came doune to visit mee & it was upon her alsoe to goe to ye Kinge: for her father yᵗ had beene sheriffe of Bristoll[3] ye parlament had hanged him neere his doore soe shee desired ye kinge yᵗ I might bee brought uppe before him [as in her letters followinge may bee seene].

And att ye Assises many people came to see mee & I was moved [of ye Lord God] to speake out of ye {goale} window to yᵐ & many people stoode attentive to it: & I lett yᵐ see howe uncertain there religions was: how yᵗ people had beene persecuted for not followinge ye masse: & they yᵗ did holde uppe ye masse cryed {then} Itt was ye higher power & people must bee subject to ye higher power.

And then they yᵗ helde uppe ye Common prayer & persecuted others for not following it they saide it was ye higher power {then alsoe & yᵗ} wee must bee subject too it: & soe did ye presbyterian & Independants: they cryed wee

ᵃ...ᵃ These words have a line through them.

must bee subject to ye higher power {alsoe & submitt to there directory & chuch faith}.

Soe all cryde like ye Jews helpe men of Israell against ye true Christians.

And soe people might see how uncertaine they are of there religions & soe I turned y^m to Christ Jesus {y^t they might bee built upon him there rocke & foundation y^t changhed not &} after I had declared much to y^m one this wise they all was quiett[1].

[And soe one Ottway[2] came Into prison to mee & tolde mee there was a habeas corpus come to remove mee to London to ye kinges bench.]

And when Margarett went to London This Justice Porter aforesaid vapored y^t hee woulde goe & meete her in ye gappe: & when hee came before ye kinge hee haveinge beene a zealous man for ye parlament severall spoake to him concerneinge ye plunderinge of there houses soe y^t hee soone returned againe Into ye country.[a]

[3]*gff to the king 1660*

{Kinge} Charles thou came not into this Nation by sword; And not by victory of Warr, but by the power of y^e Lord, Now if thou doe not live in it, thou wilt not prosper, and if the Lord hath shewed thee Mercy and forgiven thee, and [if] thou dost not shew mercy and forgive, the Lord God will not heare thy prayers nor them that pray for thee, And if thou doe not stopp persecution, and persecutors, and take away all Lawes, that doe hold up persecution about Religion but if thou persist in them, and uphold persecution, they will make thee as blind as all that have gonn before thee, for persecution was ever blind, whom God by his power [and by his hand, by which he] overthrowes and bringeth salvation to his oppressed, and doth his valliant Acts, and if thou dost beare the sword in vaine, and lett drunkenesse oathes pleasure Maygames with ffidlers drumms trumpetts, and sett up Maypoles with the Image of a Crowne on topp of them: Abominations, the Nations will quickly turne to Sodome and Gomorah, and as badd as

[a] Narrative continued on page 362.

y^e^ old World, which greived the Lord, and he overthrew them, and soe he will you if these things be not suddainly prevented hardly was there soe much wickednes at Liberty before now as this is now at this day as though there were noe terror nor sword of Magistracy; which doth not grace a Government, nor is apraise to them that doe well, [soe] our Prayers are for them that are in Authority that wee may live a Godly life, in which wee have peace, and that wee may not bee brought into ungodlinesse by them, soe heare and consider and doe good in the time whilest thou hast power, and be mercifull and forgive and that is the way to overcome, and obteyn the kingdome of Christ.

G. F.

[a]And ye goaler was very fearefull & saide hee was afraide Major Porter woulde hange him because hee had not putt mee in ye darke house: & ye goaler goeinge to see him after hee came home hee was blanke & [{quite}] doune: & askt howe I was: & pretended a way to sett mee at liberty butt haveinge overshott himselfe in his mittimus y^t^ I was not to bee delivred but by ye kinge or parlament soe hee had put mee out of his power.

And when hee was in ye heigth of his rage & threats against mee I was moved to write a letter to him seeinge y^t^ hee appeared soe zealous for ye kinge & thought to Ingratiate himselfe Into ye Kinges favor by Imprisoninge of mee: y^t^ I askt him whose great Buckehornes were those in his house & whence hee had y^m^ & where had hee y^t^ wanscott y^t^ hee ceeled his house withall: had hee it not from Horneby Castle[1] [y^t^ was ye Kinges].

And did not Major Porter say y^t^ hee woulde neither leave y^m^ Catt nor dogge if they woulde not bringe in provision to him In Lancaster Castle when hee helde it for ye parlament {against ye kinge} hee was such a feirce rigid man.

And after hee had received this letter it brought him doune whoe pretended now to bee soe zealous for ye kinge & yett was soe feirce formerly against him.

[a] Narrative continued from page 361.

[Whoe had cast mee in prison as an enimey to ye kinge & for raiseinge new warr & embrueinge ye whole nation in bloode I & my faculty {as hee pretended}: & yett I never had taken uppe armes against ye kinge in my life: but was cast Into Darby dungeon 6 months togeather because I woulde not take uppe armes against ye kinge.]

Butt ye Lords power came over him: & after great sufferinges & reproaches ye sheriffe sent to mee y^{t} I might give in Bonde to appeare att London according to ye habeas corpus for removeall of mee to ye kinges bench.

But I sent him worde I should not give him any bonde ffor if I was ye man as they represented mee [{& my faculty}]: I had neede of a troope of horse with mee to guarde mee.

And then they concluded to sende mee uppe with a party of horse but after when they had considered what charges it woulde bee to y^{m} they concluded to sende mee uppe guarded by ye goaler & some bayliffes: & after they thought {againe} y^{t} it woulde bee great charges to them alsoe: they sent for mee doune from ye prison to ye goalers house: & saide to mee if I woulde putt in Bayle y^{t} I woulde bee in London by such a day of ye terme I might have leave to goe uppe with some of my owne freindes.

But I tolde y^{m} I woulde neither put In any baile nor give one peice of sylver to ye goaler for I was an Innocent man & they had Imprisoned mee wrongefully & put a false charge upon mee.

Nevertheless if they woulde lett mee goe uppe with one or two of my owne freindes to beare mee Company I might goe uppe & bee in London such a day if ye Lord did permitt & I woulde carry my owne charge or any of {my freindes} y^{t} went with mee against my selfe.

And soe they consented & I came out of prison & came to Swarthmoore & stayde there two or three days.[a]

[1][*an acount of gff b(y) r hubathorn 1660*

Dear Sister: M: ff:

My dear love is unto thee: ffreinds heare is well and y^{e} truth hath its daily increase and dominion in these parts:

[a] Narrative continued on page 364.

G ff is well: and his deare love is to thee: this day wee expecte that he will bee freed out of this prison: the sherife at last hath yealded & is Come under: y^t^ wee shall bringe him up without any engadgment of Georgs at all: and this morninge wee are about y^e^ doinge of it although it is not yet done: before this post goe Away: but G: intends if nothinge prevent to be at Rob^t^ Widders to night & wheither he goe to Swarthmore to morow I yet know not and may bee have A meetinge in Lancaster y^e^ 4^th^ day: and it may bee Come to Preston y^e^ 5^th^ day: for he may either bee at Preston y^e^ 5 day or stay to speake to y^e^ shirefe this day weeke at Lancaster: but if he goe to Preston 5 d. then wee shall bee in Chesire about Will Gandies y^e^ next first day as you may heare further from us when it is more fuly Accomplished.

Alix: Parker is heare & his deare love is to thee: R. Mires[1] doth remember his love to thee: wee had A large meetinge in this towne yesterday & another in y^e^ evening.

Lancaster. 24 day 7 . month. Thy deare bro.
R Hubberthorne

Remember my deare love to freinds there.]

[a]And from thence I went to Lancaster & soe to Preston: & had meetinges amongst freindes: & soe came Into Cesheere to Will: Gandys where was a large meetinge without doores & ye Lords everlastinge seede was sett over all.

And freinds were turned to it whoe is heire of ye promise.

And from thence I past through ye Countryes Into Staffordsheere & Warwickesheere till I came to Anth: Bickliffes & att Non Eaton at a preists widows house wee had a blessed meetinge & ye everlastinge worde of life was declared to y^m^ & many setled in it.

And from thence I past through ye Countryes visitinge ye meetinges of freindes in about 3 weekes time till I came to London: & Rich: Huberthorne was with mee & Rob: Withers.

And when I came to Charinge Crosse there was multi-

[a] Narrative continued from page 363.

tudes of people gathered togeather to ye burneinge of ye bowells of y^m y^t had beene ye olde kinges Judges y^t had beene hanged drawne & quartered.

And wee went to Judge Malletts[1] Chamber: & hee was puttinge on his red gounde in ye morninge to goe to sett upon some more of ye kinges Judges & was very peevish & frowarde & said I might come another time.

And wee went another time to his Chamber & there was present with him ye Lord Cheife Justice ffoster[2] soe caled & delivered him ye Chardge y^t was against mee & they reade it & one {Marsh} Esquire[3] was with mee one of ye kinges bed chamber men: & as they reade it they readeinge those wordes y^t I & my faculty[a] were Imbrueinge ye nation in bloode: &c: they strucke there handes one ye table.

Soe I tolde y^m I was ye man y^t y^t charge was reade against & was as innocent of any such thinge as a new borne childe & had brought it uppe my selfe & some of my faculty[a] came uppe with mee.

And as yett they had not minded my hat but att last seeinge my hat on they saide what did I stande with my hat on: but I tolde y^m I did not stand soe in any contempt to y^m & then they commanded one to take it off & then they caled for ye Marshall of ye kinges bench & when hee came they saide you must take this man & secure him: but you must lett him have a chamber & not putt him amongst ye prisoners.

But says ye marshall of ye kinges bench I have noe chamber for to putt him in{to} my house is soe full: soe hee sayde hee coulde not tell where to provide a roome for mee but amongst ye prisoners: but sayde ye Judges you must not putt him amongst ye prisoners but hee still aunswered hee had noe other place to putt him in.

Then saide Judge foster to mee will you appeare to morrow about ye tenth[b] houre att ye kinges bench barr in Westminster Hall: & I saide yes if ye Lord gave mee strength.

Then saide ffoster if hee says yes & promises it you may take his worde.

Soe I appeared at ye kinges bench att ye houre appointed

[a] *Friends* in Ellwood editions.
[b] Altered from *6th*

& Rob: Withers & Rich Huberthorne & Marsh Esq: aforesaid went alongst with mee before ye 4 Judges & my charge was delivered to y^m^ there by Rob: Withers & they reade it how y^t^ I & my faculty[a] as aforesaid were embrueinge ye whole Nation in bloude & raiseinge a new warr: & an enemy to ye kinge & as they reade it they lift uppe there handes & I stretcht out my armes & saide I was ye man y^t^ y^t^ charge was against: but I was as Innocent as a childe concerneinge ye charge: & had never learnt any warr postures & did they thinke y^t^ if I & my faculty[a] had beene such men as ye charge declares y^t^ I woulde have brought it uppe with one or two of my faculty[a] against my selfe for had I beene such a man as this charge declares I had need of beinge guarded with a troope or two of horse.

But ye sheriffe & magistrates of Lancasheere has lett mee & my faculty[a] come uppe with it our selves [for if I had beene such a man surely ye sheriff & ye magistrates of Lancaster woulde not have permitted mee to have come uppe] without a stronge guarde [if they should have donne soe they would not have beene accounted faithfull to ye trust reposed in y^m^ nor to understande there plees for they doe say I & my faculty were raiseinge a new war & embrueinge ye Nation in bloode & an enmy to ye kinge & yett they give mee my owne charge & lett mee bringe it uppe accompanyed with some of my own faculty] almost 200 miles.

[Now I leave this thinge for you to Judge.]

Then {ye} Judge askt mee whether Itt shoulde bee filed or what I woulde doe with it.

But I aunswered & said you are Judges & able to Judge in this matter doe with it what you will: for I am ye man these charges are against & I have brought it uppe my selfe doe you doe what you will with it {I leave it to you}.

And soe Judge Twisden[1] begann to speak some angry wordes & then I appealed to Judge ffoster & Mallet y^t^ hearde mee overnight.

And then they askt mee whether I woulde putt it to ye kinge & councell & I tolde y^m^ with all my hearte.

And soe it was sent to ye kinge & councell: & ye next day ye kinge graunted foorth an order to Judge Mallet to

[a] *Friends* in Ellwood editions.

sett G: ffox at full liberty [as heereafter followeth {as also with ye whole passages at Large}].[a]

[1]Three Constables & a cheife Constable came unto Swarthmore, pretending to look for armes, & Margret ffell came in & told me; & I said it is a plot, soe I was moved to walke out of the room, & bid one come along with me that was with me, & turn'd me about & look'd for him, & soe in turning me about towards them, the cheife Constable stept to me, & asked me my name, & I told him freely, & he said I was the man they looked for, & [soe I walked out with them & desired to see their order, & they would not shew it, though after a time they did shew it, with five or six names & seales at it] soe they had me away to Ulverston & raised abundance of men to look to me [& I told them I could have escaped them if I would] & they were very inhumane & uncivill to freinds & would not suffer them to bring me necessaries, but with violence thrust out freinds & kept a guard upon me, & would scarce let any come in to me, & the next morning about the sixt hour I was putting on my boots & spurs, & they pulled of my spurre & took my knife out of my pocket, & soe took me along the towne with a great party of horse & abundance of people, & would not stay till my horse came downe, & soe I went about a quarter of a mile, & some considerable freinds & Margret & the children came towards me, & a great party of horse gathered about me, & cryed, would they rescue him? would they rescue him? & was mad in fury & rage; soe I said to them, here is my hair, here is my back, here is my cheek, strike on, at which words their heat aswaged, & then two tooke me by one leg & put my foot in the stirrup, & two or three by the other, and set me behind the saddle upon a little horse; & soe led me by the halter, & I had nothing to hold by, soe when they were come a pretty way of the towne, they made the little horse kick & gallup, & I lighted of & told them they should not abuse the creature, at which they mightily raged, & came again & took me by the feet & set me upon the horse behind the sadle & led me to a great water about two miles & then my owne horse came & they

[a] Narrative continued on page 383.

let me get upon him through the perswation of some of their owne company, the water being deep & the other would scarce have carried me over, & soe they pulled of the bridle & led y^e^ horse a matter of 14 miles till I came to Lancaster, & the spirits of people being mightily up when I came in the towne, I stood & looked upon them, & they cryed look at his eyes, & after a while I spake to them & they were pretty sober, & then a young man came & had me to his house & after a while they had me into Porters house called Justice; when I came in I said, peace be among you, & Porter asked me why I came downe into Countrey that troublesome time, I told him to visit my brethren; And he said we had great meetinges up & downe, & I told him we had soe, but I said, our meetinges were knowne through out the nation to be peacable & he said he might restrain me, And I asked him for what? & he would not tell me y^e^ kings secrets he said we saw the devill in peoples faces; I told him, if I saw a drunkard or a swearer or pevish heady man I could not say I saw the spirit of God; And I asked him if he could see the spirit of God? And he said we cryed against their ministers; I told him while we were as Saul sitting under the preists runing up & downe with his packet of letters we were never called pestellent fellows nor makers of sects, but when we were come to exercise our consciences towards God & man, then we were called pestelent fellows as Paul was.

He said we could lay open our selves, he was a foole to talke to me; is it not ready? bring it: that was the mittimus; soe I desired to know of him for what & to know his order; and he said had an order from the sheriffe of Middlesex, but he would not let me have it, & said moreover a prisoner was not to see for what he was committed, I told him that was not reason, how should he make his defence then, I ought to have a coppy of it, & soe he sent me to prison, & said he had an old clerk, though he was a young Justice: And said there was a iudge that fined one for letting a prisoner have a coppy of his mittimus, & soe I was sent with the mittimus to be kept closse prisoner, & he charged me to be an enimie to the king, embruing the nation in blood & raising a new warre: I told him I never learned the postures of war, & was clear & innocent as a

child concerning these things, & therfore was bould: the heads of the mittimus was answered {as foloweth}[a] & sent to the King.

And soe after a time of imprisonment Anne Curtis came downe from Redding to the prison at Lancaster, who went up to the king with the answer of my mittimus, for I was not to be delivered but by king or Parliament; soe the answer of my mittimus was sent to the king & parliament {as aforesaid} & that I never learned the postures of warre but was clear & innocent as a child in them things; And Anne Curtis desired of the King that I might be brought up & my accusers, & he himselfe might be iudge in the thing, & he said he would take order with the secretary & upon his word it should be done [{as by M. ff & A: C: letters as followeth may bee seene}] & the secretary brought an order to Judge Mallet & sent for me up by a Habeas Corpus; & freinds denied the thing & told them if freinds would have used that, they needed not have lien in prison as they have done; & then they said they would doe it themselves, soe it came downe into the countrey to bring me up, & they would have had me sealed & bien bound, & to have paid for sealing & for charges of carrying me up; soe then I told them I would seale none, I would pay none, nor would be bound...[b] bene prisoners I had need have two or three troopes of horse goe along with me...[b] that were charged upon me, soe afer great workings through with...[b] {daughters letters to her may bee seene as followeth} they sent me up with a freind or two, when the power of the Lord wrought through them, soe I came to London & appeared before the Judge, according to the Kings order & sent to the King that I was come up according to his order if he would speake with me, or I might come & speake with him & I appeared the second time before the Judge, & the Judge had me before the cheife Justice of England; soe they read that which was charged against mee, then they called for a marshall & bid him often use me kindly & not put me into the common Goale, though they were exceeding rough at y^e^ first, but after I had spoken to the charge & pleaded my innocency & told them I was pure and clean

[a] See pages 375—381.

[b] The edge of the leaf is worn away.

concerning these things & left it to them & bid them doe what they would, for I was pure & clean & innocent, And they said they desired none of these things might be found true y^{t} was charged against me, they did not accuse me, nor had nothing against me, & one of the Judges said I might appear in the court to morrow at Westminster hall, there was a great authority, & one of them said if I would say I would appear next day he would beleive me, & soe I told them I should if the Lord did permit; And soe I did appear in Westminster hall next morning before the cheife Justice & two other Judges, & was brought into the middle of the court, & soe soon as I was come in, I was moved to look about & turne towards the people & said peace be among you, & the power of y^{e} Lord sprung over, & the same words I was moved to speake when I came before Porter, & the second time I was with the iudge before the cheife Justice & raised up the power, & soe then after I had been a while in the court the charge was read against me openly, & the people were very moderate, & y^{e} Judges very coole & Loving, & a great day of the Lords mercy was to them; soe when they had read the things, I told them I was the man it was laid against & desired that I might speak for my selfe, soe when I had answered to the accusations, I told them I was innocent & clean & pure as a child from these things, & I told them I never learned y^{e} postures of warre, & asked them whether or noe that man was true to his place that sent up a man accused of such things with a simple country man or two, & asked y^{m} if y^{t} did not convince their reason? I told them I had need to have two or three troops of horse have come along with me if such things could be proved, & the cheife Justice & another of the iudges said, the did not accuse me, the had nothing against me, & then there stood up one of the Kings bed-chamber in the court, & said It was the Kings pleasure I should be set at Liberty seing noe accusers was come up against me.

And then after {many other} words which we had in sobernes & peace they asked me if I would have it filed, & I bid them doe what they would, & then they said it should be sent to the Kings counsell; but mighty travels was before the invisible power wrought through them,

which brought them into sobernes to clear my innocency; soe then it was sent to the King & counsell, & then after it had its work through them & among them, the King sent his warrant to the Judge, that I should be set at full liberty, & y^e^ Judge gave forth a second warrent that I should be set at liberty, as is hereafter.

[So all freinds dwell in the power, the seed of God, that was before darknes was, the seed of God that doth inherit & possesse, that every one may sit downe in your owne possessions of the power of the Living God, which was before changes was & wars & strifes: soe this may goe among freinds, which is some part of the passages.]

By virtue of his Maiesties writt to me directed & here unto annexed, I certify, that before y^e^ receit of y^e^ said writt, Geo: ffox in the said writt mentioned, was committed to his Maiesties Goale at the Castle of Lancaster in my custody by a warrent from Henry Porter Esq, one of his Maiesties Justices of peace within the County Palatine aforesaid, bearing date the fift of June now last past, for that he[a] said Geo: ffox was generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of this nation, an Enimie to our Soveraigne Lord the King, & a cheife upholder of the Quakers sect, & that he together with others of his phanatique opinion have of late endeavoured to make insurrections in these parts of the country, & to embroile the whole kingdome in blood, & this is the cause of his taking & deteining, neverthelesse the body of the said Geo: ffox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, Knight, one of his maiesties Justices assigned to hold pleas before his said maiesty at his chamber in Sergiants Inne in Fleetstreet, to doe & receive those things which his Maiesties said Justice shall consider of him in this behalfe, as by the afore said writt is required.

George Chetham[1] Esquire, Sheriffe.

It is his Maiesties pleasure y^t^ you give order for y^e^ releasing & setting at full liberty y^e^ person of Geo: ffox, late a prisoner in Lancaster Goale & commanded hither by

[a] Ellwood editions insert here *the*

a habeas Corpus, & this signification of his maiesties pleasure shalbe sufficient warrent.

Dated at Whitehall y^e^ 24 Oct. 1660 Edw. Nicholas.[1]

For Sir Thomas Mallet, k^nt^
& one of the Justices of the Kings bench.

By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from y^e^ Right honorable Sir Edward Nicholas, k^nt^, one of his Maiesties principall secretaries, for the releasing & setting at liberty of Geo: ffox late a prisoner in Lancaster Goale, & from thence brought hither by habeas corpus, & yesterday committed unto your Custody. I do hereby require you accordingly to release & set y^e^ said prisoner Geo: ffox at liberty, for which this shall be your warrent & discharge. Given under my hand y^e^ 25 day of October in y^e^ year of our Lord God 1660.

To Sir John Lenthal,[2] K^nt^ Tho. Mallett.
Marshall of the Kings bench,
or his deputy.

[3][*M ff to gff at lankster in preson 1660*

My deare love and life everlasting, y^e^ last 7 day Ann Curtiss came Hither Aboute y^e^ 11 houre and I went with her to White Hall, and Brought her to y^e^ King, And shee made know to him whose Daughter shee was & how y^t^ her ffather was executed for him or in his ffathers cause where upon hee showed much love to her, And shee said shee had now arequest to Him, hee axed her what it was, shee said shee had a deare freind in Lancaster Castle whom shee had been to see and shee desired her persone Might bee accepted for his or else y^t^ hee might bee Brought up with his accusers to before him, and hee might be Judg in y^e^ cause, and hee gave command to his Secretary to Issue forth an order to y^t^ purposs, but y^e^ subtilty of y^e^ Secretary gave out order to y^e^ Judge to bee brought up by Horposs scorpions and to apeare before y^e^ Judges, soe y^t^ shee was disapointed of her request to him and of what hee had granted, if y^e^ Secretary had proseede according to order, wee Might have had it to have sent downe this day but being it was contrary wee could not send it wee was with y^e^ King this day about

it and hee appointed us to come to Morrow soe what y^e^ effecte will bee wee know not, y^e^ prisbiterion party is exceeding Mad y^t^ hee should admitt us soe to come to him and in any measure hearken to us, and I doe beleeve doth insence him y^t^ if hee answer our desires y^e^ whole Nation will be against him, but y^e^ Man is Moderate & I doe beleeve hath an intent in his mind and a desire to doe for freinds if he knew how & not to indanger his own safty, hee is darke and Ignorant of god & soe any thing feares him but wee have gotten aplace in his heart y^t^ hee doth beleeve wee will bee true to him and soe doth many of his own party, and truly y^e^ power is exceedingly over them and over y^e^ citty meetings ar all quiet & peacable and many saith y^e^ never saw them soe full; J. N.[1] had a Meeting y^e^ first day in y^e^ strand y^e^ most part of them had beene seldom at meetings freinds their abouts were drawn out to E T[2] in ye pellmell, where their was a Meeting y^t^ day which was y^e^ first y^t^ was there, & its like to bee be agreat Meeting, T S[3] is heare whose love is dearly to thee, and severall freinds in y^e^ Ministrey, and all very well my returne to me is yett unsertaine, How thou may com up wee know not, whether y^e^ will give us way to bring thee up or y^e^ will send for thee up by order but wee shall not neglect any thing, the y^t^ have to doe with these people must be contended to waite, my deare love eternall is to thee and freinds.

Margrett deere love is to thee.

y^e^ 17 of y^e^ 5 Month. 1660 M. F.

Ann Curtiss is heare yett and alsoe her Husband is come up who remembers his deare love to thee.]

[4][*m f to gff at lankester presen 1660*

London the 24 of the 5^th^ Mo. (60.

My dear eternall Love and Life: I gave thee an accountt the last weeke, how farre An Curtes had gone in the buissines concerning thee, And according as I wrote we went y^e^ next morning, but before they would suffer us to goe in to speake to him, Generall Monke did come I beleeve on purposse to prevent us, And we were with him A pritty while before wee were called in; And wee were called in

while hee was there, and while wee spoke to him, he stood by, and before wee could get any thing spoke to him to any purposse, they tooke him away from us, and the most that hee said to us was that hee would speake to y^e^ Judges And they should set ffriendes at Lyberty.

And he said they told him, that he could not send A perticular order from himselfe, And I perceive by severall, both ffriendes and others that saith, by their Law he cannot send for any prisoner any otherwayes then by A habeas Corpus, but because that thou wrote that wee should speake to him of that thing, wee were willing to desire it of him, but it had bene better wee had not, being hee could not doe it.

Thou mentioned in thy Letter that I should get Porter before him; how should I doe that, when hee can doe nothing but by their order, And I have nothing to ingage them to such A thing; I was with three parliament men & did desire to have him before them, And they told mee they had noe Authoritie to call him before them; for any thing that I can see or perceive, there can be nothing done before the Sisses; ffor the more that wee stirre in it the greater they looke upon the Crime to bee, And if it had not bene soe much mentioned and turned over Amongst them, it is like it might have bene better.

The last seventh day after An was gone I was with the King in his bed chamber and spoke to him about the oath which ffriends could not take, And spoke to him about all y^e^ prisoners; And hee promissed mee that the Judges should take order concerning friends, And that he had given them order to that purposse, but being that he is prevented of doeing that he promised, he shames & will not stay, when one speakes to him. They apprehended John Swinton[1] the last sixt day, their enmitie & envy is very great towards him, I felt their spirits were stired up & exasperated; Collo: Hacker is in the Tower in A sad condiçon & is like to suffer sadly, It is A sad day of suffering with many of them; It is said that they are makeing scaffolds & thinges to take away mens lives, but there is A hand that stayes them, which they are ignorant of.

I am yet stayed here, but how long it may be, it is not yet clear unto mee, my Love is unto all ffriends; Truth

here hath A powerfull dominion & Authoritie over all; Meettinges never quieter then of late they have bene; This day there came A contentious preist to the meeting at Pallace yard, but his folly appeared to all sober people, and he fled, and y^e^ meetting was kept in {pritty} good order.

M. F.]

[1]*The sum of such perticulers as are charged against G. F. at Lancaster Castle 1660*

The sume of such pertiqulars as are charged Against George fox in the mittimus by which hee stands committed, together with George fox his Answer to the said pertiqulars.

Wee Thomas Cummings[2] and Thomas Greene[3] being sent by George fox now prisoner in the Common Goale att Lancaster to the Goaler to desier a Coppie of his mittimus that hee might know wherfore hee was committed, the Goaler Answered hee could not give A Coppie of it, for a nother had been fiened for the like, but hee gave us Leberty to Read it over, wherin was charged Against him, to the best of our Rememberances, to this effect = That hee was A person suspected to bee A disturber of the peace of the nation, A Common Enymy to his magisty, our lord the King, A chief upphoulder of the Qakers sect, and that hee together with others of his phanatique opinion have of late Endevored to Raise Insurrections in this part of the Country to the Imbrewing the nation in blood, with command to the Goaler to keepe him in safe Coustody tell hee shoud be Released By order from the King And Parliament.

I am a prisoner att Lancaster by Justis Porter A coppie of the mittimus I cannot gett, but such like Expressions are found in it which are Untruths = first that I am suspected to bee A Disturber of the nations peace, Unto the King an Enymy, and that I and others of my company should Raise Insurrections to Imbrue the nation in blood, all which is false, and I doe deney every word In it to be truth, for through the nation I have been tryed of thees things formerly, In the dayes of Olyver I was taken upp as Raising Armes Against him, which was false, and I was taken upp to London, and keept prisoner tell I was brought before him,

and when things ware clered and I denyed draing a carnall weapon Against him or Any man uppon the Earth, for my weapons are spirituall, that takes Away the occasion of warr, and which leads in to peace, and After that major Seily in Cornwall, who sent mee to prison, when I was brought beefore the Judge said that I Tooke him a side and tould him I could raise four[a] Thousand men in one hour, which was false and A lye, and was then proved soe to him, for such words I never spake to him, I never was found in Any plotts nor ever tooke Any engagement, nor never tooke Aney oath, nor never learned warr postuers, and soe thees things which come from major Porter, who is latly Apointed to bee A Justis, who hath wanted power formerly to Excersize his Cruelty Against us, which is but the wickednes of the ould enymy, for the peace of this nation I am not a disturber of, but seeks the peace of it and of all men, and stands for all nations and mens peace uppon the Earth, and wish that all nations and men knew my Inocency in thees things, and wheras major Porter saith, I am a Common Enymy to the King, that is false for my love is to him and all men, though {they bee} Enymise{s} to god and to them selves and to me, and I can say it is of the lord that hee is come in, to bring downe maney unrightiously sett upp, of which I had A sight before hee came {in 3 yeere}; its much hee should say I am an Enymy to the King, for which I have noe Reason, hee haveing done nothing Against mee, yett I have been Imprisoned and persecuted this Eleven or twelve yeeres by them that hase been Against the Kings father {& him}, which was the party that Porter was made A major by and bore Armes for, And not them that ware for the King; I was never a common Enymy to the King, nor to Any mans person uppon the Earth, but I am in the love that fullfills the law, and thinks noe Evell but loves Enymise{s}, and would have the King savid and come to the knowledge of the truth, And brought in to the feere of the lord, and to reseive his wisdome from above, by which all things ware made and created, that with that wisdome hee may order all things to the glory of god, by whom It was created. I ow nothing to the King but Love, nor to Any man, and love doth not kill but fullfill the law.

[a] See note on page 215.

And major Porter further saith that hee together with others of his phanatique opinion hath of late Endevored to Raise Insurrections in this part of the Country to the Imbruing this nation in blood = this is false, to thees things I am as a child, and knows nothing of them and never learned the postuers of warr, and my weapons are spirituell and not carnall, and with Carnall weapons I doe not fight, and my kingdom is not of this world saith Christ, and those that follows Christ in the spirit the Captaine of their soulvation denyes the carnall weapons, who denys draing Any carnall weapons Against the King or the parliament or Any man uppon the Earth, yett wee have thees lyes and slanders layed uppon us [{by Porter & his company y^{t} have drawne swords against y^{e} Kinge}], who are come to the end of the Law, who loves Enymyes and wrastles not with flesh and blood, and Am in that which saves mens lives, and I wittnes Against all murtherous plots and all such as would Imbrue the nation in blood which bee not in peace, and I am Inocent of all thees things, and I knows them not, and it is not in my hart to have any mans Life distroyed uppon the Earth.

And major Porter tould mee hee Impressoned mee to prevent a dainger becuse tymes ware trublesome, and that wee had meetings by hundreds, I tould him wee had kept our meetinges in most parts of the nation to wait uppon the lord, but neither hee nor Any man in the nation had Any occasion to suspect mee of Any tumultyous meettings or to Raise Any tumults in the nation, who am a peasable man and desiers the peace and good of all, and had not gone from the place wher I was Aprehended passing two myles In a month sence I came in to the Cuntry = and major Porter profered the oath of allegiance to mee to take, and I tould him I never tooke oath in my life of one side or the other Against or for my self, but did abide in Christ doctrine who sayed sware not att all and did suffer In that, and all people that have but the lest sobernes in them may see this to bee but mallice and Envy of major Porter in Imprisoning and persecuting of mee and laying such things to my Charge upp and downe the Country, which I am Inocent of as a Child, and so I am ordered to bee kept prisoner tell I be delivered by order from the King or

parliament = Thees things are to bee delivered to you to bee layd Afore you to consider of before you act Any thing that you may in the wisdome of the Lord consider the Intent and end of mens spirits least you act the thing that will bring the hand of the lord Against you and uppon you, as maney have done before you, that have been in authoryty whom god hath over throune, whom wee trust unto and feare and cry unto day and night, who hath heard us, and doth heare us, and will hear us, and Avenge our cause, for much Inocent blood hath been shed, and many hath been persecuted to death by such as hath been in authoryty before you, who turned Against the Just whom the Lord hath vomitted out, therfore consider with your selves for now you have the day.

From the Inocent a sufferer in Bonds, and close prisoner in Lancaster Castle called George ffox.

[1]I who am A prisoner at Lancaster by Justice Porter as he said to me it was to prevent danger being times was troublsome. And in his mittimus he sayth

He is A person suspected to be A disturber of the peace of this nation.

Answ. this is false, for the peace of all men I seeke, that there feet may walke in y^e^ way of peace.

And further he sayth in the mittimus

he is A common enemie to our lord the king.

Answ. This is false, for I love him & all men upon earth, & owe to him nothing but love nor noe man, for that is y^e^ doctrine of christ, for I was never A common enemie to him nor noe mans person upon earth, but am in y^e^ love which fullfills y^e^ law, & thinkes noe evill, but loves enemies, & would have y^e^ king saved & come to y^e^ knowledge of y^e^ truth, & brought into y^e^ feare of y^e^ lord, & to receive his wisdome from above by which all things was made & created, that with y^t^ wisdome he may order all things to y^e^ glory of god, by which it was created, & would have him saved & not perish nor destroyed, & thats not his comon enemie (but his freind) as major Porter sayth in his mittimus, for I owe {nothinge} to the king nor noe man upon y^e^ earth but love, & love doth not kill but fullfils y^e^ law.

He sayth further

A cheife uphoulder of y^e^ Quakers sect.

Answ. The Quakers are not A sect, but are in y^e^ power of god before sects was, & wittnes y^e^ election before y^e^ world began, & comes to live in y^e^ life as y^e^ prophets & Apostles did y^t^ gave forth scriptures, therefore are we hated by envious wrathfull wicked & persecuting men, but god is y^e^ uphoulder of us all by his mightie power from y^e^ wrath of y^e^ wicked that would swallow us up.

And he further sayth that

He together with others of his phanatick opinion hath of late endeavored to raise insurrections in this parte of y^e^ countrie to y^e^ imbrueing of y^e^ nation in blood.

Answ. This is false: to these things I am A child & knows nothing of them, & y^e^ postures of warr I never learned, & my weapons are spirituall & not carnall, & with carnall weapons I doe not feight, and my kingdome is not of this world, who hath these lyes & slanders raised upon me, who denyes drawing any carnall weapon against the king {or parliament} or any man upon y^e^ earth, who is come to y^e^ end of y^e^ law, who loves enemies, who wrastles not with flesh & blood, but is in that y^t^ saves mens lives, & A wittnes against all murderous plots, & all such as would imbrue y^e^ nation in blood {which be not in peace}, who am inocent of these things charged upon me & knew them not, And it is not in my heart to have any mans life destroyed upon earth. And as for phanatick which is furious, foolish, mad & rage, he might have considered him self before he spoke this, & learne y^e^ humilitie which goes before y^e^ honor, for we through patience & meeknes hath borne lyes slanders & persecutions many yeares, & undergone great sufferings, & such as report these things hath striven by them to take away y^e^ life of y^e^ inocent from y^e^ earth, who wrastle with spirituall weapons & not with flesh & blood, but wrastles with y^e^ power of darknes y^t^ leads from god, & saves mens lives & brings them back againe to god, & is in y^e^ love y^t^ thinkes noe evill, but loves enemies, such be not in A phanatick spirit: but such as is furious like Nebuchadnezar, & as mad as y^e^ iewes & Saul against christ & y^e^ Apostles, was not in y^e^ love to enemies nor y^e^ spirit

which leads from under y^e^ law, nor y^e^ love which fullfills it, is but in the phanatick {spiritt}.

And major Porter preferred the oath of alegiance to me to take, & I tould him I never tooke oath in my life of one side or other, against my self or for my self, but did abide in christs doctrine who sayth sweare not at all ; & y^e^ Apostles : but in all your comunication let your yea be yea & your nay, nay, though I was for y^e^ good of him & all men, & not against his person nor noe mans upon earth, & as for ingadgments I never tooke any of one side or other, when y^e^ oath of god y^t^ ends all oaths saith christ, who is gods oath & covenant, for whose sake soe many thousands hath beene persecuted because they would not take oaths, who would doe truth at yea & nay in {all} their comunications, according to christs doctrine & y^e^ Apostles without oaths according as y^e^ christians did in ould time, as christ & y^e^ Apostles taught them. And all people y^t^ hath but y^e^ least sobernes in them sees this to be but malice & envie of major Porter in Prisoning & persecuting me, & laying such things to my charge up & downe y^e^ countrie {which I am inocent of as A child}.

And soe I am ordered to be kept prisoner till I be delivered by order from y^e^ king or Parliament.

These things are to be delivered to you to be laid before you to consider of, before you act any thing, that you may in y^e^ wisdome of y^e^ lord consider y^e^ intent & end of mens spirits, least you act y^t^ thing y^t^ will bring the hand of y^e^ lord god against you & upon you, as many hath done before you y^t^ hath beene in authoritie, whom god hath overthrowne, whom we trust unto & feare, & cry unto day & night, who hath heard us & doth heare us & will heare us, & avengeth our cause, for much inocent blood hath beene shed, & many hath beene persecuted to death, by such as hath beene in authoritie before you, who turned against the iust, whom y^e^ lord hath vomited out, therfore consider your selves, for now you have y^e^ day.

ffrom y^e^ inocent. A sufferer in bonds} George
A close prisoner in Lancaster Castell called} ffox.

Its much y^t^ he should say y^t^ I am an Enemy to y^e^ king for which there is noe reason, he has done nothing

against me, yet I have beene prisoned and persecuted this 12 yeares by them that have beene enemyes to y^e^ kings father, which is such as Porter.

[1][I am as inocent as A child of all these things, who wittnes y^e^ power of god, & am in y^t^ which was before warrs was, or carnall weapons ether, & knows y^e^ state where nation with nation shall not learne warr any more, but from y^t^ knows redemption, and my kingdome is not of this world, with carnall weapons I doe not feight, with flesh & blood I doe not wrastle, & my weapons are not carnall but spirituall, who am led by y^e^ spirit of god, soe y^e^ son of god,[2] who am not under y^e^ law nor its weapons, but am come to y^e^ love which fullfills y^e^ law, & doth not kill about y^e^ church & worship as y^e^ jewes did, but loves enemies, & this was A true christian state in y^e^ dayes of ould, & I seeke y^e^ peace of all men, y^t^ in it their feet might walke, that in y^e^ feare of y^e^ lord god all might be preserved & kept.]

[3]So G F was set at Liberty over y^e^ heads of his persecuters by y^e^ king & his Councell by a warant from y^e^ king to this Judg Mallet to set G: F: at full Liberty[4] [& all these was Lyes that Porter had forged, & his company against G. F.

And this Porter when G f was set at Liberty Reported that G F would undoe him for false prisoning g: f:

And this Porter had been a Governor at Lancaster Castle against y^e^ King. And this Porter & his Company maliciously Imprisoned G. F. to gratifie himselfe & to obtaine favor from y^e^ King & his Court, but he lost it, for hee had been A great persecuter & plunderer of y^e^ Royallists].

[5][Now you are at y^e^ mercy of G: Fox and Margrett Fell who like a murtherer or a theef & worse used him, & kept him with out a Warand, & would not suffer meat to be Brought to him, but abused {the} servants and many other freinds, and Set wild men to looke to him, which Sware and Cursed and made yourselves Sport, and this hath shewed y^e^ End of Lampits ministry and Swareys Goverment, and y^e^ high

Constable cam with a Sword and a plote to take George, which he knew and might have acaped if he would, but he is none of y^t^ Sperit or mind & seed, but it was in him and upon him to bring all your wikednese to light & all Rotten harts and Hipocrits to manifest them selves, but y^e^ terror of y^e^ lord will be in and amongst your houses & upon them and his plage, but you may...[a] god he is not like other men, or Els he would not put up...[a] all your wikedness which stinks all y^e^ Contery over amonge souber people, which is a Shame to all sobrity modesty & Simplicity and Injenuity of youer Carage towards him & freinds & your Neightbors & y^t^ honerable famely Judge ffels, who Caried your Selves more like beese then men {to y^m^} as tho you had never hard talke of god & Christ, & many y^t^ be in Authority at London would have had them to have mad you Examples thorow {out} y^e^ nation to others, and had a tryell with you, and have fyled his sufferings and accusations and have brought them up, but being a Quainted with your Ignorance follishness and passion y^t^ men doe insnare y^m^ Selves withall, had rather shew mersy & y^t^ y^e^ might repent and do soe no more, & trewly it is much for many of you to look modesty in y^e^ face considering your Carrage and behaveour, & y^e^ Connstable which kept freinds from him, one of them tooke a letter out of Bridgett ffels[1] hand follishly, who is called George Mount, & led him like a theef or a trator like y^e^ pake of a horss thinking to reprove and revile him, which was to y^e^ prase of y^e^ truth & for good to them y^t^ love god, who is now set at liberty by y^e^ king & y^e^ Judges & his Councell & Cheefe Justices in England, who was before them in Westminster hale, y^t^ sade they had nothing against him nether did the Accuse him, & would have had him to have had his Accusers com up and his trublers, & you would...[a] {let} him have y^e^ previlede of y^e^ Law to Chuse his Justice, but Caried him to A Justice which {It is} Questiened above whether he was indeed A Justis at y^t^ tyme, & {they} saw y^t^ it was but mallis, both King & Councell, Judges and Cheife Justice & y^e^ Cort, and if he should sarve you as you have don towards him he might undo you all, therfore Consider & repent & do soe no more & mind gods fear and Wittness

[a] Edge of paper torn.

and wisdom & A mendment of Life & be not Imbouldned to act wickedness becase Justice is not Speedely Executed.

For theire Case god will avenge and deliver his Innocent out of y^e^ Jaws of y^e^ wiked but George could have acaped you & I beleeve y^e^ Cheife Constable knows it and y^e^ y^t^ ...[a] to Judge ffels hous, but he is none of y^t^ sperit, tho afterwards you are his wittneses, in y^e^ height of your rage, he gave his bake to y^e^ smitter, who accted not as in y^e^ Sperits of men towards him, but I doe beleeve he can say y^e^ lord forgive you and wisheth you a mendment, and y^t^ y^e^ lord may not a venge him selfe som other way on you though he for give it and Consider it, y^e^ wittness in your Consiences shall answer.

from London y^e^ 26 day of y^e^ 8^th^.

(60) Wm. Salt.[b]

This Lampitt was turned out of his benefice soone after ye kinge came in: & Jo Sawry was turned out of his Justiceshippe: & was drowned: as hee was rideinge upon ye high way: & ye high constables wiffe where they kept G: ff: which scolded att him shee was cutt off: & Mount ye other constable: whoe {falsely} Informed ye Justice howe unwillinge G: ff: was to come hee was cut off: & ye Cheife Constable hee was cutt off: soe a sad calamity came upon y^m^ all y^t^ thus wronged & abused G: ff:]

[c]And {so} Judge Mallet graunted foorth a warrant to ye sheriffe of Lancasheere to supersede his warrant & soe ye Lords power & truth came over all to his everlastinge praise.

And then there was a Company of envious wicked spiritts was troubled y^t^ I was sett at liberty whoe was not of ye Kinges party.

And then terror & feare fell upon Justice Porter y^t^ I woulde take ye advantage of ye law upon him & undoe him & his wiffe & children for my wronge Imprisonement but I

[a] Corner of paper torn.

[b] This name has been heavily crossed through and the initials *G ff* substituted by Thomas Lower.

[c] Narrative continued from page 367.

saide I shoulde leave him to ye Lord: & if ye Lord did forgive him I shoulde & not trouble my selfe with him.

[And though hee was maior of Lancaster & a Justice of peace of ye County: & entertained ye Judges at his house yett after this ye Lord cutt him of & his wiffe was cast In{to Lancaster} prison for debt {where her husband had cast mee}.

And this Judge Mallett was a cruell man & not longe after hee dyed: & Judge ffoster became a very bitter cruell man & persecuted & premunired freinds & ye Lord cutt him of alsoe: & then there came in another Lord Cheife Justice worse then ffoster for persecutinge our ffreinds & ye Lord cutt him of alsoe.]

{And ye Lord cutt off y^{t} wicked Constable Mounts: & ye high constable: & ye other constables wiffe.}

And soe when I was sett at liberty ye Lords power truth & life & light shined over ye nation: & y^{t} which I had travailed for in my suffringes att Readinge now was come over all: & glorious great meetinges wee had & ye everlastinge truth shined & many flocked In unto truth [& ye preists began to bee afraide for ye common prayer began to bee sett uppe againe & ye presbyterians with there directory & Independants with there church faith y^{t} came to bee laide asyde.

1660. And this was {in} ye first yeere of ye comeinge in of ye kinge to reigne.]

And after I had stayde a while in ye Citty I past Into ye Countryes visitinge freinds uppe & doune & ye meetings was quiett & Rich Huberthorne was {with} ye Kinge & ye Kinge saide none shoulde molest us soe wee lived peaceablely & promised it upon ye worde of a kinge to us & y^{t} wee shoulde make such use of his promise[1].

[And about this time ye Kinge was willinge y^{t} one sorte of {ye dissentinge} people shoulde have there liberty & y^{t} wee might have it assoon as any because they were sensible of our sufferinges in ye former powers days.]

And some freinds had there liberty to goe Into ye house of Lords before y^{m} & ye Bishopps: soe freinds had there liberty to declare there reasons why they coulde not pay tyths nor sweare nor Joine with ye other worshipps nor goe to ye steeplehouses & they hearde y^{m} [very] moderately:

[which in ye other powers days wee coulde never have soe much favor.

Though in ye other powers days two women did present ye testimonyes of {above} 7000 womens hands[1] against tyths & ye reasons why they coulde not holde uppe the preists y^t^ tooke tyths now & how y^t^ Christ had ended Jewiss presthoode y^t^ did take tyths & sent foorth his messengers & ministers & Apostles freely & commanded y^m^ y^t^ as they had received freely soe they shoulde give freely againe {& howe they coulde not holde uppe these preists & tyths y^t^ God never commanded}.

And this was before ye Kinge came in but Nothinge did these powers in ye thinge.

And though O: C: at Dunbar fight had promised to ye Lord y^t^ if hee gave him ye victory over his enmys hee woulde take away tyths &c: or else lett him bee rowled Into his grave with infamy.

But when ye Lord had given him victory & hee came to bee cheife hee confirmed ye former lawes y^t^ if people did not sett foorth there tyths they shoulde pay treble & this to bee executed by two Justices of peace in ye country: upon ye oath of two wittnesses.

Butt when ye Kinge came in they tooke {him} uppe & hanged him: & buryed him under Tyburn {where hee was rowled Into his grave} with Infamy[a].

And when I saw him hanginge there I saw his worde Justly come upon him[2].

But ye Lords power & truth spreade: & wee was promised still liberty: & when it was goeinge forward one or other dirty spiritts put in papers & sett stoppe to it y^t^ seemed to bee for us].

And there was about 700 freinds in prison upon contempts {to O: Cromwell: & Richarde & there goverment} when ye Kinge came in: & hee sett y^m^ all at liberty.

And It was said there was something drawne uppe y^t^ wee shoulde have our liberty onely It wanted signeing: & one ye first day there were glorious meetinges & ye Lords truth shined over all & his power was sett over all: & att midnight soone after ye drums beate & they cryed armes armes: for ye monarchy people[3] were uppe.

[a] The words *where hee lyes* followed but were struck out.

[1]And I gott uppe out of bed & in ye morninge tooke boate: & came doune to Whitehall stayres & went through Whitehall & they looked strangely upon mee & I went to ye Pell Mell & all ye citty & suburbes was uppe in armes & exceedinge rude all people was against us & they cryed there was a Quakers house plucke it doune & diverse freinds came thither to mee & as a freinde {one Henery ffell[2]} was goeinge to [a]a generall meetinge at Major Beards[a] ye souldyers knockt him doune & hee had beene killed if ye Duke of Yorke[3] had not come.

And all ye prisons were soone after filled with freindes & many Inns both in Cittys toundes & Country & Itt was harde for any {sober} people to stirr for severall weekes time.

And Margarett fell went to ye Kinge & tolde him what worke there was in ye Citty & nation & shewed him y^t^ wee were a peaceable Innocent people & y^t^ wee must keepe our meetinges as wee used to doe: & y^t^ It concerned him to see y^t^ peace was kept y^t^ soe noe bloode might bee shedd & att this time Itt was harde for any to goe uppe & doune ye streets to buy provision for there houses either men or women for they draggd men & women & some out of there sicke beds by ye leggs: & one man y^t^ was in a feaver ye souldyers draggd out of his bed to prison & when hee was brought there hee dyed whose name was one Tho: Paggett[b4].

And soe ye first day came on y^t^ freinds went to there meetinges as they used to doe & many was taken prisoners & I stayde [c]ye meetinge att Pell Mell &[c] on ye 7^th^ day night there came a Company of troopers & knockt att ye doore & ye maide lett y^m^ in & they rusht into ye house & layde holde upon mee & there was a souldyer y^t^ had beene for ye parlament clappt his hande to my pockett & askt whether I had any pistolls.

And I tolde him hee knew y^t^ I did not use to carry pistolls why did hee aske such a question of mee whoe hee knew was a peaceable man.

And others runn uppe Into ye chamber & founde Marsh

[a]...[a] *a Friends House* in Ellwood editions.

[b] *Pachyn* in Ellwood editions.

[c] Ellwood editions have *at the Pell-mell, intending to be at the Meeting there: but*

an Esquire in his bed one of ye Kinges bed chamber men: whoe haveinge a love to mee came & lodged where I did.

Soe y^m^ y^t^ were of ye Kinges party saide why shall wee take this man away: wee will lett him alone: oh says the parlament souldyers hee is one of ye head & {cheife} ringe-leader: upon this ye souldyers was takeinge mee away: & Esq: Marsh hearinge of it hee sent for him that commanded ye party of horse to lett mee alone for hee woulde see mee foorth comeinge in ye morninge.

And in ye morninge before they coulde fetch mee & before ye meettinge was gathered there comes a company of foote to ye house & one of y^m^ drew out his sworde & helde it over my heade & I askt him wherfore hee drew his sworde at a naked man & soe beinge ashamed another bidd him putt it uppe & soe they carryed mee away before ye other troopers coulde come for mee to Whitehall.

And severall freinds was comeinge in to ye meetinge & I commended there boldnesse & cheerfulnesse.

And when they had brought mee to Whitehall Esq: Marsh spoake to Lord Gerarde[1]: & hee came in & bid y^m^ sett mee at liberty but before I was sett at liberty I was kept there two or three houres & ye souldyers & people was exceedinge rude: & I declared ye truth unto y^m^ & there came some great persons whoe were very full of envy: what sayd they doe yee lett him preach: putt him in such aplace where hee may not stirr: & soe they putt mee there: & ye souldyers watcht over mee.

And though they coulde confine my body & keepe y^t^ uppe yett I tolde y^m^ they coulde not stoppe uppe ye worde of life: & some came & askt mee what I was & I tolde y^m^ a preacher of righteousnesse.

So when I was sett at liberty ye marshall demaunded fees but I tolde him I coulde not give him any neither was it our practise: & how coulde they demaunde fees of mee whoe was Innocent neverthelesse in my owne power I woulde give him 2^d.^ to make {him &} ye souldyers drinke: but they shouted at y^t^ & tooke it disdainefully: soe I tolde y^m^ if they woulde not accept it chuse y^m^ for I shoulde give y^m^ noe fees[2].

And soe I came through ye guardes & ye Lords power came over y^m^: & after I had declared ye truth to ye

guarde & ye souldyers I went uppe ye streets with two Irish Collonells y^t^ came from Whitehall & came to an Inn: & I desired these two great persons to speake to ye guarde to lett mee goe in & visit my freinds y^t^ were in prison there in ye Inn but they woulde not.

Nevertheless I desired ye centory to lett mee goe uppe & hee[a] did soe & there was many freindes there att ye Inn kept in prison under a guarde.

And I looket out of ye window & saw {ye} souldyers goeinge to ye Pell Mell to search for mee there againe.

And findeinge mee not they turned there faces towards ye Inn: to bid all come out y^t^ was not prisoners soe they went out: & I askt ye souldyers whether I might not stay there awhile with my freinds & they[b] saide yes & soe I escaped there hands againe.

And then they went to search at Pell Mell againe where I used some times to lodge & soe towards night I was doune to Pell Mell: & after I had stayde there awhile I went uppe Into ye Citty & great rifleinge of houses there was at this time but I went to a private freinds house & Rich: Huberthorne {was with mee} where wee drew uppe a declaration against plotts & fightinges to bee presented to ye Kinge & his Councell[1].

And when wee had drawn it uppe & sent it to ye presse Itt was taken in ye presse [& soe wee losst it].

And all ye posts was layde to search all letters[2]: so y^t^ none coulde passe but wee hearde of severall thousands of our freindes y^t^ were cast Into prison & Margarett Fell carryed ye account of y^m^ to ye Kinge & Councell & ye thirde day after wee had an account of severall thousands more y^t^ were cast Into prison & shee went & layde y^m^ alsoe before ye Kinge & his Councell & they wondred how wee could have such Intelligens seeinge they had given such strict Charge for ye Interceptinge all letters: but ye Lord did soe order it y^t^ wee had an account as aforesaid notwithstandinge all there stopps[3].

And then wee drew uppe another declaration[4]: & gott it printed & sent some of y^m^ to ye Kinge & Councell: & they was solde uppe & doune ye streets & att ye exchange: &

[a] Changed later to *they*
[b] First written *hee*

there was a great darknesse both in ye citty & country: but this declaration of ours cleered ye ayre & layde ye darknesse & ye Kinge gave foorth after this a litle proclamation y^t^ noe souldyers shoulde goe to search any house butt with a constable.

And att ye execution of these monarchy men they cleered us from haveinge any hande in there plott.

And after ye light had shined over all though many thousands was Imprisoned uppe & doune ye nation all goales beinge full: & ye Kinge gave foorth after this a declaration y^t^ freinds shoulde bee sett att liberty without {payinge} fees.

And soe ye truth with great labor travell & care came over all for Margarett & Tho: Moore went often to ye Kinge [{& hee was tender towards y^m^}].

[1][1660] And in ye commonwealths time when freinds were under cruell persecutions & suffringes I was moved of ye Lord to write foorth a paper y^t^ freinds might draw uppe there suffringes & lay y^m^ before ye Justices att ye sessions[2]: & if they woulde not doe y^m^ Justice then to lay it before ye Judge of ye assises & if hee woulde not doe y^m^ Justice then to lay it before ye parlamente: & after before O: & his Councell & his parlaments y^t^ they might see what was donne in there family[a] & if they woulde not doe Justice then to lay it before ye Lord whoe hearde ye cryes of ye oppressed & ye widdowes & ye fatherlesse: y^t^ they had made for y^t^ which wee suffered for & our Goods were spoiled for was for our obediens to ye Lord in his power & in his spiritt & hee was able to helpe & to succor for wee had noe helper in ye earth but him: & hee did heare his & did brinke an overflowinge scourge over all ye heads of our persecutors y^t^ brought a quakinge & a dreade & a feare amongst & on y^m^ all: y^t^ had nicknamed us ye Children of light & caled us in scorne Quakers but the Lord made y^m^ Quake soe as many of y^m^ woulde have beene feigne to have hid y^m^ selves amongst us: & att last many of y^m^ came to confesse to ye truth.

Oh ye daily reproaches & beatinges in highways because wee woulde not putt of our hatts: & for sayinge

[a] Ellwood editions read *Government*

thou to people & ye preists spoileinge our goods because wee coulde not putt Into there mouths & give y^m tyths: besydes castinge in prison [as ye records & bookes of suffringes testifye].

Besydes ye great fines in Courtes for not swearinge but with y^m for all these thinges ye Lord God did pleade & some of y^m was soe wicked when they were turned out of there place & office as to say y^t if they had power they woulde doe ye same againe.

[But olde Cains sworde & armes were taken out of his hande {& Judas had lost his bagge}.]

And then they complained y^t all these thinges y^t were come to passe was alonge of us.

And I was moved to write to those Justices & to tell y^m did wee ever resist y^m when they tooke our plows & plowgeare our cowes & horses & Kittells & platters from us: & whipt us & sett us in ye stockes & cast us in prison & all this for serveinge & worshipinge of God in spiritt & truth & because wee coulde not conforme to there religion did wee ever resist y^m: did wee not give y^m our backes & our cheekes & our faces to spitt on & our haire to plucke att & had not there preists y^t prompted y^m one to such workes plucked y^m Into ye Ditch & why woulde thee[a] say It was longe of us when it was alonge of there preists there blinde prophetts y^t followd there owne spiritts & coulde see nothinge of those times & thinges y^t was comeinge[b] upon y^m which wee had longe foorewarned y^m of as Jeremiah & Christ had foorewarned Jerusalem: & they thought to have ruined & undon us but they ruined y^mselves: butt wee coulde praise God notwithstandinge all there plunderinge of us y^t wee had a kettell & a platter & a horse & plow still [& wee doe know y^t if ye presbyterians if they could gett but ye magistrates staffe to upholde y^m {& Judas bagge againe} they woulde bee as bad as ever they was but our backes & cheekes was ready as aforesaid & wee coulde & can turne y^m to all ye smiters one ye earth & wee did not look for any helpe from men but our helper was & is ye Lord].[1]

[a] Ellwood editions read *they*

[b] Originally *comeinge* but altered to another word of uncertain reading, perhaps *comed*

NOTES.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

D. = Friends' Reference Library, at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C., containing the largest collection in the world of books and MSS. relating to the Religious Society of Friends. Established 1673.

A. R. B. MSS. = A collection in D., of 250 original letters of early Friends, from 1654 to 1688, so named because worked over by Abram Rawlinson Barclay for his *Letters*, 1841.

Barclay, *Letters* = Letters, &c. of Early Friends; illustrative of the History of the Society from nearly its Origin, to about the Period of George Fox's Decease, edited by Abram Rawlinson Barclay. London, 1841.

Biog. Memoirs = Biographical Memoirs: being a Record of the Christian Lives of Members of the Society of Friends, by Edward and Thomas J. Backhouse, Thomas Mounsey, and Thomas Robson, of Liverpool. 5 vols. The first vol. was printed (London, 1854), the remainder are in MS. in D.

Bowden, *Hist.* = The History of the Society of Friends in America, by James Bowden. 2 vols. London, 1850—4.

Budge, *Annals* = Annals of the Early Friends, by Frances Anne Budge, 1877 and later. Reprinted from the "Friends' Quarterly Examiner."

Burton, *Diary* = Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq., Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1656 to 1659, edited by J. T. Rutt. 4 vols. London, 1828.

Cal. S. P. Dom. = Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, preserved in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London. Calendars have been published from the reign of King Henry VIII to near the end of the reign of King Charles II and also for parts of the reigns of subsequent sovereigns. Extracts referring to Friends are in course of publication by the Friends' Historical Society, under the title "Extracts from State Papers."

Caton MSS. See under Middleton MSS.

Com. and Prot. = History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1656, by S. R. Gardiner. New ed. 4 vols. London, 1903.

Croese, *Hist.* = The General History of the Quakers, by Gerard Croese. London, 1696. This was printed in Latin, Amsterdam, 1695, and in German, Berlin, 1696.

D. See above.

D. N. B. = Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen. 68 vols. 1885–1904. The biographies of Quakers and ex-Quakers amount to about 315, or, say, three per cent. of the whole of the entries, say, from 1675 (reckoning 11,000 entries out of a total of 30,378 biographies). Or about three and a half per cent. if allowance is made for those connected by marriage or descent (Note by J. J. Green).

Dix MSS.=A collection in D. of about 300 MSS., with index, illustrating the Early Times of the Society of Friends, presented, in 1876, by James Dix, of Bristol (d. 1880).

Ellwood, *Hist.*=The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood. Written by his own Hand. London, 1714 and later edd.

Extracts from State Papers=Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends. First Series, 1654 to 1658, published for the Friends' Historical Society. London, 1910.

F. P. T.="The First Publishers of Truth," being early Records (not previously printed) of the Introduction of Quakerism into the Counties of England and Wales. Edited for the Friends' Historical Society, by Norman Penney, with Introduction by Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L., D.Litt. London, 1907.

Friends' Registers. All references to Registers in these notes (except to such as are specified as Parish Registers) are to the digested copy from original books (now in Somerset House) of births, marriages and deaths of Friends in Great Britain, from about 1650 to the present time, kept at Friends' Central Offices, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. See "Some Special Studies in Genealogy—The Quaker Records," by Josiah Newman, F.R.Hist.S. London, 1908.

Gibson MSS.=Ten volumes and portfolios containing original letters, drawings, newscuttings etc. bequeathed to D. by George Stacey Gibson (d. 1883).

Gough, *Hist.*=History of the People called Quakers, by John Gough. 4 vols. Dublin, 1789—90.

Janney, *Hist.*=History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the year 1828, by Samuel M. Janney. 4 vols. Philadelphia, 1859. MS. Index in D.

Jnl. F. H. S.=The quarterly Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, commenced 1903. Editorial office, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Markey MSS.=A folio volume in D. of over 300 pages, containing contemporary copies of letters and papers relating to early Friends, once belonging to William Markey, of London.

Middleton MSS.=A folio volume in D. of 158 pages bound in calf containing contemporary copies of various letters of early Friends, once in the possession of Boswell Middleton (d. 1763). Otherwise called Caton MSS.

Noncon. Mem.=The Nonconformist's Memorial; being an Account of the Lives...of the Two Thousand Ministers Ejected from the Church of England... 1662. By Calamy, revised by Palmer. 2nd ed. 3 vols. London, 1802.

Piety Promoted=Piety Promoted in a Collection of Dying Sayings of many of the People called Quakers, by various editors. The first part was published in 1701, and the eleventh part in 1829. Many edd. were published in London, Dublin, and Philadelphia; it was translated into Latin and French.

Row MSS.=Eight volumes of MS. relating to members of the Society of Friends of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, written by John Row, c. 1780, and presented to D. by Sir Richard Tangye (d. 1906).

Rutty, *Hist.*=A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland, from the year 1653 to 1700, by Thomas Wight. With a Continuance to 1751, by John Rutty, M.D. Dublin, 1751, and later edd.

Sewel, *Hist.*=History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers, by William Sewel. London, 1722, and later edd. This was printed in Dutch, Amsterdam 1717, and German, 1742.

Short Journal=A MS. in D. of 130 oblong pages. It is endorsed in Fox's handwriting "a short jornall of gff never wer printd," with the addition by another hand "of Some Short things from ab^{t} y^{e} year 1648 to King Charles y^{e} 2^{d} Dayes."

Smith, *Cata.* = A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books written by Members of the Society of Friends, by Joseph Smith. 2 vols. London, 1867. With Supplement, 1893.

Smith, *Adv. Cata.* = Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana; or a Catalogue of Books Adverse to the Society of Friends, by Joseph Smith. London, 1873.

Spence MSS. = A collection of seventeenth century MSS. belonging to Robert Spence, of North Shields and London. 3 vols. The first and second volumes comprise the MS. of the "Journal of George Fox," and the third volume is formed of numerous letters to and from the Fell family. Deposited in D.

Suff. = A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, from 1650—1689. Taken from Original Records and other Authentick Accounts, by Joseph Besse. In two folio volumes. London, 1753.

Swale MSS. = A collection of letters and papers on various subjects, collected by Philip Swale, of Yorkshire, lawyer (d. 1687). 3 vols. Deposited in D.

Swarth. MSS. = Collection in D. of about fourteen hundred original seventeenth century letters, papers, etc. These and many other MS. records of early Quakerism were preserved at Swarthmoor Hall, until 1759, when they were dispersed, on the sale of the estate. They are gradually being collected together again at Devonshire House.

Watson MSS. = A volume of copies of letters of early Friends written by Samuel Watson (d. 1708). In D.

Webb, *Fells* = The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall and their Friends, compiled chiefly from original letters and other documents never before published, by Maria Webb. London, 1865, and later edd.

Webb, *Penns* = The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century, illustrated by original family Letters, by Maria Webb. London, 1867, and later ed.

West Answering = The West Answering to the North, in the fierce and cruel Persecution of...George Fox, Edward Pyot, and William Salt at Lanceston in Cornwall, etc. London, 1657.

Westmorland Quaker Records = A collection of newspaper cuttings, from the "Kendal Mercury and Times," commencing January, 1902. In D. with Index.

Whiting, *Memoirs* = Persecution Expos'd, in some Memoirs relating to the Sufferings of...many...Quakers...in the West of England, by John Whiting. London, 1715, and later ed.

Y. M. Minutes = The MS. records of London Yearly Meeting, complete from 1672 to the present, in 31 volumes, in D.

PAGE	NOTE	
1	1	Thomas Bretland (—1656) was Lecturer at Chesterfield in the early part of 1650. Later in the year he became Vicar, although his name does not appear in the list of Vicars of the parish supplied by the present holder of the living. He is described as "an able, honest man" (Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, 1875, i. 173). Bretland was probably "the priest of the town" referred to by William Edmondson (*Journal*, 1715, p. 4).
1	2	The first 3½ pages of the MS. (pp. 1—4, 9, 10) are not in the handwriting of Thomas Lower, although he has added to the text and corrected it in various places.
1	3	The term *priest* was applied by early Friends to all persons who were in receipt of money for preaching, irrespective of the particular sect to which they belonged.

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1 4 Fox and his fellow-workers had imbibed much of the spirit of the Hebrew prophets, who pronounced and recorded retribution upon evil-doers. Fox was quick to note what he considered to be judgments upon his persecutors, which came to his knowledge, but in some cases the events recorded as judgments can hardly be so estimated.

One of the questions to be annually answered by the Church Meetings of early Quakers was:—"What signal Judgements have come upon Persecutors?" but in 1701, this question was suspended (Minutes of London Yearly Meeting (MS. in D.), ii. 308, 340).

F. P. T.; and many early Journals. For an adverse view, see Bugg, *Finishing Stroke*, 1712, pt. iv, p. 345.

1 5 Nathaniel Stephens (c. 1606—1678) was M.A. of Oxford, and became connected with Fenny Drayton about 1638 as Curate, and in 1659 as Rector. He was ejected for nonconformity in 1662, and after having been seven times driven from Drayton, he settled at Stoke Golding in the same county and held meetings at his house after the Presbyterian manner. He is described as "a good scholar and a useful preacher, in his younger days a very hard student, in his old age pleasant and chearful" (*Noncon. Mem.*). Fox gave him a very different character.

Stephens's wife was also much opposed to Fox, for it is said that on one occasion she "very unseemly plucked and haled him up and downe, and scoffed and laughed" (Farnsworth, *Spirituall Man*, 1655, p. 31).

D. N. B.; *Jnl. F. H. S.* i. iv. vi.; Bate, *Declaration of Indulgence*, 1908, p. xxxvi.

2 1 This insertion was made by Thomas Lower. Kidsley Park forms the N.E. portion of the parish of Smalley. It probably consisted then as it does now of a small number of farmhouses. The "Olde Parke Farm" appears to have been in the hands of Friends from about 1650 to 1863. The Smeeton family was in occupation in 1691. In 1654, John Story and John Wilkinson had a great meeting here at which the Ranters "began to singe & whisell & swear" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 63).

Kerry, *History of Smalley*, 1905; manuscripts in the possession of Edward Watkins, Fritchley.

2 2 Ellwood editions contain several further questions and answers, including the oft-quoted words, "We are nothing; Christ is all."

2 3 According to the Mittimus, which is given by Ellwood, this was John Fretwell of Stainsby, Derbyshire. Of him Fox writes, "The poor man was in trouble a great while before hee returned to y^e^ power of God again" (*Short Journal*); and in a letter from Richard Farnsworth to G. Fox in 1653, we read, "John Fretwell is kept verie open & much Power doth goe alonge with him" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 52). The Friends' Registers of Derbyshire contain a record of the death of a Friend of this name in 1685.

4 1 Justice Bennett will always be remembered in connection with the name *Quaker*. He may be identified with Gervase Bennett, of Snelston. In the Appendix to Glover's *History of Derbyshire*, 1829, vol. ii. "Jervas Bennet of Snelson, esq." appears in a list of Justices for the county of Derby, 1650. Fox describes him as "of Darby," and it is probable that he had a house in the town as well as one at Snelston.

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Bennett was Mayor of Derby in 1645, and he was also a member of the Nominated (Barebones) Parliament of 1653 (*Com. and Prot.* ii. 308). He was also sworn a member of the Council of State in 1653 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1653—4).

Croese states in his *History of the Quakers* (1696, i. 35), "The Quakers tell us that this Judge Bennet [whose pre-nomen he gives, Jeremy], in the mean time that he was so severe and troublesome, was afflicted by God with a Remarkable stroke." Bennett does not appear by name in *Suff.*

An indenture, dated 1665, and signed by Bennett, is preserved in D.

The Snelston registers state that "Gervase Bennett, Esq." was buried on the 10th February, 1670.

4 2 Of the origin of the name *Quaker*, as applied to Friends, Fox says, "The first nick-namer of the Quakers that ever I heard was a corrupt Justice whose name was Gervase Bennet in Darby...though the mighty power of the Lord God had been known years before" (*Great Mistery*, 1659, pp. 61, 110).

William Penn is in agreement as to the origin of the name, adding, "Howbeit for distinction sake, we do write and use the Name, *Quaker*, not being ashamed of the Word of God at which we have trembled, Isa. 66. 2" (*Serious Apology*, 1671, p. 12); and Robert Barclay remarks, "We are not ashamed of the name, though it be none of our choosing" (*Apology*, 1678, prop. xi. sect. 8).

Once given, the name was quickly adopted. Perhaps its first use in print is in *The Pulpit Guarded*, by Thomas Hall, of which the dedication is dated Jan. 1, 1651. In 1654, the name first appears in the records of Parliament. The word *quaker* was, of course, not new; it was used in 1647 to designate "a sect of women come from beyond the sea" (*New Eng. Dict.* s. v. Quaker; R. M. Jones, *George Fox*, 1903, i. 125 n.).

Fox and his followers called themselves *Children of the Light*, *Friends of Truth*, or, simply, *Friends*. The present official title is "the religious Society of Friends," but the words *Quaker* and *Quakerism* have always been in more or less use among Friends themselves, and they have now little, if any, objection to their use by others.

5 1 This paper occupies $1\frac{3}{4}$ pages of MS. The main portion is in a handwriting which recurs later. Three other writers contribute to the endorsement placed at the head of the paper as printed.

Among Swarth. MSS. (ii. 44) is a half sheet, much discoloured with age, containing an address by Fox from Derby prison to Justice Bennett and Colonel Barton. The endorsement only was written by Fox.

Fox wrote other papers while in jail, some of which are given by Ellwood, and one is to be found in *Suff.* i. 136.

5 2 Robert Widders (c. 1618—1686), of Upper Kellett, Lancashire, was convinced by George Fox in 1652, and he soon began the missionary labours which ended only with his life. Margaret Fox writes of him, "I have known him thirty-four years; we were made partakers of the eternal Truth together....He would not have failed to come and see us [at Swarthmoor] night or day over two dangerous Sands, if it had been in the deep of Winter, many a time hath he done so of his own accord....He was not much in Declaration," meaning that he was not a great preacher (Testimony in his *Life and Death*,

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1688, p. 13). His wife, Jane, his son, Thomas, and many others also testify to his worth (*ibid.* pp. 10 ff.).

Though generally written *Withers* in the MS., the more usual form is *Widders*. His letters, of which several are preserved in D., are signed *Widder*.

5 3 Probably James Taylor, of Cartmel, for whom see 46. 4.

5 4 Priest Baker is not yet identified.

5 5 Miles Halhead (c. 1614—) lived at Mountjoy (pronounced Mungey locally), near Underbarrow, Westmorland. He was converted in 1652 and in the following year became a travelling preacher; he journeyed to many places in England, Scotland and Ireland. His wife, Ann Halhead, at first opposed his work, saying at times "Would to God I had married a drunkard! then I might have found him at the ale-house; but now I cannot tell where to find my husband" (quoted by Janney, *Hist.* i. 148). Halhead frequently suffered imprisonment; with Thomas Salthouse he lay for about a year in jail at Plymouth and Exeter, having been charged at Exeter Sessions, July, 1655, with "using provoking words against George Brookes" (Swarth. MSS.; *Wounds of an Enemie*, 1656). His death took place before 1690 as his name appears in Richardson's *List of Ministers Deceased*, 1689 (MS. in D.).

Welde, *Perfect Pharise*, 1654, p. 48; *West Answering*, 1657, p. 158; Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 212; *Sufferings and Passages of Myles Halhead*, 1690; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715.

7 1 In 1643, Fox began his journeys in search of Truth; early in 1646 came various "openings" to him and he heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy Condition," and in the same year is dated the convincement of Elizabeth Hooton, of Skegby, Fox's first convert. From 1650 the rise of Quakerism was very rapid, first in the Midlands, then in the North, South, East and West.

9 1 These nine lines of MS. are written on the same sheet as the address to Bennett, 5. 1. They are in a handwriting which recurs occasionally in the MS. The examination referred to does not appear among inserted documents.

9 2 Probably in error for *Gervase* Bennett.

9 3 Compare Fox's "Lamentation," written to the people of Derby during his imprisonment, beginning "As the Waters run away, when the Flood-Gates are up; so doth the Visitation of God's Love pass away from thee, O Darby!" (Ellwood editions).

10 1 From this point the narrative portions of the *Journal* were written by Thomas Lower. See Introduction.

10 2 Rice Jones (Rhys Johns) was "first convinced of Truth, but soon turned aside" (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 120). He gathered a company around him, who held their meetings at the Castle in Nottingham, and who were known as "Proud Quakers" or the "Castle Company." James Nayler visited Jones in 1654 and had some sharp controversy with him (Swarth. MSS. iii. 75). William Smith, of Besthorpe, describes the followers of Jones thus: "These people have taken up a belief that they may keep their inward unto God, and yield their bodies to comply with outward things" (*Few Words unto a Peculiar People*, 1669, p. 1, in which tract several of the company are mentioned by name). A MS. in the handwriting

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of Fox, containing the substance of the words of Jones given on p. 10, is preserved in D. Fox writes, "ther meetinges scaterd except som of them met together on the first day to play at shovell bord."

Cropper, *Sufferings of Quakers in Notts.* 1892, p. xi; Letter from Lady Conway to Dr Henry More, 1675, printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii; Swarth. MSS. vii. 104.

13 1 Nathanael Barton, Colonel, Justice and Preacher. He was probably the Colonel-preacher mentioned on p. 2. With Bennett he signed the mittimus which lodged Fox in Derby House of Correction and to him Fox wrote several letters from his prison (Ell. edd.; Swarth. MSS. ii. 44). He was a member of the Barebones Parliament (*Com. and Prot.* ii. 308). Palmer associates his name with the town of Cauldwell (*Noncon. Mem.*).

Cal. S. P. Dom. 1650; Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, 1869; Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896.

13 2 Thomas Saunders (c. 1610—1695) of Little Ireton. He was a prominent Derbyshire Parliamentarian, and is thus described in the *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*: "A very godly honest country gentleman, but had not many things requisite for a great soldier." In 1654, he was instructed to break up Friends' meetings in Derbyshire (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654; *Suff.* i. 137). In 1664, Saunders was implicated with others in an alleged rising of Presbyterians and he had to enter into heavy recognizances, but the last eight years of his life were spent in peace. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, 1869; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902; *Vict. Hist. Derbyshire*, 1907.

13 3 About a score of letters, addressed by Fox to priests, magistrates, the people of Derby and to Friends, are printed in Ell. edd.

13 4 Fox's spirit was much exercised with the need for amelioration in the social conditions of his time and for a juster treatment of prisoners; and many of his followers, since his day, have devoted themselves with much success to work for the same end.

14 1 "The Purefoy family were for more than three centuries the territorial aristocracy of Drayton...Only the funereal monuments now remain to attest the family's former greatness" (Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896). George Purefoy, squire of the Parish, who presented Stephens to the Rectory, was probably the Colonel Purefoy of the *Journal*.

15 1 The leaf on which is written the narrative from this point to the break on the next page, is not numbered with the leaves which precede and follow it. It is, however, in the principal handwriting of the *Journal*, although, to judge from the colour of the ink, it was not written at the same time as the numbered leaves of this portion of the MS. There is a ☞ in the margin of the previous leaf to denote the position of the insertion. Above statement is interesting in view of the peculiar character of the Lichfield episode.

15 2 Enquiries of inhabitants of the district have not yet resulted in the identification of Bushel House. One conjecture associates it with Bishop Hill or Bishop's Hill, a farm-house in Hanbury parish, Staffs. (just as Bishopbury or Bishopsbury becomes Bushbury).

15 3 "It was at Lichfield that Fox performed what was almost the only and certainly the most pronounced act of his life, which had the appearance of wild fanaticism, and which is often wrongly regarded as typical of his whole career (Prof. James in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, p. 7, asserts that Fox's *Journal* 'abounds in entries of this sort'). When it is remembered that Fox had but lately been

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released from a year's imprisonment at Derby, overwrought and weakened, especially by the last six months spent 'in the common jail and dungeon,' it is not difficult to account for his action" (Brayshaw in *Handbook of Yearly Meeting*, 1908, p. 50).

A painting by Robert Spence exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1903 and now hanging in the Public Gallery at Lichfield, illustrates this strange scene.

Sewel, *Hist.* 1722, omits reference to the incident.

Lives of Fox by Bickley, 1884, Hodgkin, 1896, Jones, 1903, and others; *Transactions Cong. Hist. Soc.* 1901, i. 195.

16 1 Richard Farnsworth (—1666) of Tick Hill, Yorks. After his convincement he travelled into many parts of England. He suffered some months' imprisonment at Banbury in 1655 (*Saints' Testimony*, 1655), where he was visited by John Roberts, of Cirencester (among others), who found him "at a grate preaching to the people in the Street" (Lawrence, *Quaker of Olden Time*, 1898). Farnsworth has left some lively reminiscences of his travels. In one letter he writes of a visit to Wakefield, "At night, the devill did rage, stones flew as fast as Bullits in a Battle, but not so much as one received any harme" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 229). He died in London.

The Neck of the Quakers Broken, 1663, and other pamphlets by Muggletonians; *Last Testimony of Richard Farnsworth*, 1667; *D. N. B.*

16 2 James Nayler (c. 1618—1660) has been called "the reproach and glory of Quakerism" (Barton, *Poetic Vigils*, 1824). His birthplace was Ardsley near Wakefield (Lupton, *Wakefield Worthies*, 1864). After his marriage he removed to Wakefield, where, or near which place, at the house of Lieutenant Roper, he became convinced of Quaker principles (Dewsbury, *Writings* (Fox's Testimony), 1689). He had seen military service as quartermaster under General Lambert (Gough, *Memoirs*, 1781, p. 56). After service and suffering in the North, Nayler in 1655 joined the Quaker preachers in London, where his ability as a speaker soon drew notable audiences (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841) and attracted to him a band of men and women whose infatuation led them to render homage to him in imitation of that given to Christ (Swarth. MSS. i. 188, 300), the acceptance of which brought him under the notice of the law. A Parliamentary Committee was appointed in 1656 to consider "his great misdemeanours and blasphemies" (Burton, *Diary*, 1828), and despite a request from Cromwell and various petitions for mitigation, a series of severe punishments was inflicted upon him in London, and also at Bristol where the chief extravagance had taken place. Nayler's repentance was deep and sincere, and he was reinstated among his Quaker associates; but his health having given way under his great bodily and mental sufferings, his death soon followed. It seems likely that the fall of Nayler brought a moderating influence into the propagation of Quaker views. Though Fox has little to say in his *Journal* on his follower's defection, he found it necessary to write words of warning, such as may be found, *e.g.* in his address to Cromwell and the Parliament at this time (pp. 263—266, especially the postscript). Nayler wrote many theological treatises, both before and after his fall; his dying saying, commencing "There is a Spirit that I feel, that delights to do no Evil, nor to revenge any Wrong, but delights to endure all things, in Hope to enjoy its own in the End," is a beautiful testimony of a meek and quiet spirit.

Much has been written for and against Nayler. For the former see *True Narrative*, 1657; *Memoirs*, 1719; Bevan, *Life of Nayler*,

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1800. For the latter, see Bradshaw, *Quakers Whitest Divell Unvailed*, 1654; Deacon, *Grand Impostor*, 1656; *Exact History*, 1657; Grigge, *Quakers' Jesus*, 1658; *Historia Fanaticorum*, 1701; Aikin, *Religious Impostors*, 1814.

Ingelo, *Bentivolio and Urania*, 1660, Pt. II. 169; Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, 1869; *D. N. B.*; *Transactions Cong. Hist. Soc.* i. 220; Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, 1909; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910.

16 3 Thomas Goodaire (Goodier, Goodyear, Goodrey, etc.) (—1693) was one of the little but famous band of converts resulting from Fox's visit to Lieutenant Roper in 1651. He suffered imprisonment at Worcester in 1655 (Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 202), at Northampton in the same year (*True Testimony*, 1655; Swarth. MSS. iv. 139), at Oxford in 1660 (*Cry against Oppression*, 1660; *True Relation*, 1660; Croese, *Hist.* i. 158; Ellwood, *Hist.* (Crump and Graveson edd.), and at Warwick, where he was praemunired in 1666, but liberated by King Charles's "Pardon" in 1672.

Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; *F. P. T.*

16 4 William Dewsbury (1621—1688) was born at Allerthorpe in East Yorkshire, of parents who gave him a religious training. His early occupation was that of a shepherd boy, but later he was apprenticed to a cloth weaver near Leeds. For a time he served in the Parliamentary army. The message of Fox came as a light in his spiritual darkness and uncertainty and he soon took a very prominent place in the band of early Quaker preachers. But his labours were often interrupted by imprisonment. He appears to have spent nearly twenty years of his life within prison walls—in Northampton, London, Derby, Leicester once, in York thrice, and in Warwick twice. The story of the visit to Warwick Jail of his little granddaughter, Mary Samm, and her death there (1680, aet. 12), is one of the most touching of early Quakerism (*Exhortation to all People*, 1680; *British Friend*, 1886, p. 275). Dewsbury married first Anne ——— and secondly Alice Meads. When finally released from Warwick Jail, he travelled with much difficulty to London, and very shortly after his return home he "fell asleep in Christ" (*F. P. T.*). John Whiting says of him, "He was an extraordinary Man in many ways, and, I thought, as exact a Pattern of a perfect Man as ever I knew" (*Memoirs*, 1715).

Dewsbury's works were published in 1689; several of his many tracts contain biographical matter. See also Blome, *Fanatick Hist.*, 1660, p. 203; *Piety Promoted*; Smith, *Life*, 1836; *Potto Brown*, 1878; *D. N. B.* Letters from William and Anne Dewsbury are in D.

16 5 Captain Pursloe, presumably the same as Richard Pursglove of Cranswick, who, according to *F. P. T.*, received Fox on his visit to the eastern portions of Yorkshire in 1651. With other writers of a paper *To Friends of Truth in London*, 1663, he is described as "a firstfruits unto God in the East Parts of Yorkshire." A short letter from Pursglove to Fox, without place or date, is in existence (Swarth. MSS. iii. 119). See ii. 322. 1.

16 6 John Leeke (—1685). The record of convincement at Selby, c. 1652, states, "Dear John Leake and Ann, his wife...were the first convinced" (*F. P. T.*). John Leake married Ann Reynolds in 1651, and the latter died at the birth of their second daughter in 1653, the widower subsequently marrying Ellinor Clove. There is frequent reference to Leake in *Suff.* He was liberated by the "Pardon" of Charles II in 1672, but according to the Burial Register, he died a "prisoner for the Testimony of the Truth."

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17 1 "I went to Boutle steeplehouse upon a first day. I was moved to speak in the priests time, hee utterred such wicked thinges; and therefore for y^e^ truths sake I was Moved to speak to him If I had been Imprison'd for it. [In the afternoon] I satt mee down and heard till hee had done, though severall friends spoke to him in his time; so when he had done I beganne to speak to him...and hee beganne to opposse mee, I told him his glasse was gone, his time was out; the place was as free for mee as for him" (*Short Journal*, quoted with comments in *F. P. T.*). Above will explain the legal conditions under which early Friends so frequently addressed audiences in the churches. "Until 1656 the law only punished disturbance of a preacher during his sermon, or while actually celebrating divine service, speaking by others after the sermon was not unusual" (Braithwaite, *Spiritual Guidance*, 1909, p. 55), but if what was said displeased the members of the congregation, they often took the law into their own hands and severely handled the speaker. The Lord's Day Act, 1656, authorised fine and imprisonment for wilful interruption of a minister in any part of the service or for any public disturbance in a church on the Lord's day.

Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876, pp. 274 ff.; Hist. MSS. Com., *Fleming MSS.* 1890, p. 44; *John Stephenson Rowntree*, 1908, pp. 387, 388; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910.

18 1 This was probably Sir John Hotham of Scorborough, near Beverley, second baronet. He was the eldest son of Captain John Hotham, by Frances, eldest daughter of Sir John Wray, of Glentworth, Lincs. His grandfather, Sir John Hotham, the famed Governor of Hull, married Katherine, daughter of Sir John Rodes of Barlborough Hall, Co. Derby. Both his father and his grandfather were beheaded on Tower Hill, 1644/5. Justice Hotham's kindness to Friends is warmly acknowledged in the Swarth. MSS. (iii. 6, 41). The name Hotham has been borne by many North Country Quakers.

D. N. B.; Gaskin, *Old Seaport of Whitby*, 1909, where there seems to be some confusion between the first and second baronet.

20 1 Edward Bowles, M.A. (1613—1662), Presbyterian, was appointed one of the four ministers of York maintained by the Commonwealth. "He had a clear head and a warm heart" (*Noncon. Mem.*). He took an active part in bringing about the Restoration. In a letter to Margaret Fell, William Dewsbury writes: "I was moved to write to Preist Bowles; & y^e^ Lord did smite him w^th^ such terrour, that he could not tell w^t^ way to turne...he writt to Cromwell, & when he sente y^e^ letter, Cromwell exprest these words when he read it They would have mee to disown these people, shall I disown y^m^ because they will not put of there hatts..." (Swarth. MSS. iv. 144; cp. Dewsbury, *Discovery of Enmity*, 1655). An ancient MS. is preserved in D., containing an address to "Edward Bowles, Priest" by "Elizabeth Hooton a prisoner of y^e^ Lord in Yorke Castle," dated "Aug. 1652."

F. P. T.; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902; *D. N. B.*; *John S. Rowntree*, 1908.

21 1 This is probably the North Riding Borrowby situated some miles north of Thirsk, and not the place of that name near Whitby, cp. *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii. with *F. P. T.*

22 1 Philip Scarth (Scaife) (—1693) was before his convincement one of a company of Seekers which met "to wait upon y^e^ Lord in his Light" (*F. P. T.*). Croese relates that he had been "Minister of a Public Church at a little Village near to Whitby called Robin

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Hood's Bay" (*Hist.* 1696, i. 43). He does not appear to have taken any prominent position among early Friends.

22 2 His name was "T. Bushel" according to Ell. edd., the indexes thereto expanding the name to Thomas Bushel. Further information is not forthcoming.

23 1, 2 "When the meetting was Broken upp the next morneing one Priest Levens that was there desired mee to go along w^th^ him, for hee had some questions to aske mee, so I took his Brother William Ratliffe w^th^ mee" etc. (*Short Journal*). "William Radcliff of Guisbrough" is mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* ii. 131, 141).

25 1 The rapid coming and going of Priests in the narrative here renders their identification difficult, but this Priest appears to be the letter writer of pp. 25 and 26, the one who called Fox "brother" of pp. 25 and 27, the "olde preist" of pp. 27 and 28, and "Preist Boys" of pp. 28 and 29. Farnsworth in a letter, dated 1653, describes a journey to York, accompanied by several Friends, adding, "Ould boys the priest he came on the way with us, he would have gone with me, but I was not very fre, so he went back" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 229). There are references to a Quaker family of Boyes in Whitby and Scarborough Register (MS. in D.), and in Baker, *Unhistoric Acts*, 1906, p. 12.

26 1 Luke Robinson lived at Thornton Riseborough, near Pickering. He was a J.P. for the North Riding of Yorkshire, M.P. for Scarborough (1645—1660), Bailiff of Scarborough (1652), member of Cromwell's Council of State (1649, 1650, 1659). He was one of the Regicides. According to Burton, Robinson took a large share in the discussion in Parliament on the case of James Nayler, with whom he was personally acquainted, and whilst desiring such a punishment as should prevent Nayler "pestering the nation," he added, "I would rather err in point of mercy than exceed in justice" (*Diary*, 1828).

Hinderwell, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 1798; Pepys, *Diary*; Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, 1869; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1649—50, 1660—1, 1663—4; Swarth. MSS. iii. 41.

28 1 Said to be Kirbymoorside, Kirk-by-moorside (Baker, *Unhistoric Acts*, 1906. See 25. 1).

28 2 This was Egton Bridge. James Nayler writes, in 1654, "We came to Egton Bridge to one Burdetts house" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 6). *F. P. T.*

29 1 Justice Pearson not identified but to be distinguished from Justice Anthony Pearson, of Co. Durham, though the two are thrown together in most indexes to the *Journal*.

29 2 "George Hartus of Ulram, was sent for from his house by Justice Baynton, by whom and another Justice with him, he was required to take the Oath of Allegiance, and for refusing to swear, committed to prison, being delivered to the Goaler at York on the 14^th^ of the Month called January, 1660; and sometime after died a prisoner in the Castle there. Soon after his death, his widow was taken, by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, out of her bed, when sick, and carried away thirty miles to prison from her ten fatherless children" (MS. in D. in the handwriting of Joseph Besse, middle 18th cent.). If Besse's words "sometime after" may be made to cover ten years, the record of the death of a "George Hartas of Ulrome," 19. vi. 1670, may be that of Fox's host. The births of children of George and Clare Hartas of Ulram, are registered between the years 1653 and 1669. Clare Hartas died in 1707, aged eighty-four.

Suff. ii. 100; Baker, *Unhistoric Acts*, 1906; *F. P. T.*

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32 1 Robert Overton (c. 1609—) was a soldier and a scholar. He was made Parliamentary Governor of Hull. His family estate was at Easington, where probably Fox visited him. A year or two later, when Nayler had a meeting at this place, "Collenel Overtons wife, son, and chaplin was there" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 6). Major-General Overton was imbued with the principles of Fifth-Monarchism, and he spent much time in prison, in the Tower and elsewhere.

Pepys, *Diary*; Wildridge, *Holderness and Hullshire*, 1886; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902; *Com. and Prot.*; *D. N. B.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (in the 1650 vol., p. 213, Overton's chaplain is mentioned).

34 1 The Quaker who hanged himself was, probably, "one Cotten Crosland of Ackworth (neer Pontefract in York-shire) a professed Quaker, [who] hang'd himself, and lies buried in a Crosse-way upon Ackworth Moor, with a Stake driven thorow him" (Gilpin, *Quakers Shaken*, 1655, p. 21), but Fox says that the Quakers did not own him (*Great Mistery*, 1659, p. 298). If this identification is right Lower's insertion is incorrect.

34 2 Thomas Aldam (c. 1616—1660), of Warmsworth, near Doncaster, was convinced by George Fox, as also his mother, two sisters, and wife, in 1651. The following year, for his opposition to Thomas Rookby, priest of Warmsworth, he was sent to York Castle, being one of the first of a long line of Quakers detained there. During his two and a half years of imprisonment he wrote several religious papers which were printed, and from prison he sent many letters, some of which are still extant (Swarth. MSS.). He married Mary Killam, in 1644; some of his descendants are still Quakers.

Short Testimony, by his son Thomas Aldam, 1690; *Piety Promoted*; *D. N. B.*; Smith, *Smith of Cantley*, 1878, p. 14.

37 1 "I saw a vision a man and two Mastiffe doggs and a bear, and I passed by them and they smiled upon me" (*Short Journal*).

37 2 A record of a previous visit to Lieutenant Roper's house (p. 16) may be found in Fox's Testimony to Dewsbury, printed in the collected works of the latter, from which it appears that the Lieutenant's house was the Quaker birthplace of Nayler, Goodaire and William and Anne Dewsbury. Smith (*Dewsbury*, 1836, p. 52) states that he lived at Synderhill Green, but no traces of him have been found there (*British Friend*, 1897, p. 44). Various indications point to Stanley, a few miles north of Wakefield, as the place.

Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Swarth. MSS. i. 372.

38 1 This doubtless refers to the march into England of the Scotch army under Prince Charles in 1651, which ended in the battle of Worcester on September 3. *Noice* = common talk, public notice.

38 2 Christopher Marshall (c. 1614—1673) was born in Lincolnshire and educated in Cambridge, and also under John Cotton in New England. On his return to England he was appointed Independent Minister at Woodchurch (or, as otherwise named, West Ardsley) near Wakefield. He was ejected in 1662, but preached privately in several places (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671—2) till his death. Fox appears to be incorrect in stating that Marshall was "not longe after cutt off."

Noncon. Mem.; *Transactions Cong. Hist. Soc.* i. 224; Bate, *Declaration of Indulgence*, 1908, pp. lvi, lxxxiii.

38 3 Not fully identified, but probably either widow of John Greene, of Liversedge, yeoman (who married Agnes Drake 1592, and died 1631), or of one of his six sons.

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40 1 Still known as George Fox's well (Ell. ed. 1852, i. 120). "Anywhere above the well springs, Pendle is, in the sunset of an Autumn evening, a very temple of silence, a solemn shrine of awful beauty" (McKay, *Pendle Hill in History and Literature*, 1888, p. 211). The expression "to sounde y^e^ day of y^e^ Lorde" occurs again on p. 281.

Dobson, *Rambles by the Ribble*; Taylor, *Cameos from the Life of George Fox*, 1907.

40 2 John Blaykling (1625--1705) was one of a Quaker household living at Draw-well, a farmhouse, still standing, near Sedbergh, N.W. Yorks. (*Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.). He travelled extensively and was frequently imprisoned, in York and Tynemouth Castles and elsewhere. At his house was held the great meeting in 1676, between Friends and the Separatists Wilkinson, Story and others. Ten years later, with other Friends, he wrote *Antichristian Treachery Discovered*, a folio of 190 pp., in which he replied to the writings of William Rogers and the Separatists. Other members of this family rendered valuable service in the early Quaker Church.

Piety Promoted; *F. P. T.*; MSS. in D.

40 3 Richard Robinson (—1673) of Brigflatts, is to be distinguished from Richard Robinson, of Counterside, mentioned later in Ell. edd. Among Swarth. MSS. (i. 124) is a letter to M. Fell, from "The common Jaylle att Carllyle," 1658, which was probably written by the first named R. R.

Westmorland Quaker Records, 1902; *F. P. T.*

40 4 In the "Chronological Register of the Places visited by the Author," which appeared first in the Ell. ed. of 1836, and which has been included in all subsequent edd., the name *Hawes* has been inserted between *Wensleydale* and *Grisdale*, with the intention, doubtless, of supplying the name of the market town. In Tuke's *Life of Fox*, 1813, *Askrigg* is proposed.

41 1 Major Miles Bousfield lived in Garsdale, N.W. Yorks. (*F. P. T.*; *Short Journal*). Shortly after the visit of George Fox, Bousfield went over to Ireland, and there met William Edmondson, who records the visit in some detail, stating, *inter alia*, that Bousfield "was a great Talker of Religion, but an Enemy and a Stranger to the Cross of Christ" (*Journal*, 1715). Bousfield's wife is referred to in Swarth. MSS. iii. 45.

41 2 This was James Tennant (—1674) of Scarhouse in Langstrothdale, Yorks. He was imprisoned more than once for non-payment of tithe, and he died in prison in Sixth Month (August), 1674. Fox's mention of his death makes it evident that the *Journal* was written not earlier than the latter portion of 1674. Fox visited his widow in 1677 (Ell. edd.).

William and Alice Ellis, 1849; *F. P. T.*

42 1 There is repeated evidence in the history of the times of bands of separated people or Seekers, who "passed through all y^e^ professions & finding noe satisfaction awaited a farther manifestation" (*F. P. T.*). By large numbers of such the doctrine of Quakerism was readily accepted. This subject is fully treated in the forthcoming work by W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*.

Ambrose Rigge, 1710, p. 9; *Charles Marshall*, 1844, p. 4; *Jnl. F. H. S.* iv.—vi.; Jones, *Mystical Religion*, 1909.

42 2 Gervase Benson (—1679). "He generally stiled himselfe Husbandman, Notw^th^standing y^t^ he had bene a Collenell, a Justice of peace, Mayor of Kendall, & was Comisery in y^e^ Arch Deaconry of

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Richmond before y^e^ late Domistick Warrs, yett, as an Humble disciple of Christ, downed those things" (*F. P. T.*). Benson lived at Borrat, "near Coatley Cragg above Sedbergh" (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 22). His first wife was Dorothy, and his second Mabel, widow of John Camm. His knowledge of legal matters was ever placed at the disposal of his suffering brethren, and many of his writings in defence of Truth are extant in print and MS. He died at Kendal.

Saul's Errand, 1654, p. 29; *Quakery Slain*, 1657, p. 24; Swarth. MSS.; Caton MSS.

42 3 Francis Howgill (1618—1668/9) was of Todthorne, near Grayrigg, Westmorland. He received a College education in preparation for the Episcopalian ministry, but being dissatisfied with this, and in search for truth, he joined the Independents and subsequently the Baptists. At Sedbergh fair, 1652, through Fox's preaching, the light dawned, and Howgill speedily took a first-rank position among the early Friends. Imprisonment soon followed his public avowal of Quakerism, Kirkby Stephen being the first place of detention. In 1654, Howgill commenced his labours in London, in close association with Edward Burrough. A great impression was made, and it is said that in 1678 there were 10,000 Quakers within the Metropolitan area (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 32). Howgill also visited Bristol, East Anglia, Scotland, Ireland, etc. While in Kendal market-place engaged in business pursuits, he was apprehended, praemunired and committed to Appleby Gaol, where he lay for five years until liberated by death. He wrote much; his writings were collected and published in 1676, under the title, *The Dawning of the Gospel Day*. His *Advice to his Daughter* has been several times reprinted. There are many letters in D. written by Howgill.

Saul's Errand, 1654, p. 26; *Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657, pp. 11, 28, 31; *Saul's Errand*, 1728, p. 35; *Piety Promoted*; *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*

Lives by Backhouse (1828), Ferguson (1871), Budge (1877), Taylor (1906), Kite (1909).

42 4 Henry Ward (—1674) was of Sunnybank, Grayrigg, Westmorland, where he frequently entertained travelling Ministers (Swarth. MSS. i. 238). In 1656 he was with George Fox in Cornwall (Swarth. MSS. i. 165).

Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 2, 4, 5; *Westmorland Quaker Records*, 1902; *F. P. T.*

42 5 One of the birthplaces of Quakerism, four miles from Sedbergh. A piece of rock at the top of Firbank Fell is still known as "Fox's Pulpit."

Taylor, *Cameos from the Life of George Fox*, 1907, pp. 32 ff.

42 6 John Audland (1630—1663/4). His convincement was a result of the wonderful Sunday meeting on Firbank Fell. Audland travelled much with his friend and neighbour John Camm, and these two were the founders of Quakerism in Bristol, 1654 (*F. P. T.*). The results of their work were remarkable, "Every Day we have a meeteing; yea I may say Every day is but a meeteing for let us goe wheare we will all is full wheare we are night & day...the house & all was filled & the street: soe the voyce went forth for a feeld & we wente to it like an armey" (A. R. B. MSS. 157). These and similar labours proved too much for Audland's constitution. He died of consumption and was buried near his friend, Camm, at Birkrigg Park.

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Biographical notices by Camm and Marshall (1689), Gough (1789), Tuke (1815); etc.

44 1 Presumably John Story of Westmorland (—1681), "called unto the worke of the Ministry from a low Estate in the World" (*F. P. T.*). Later he joined with John Wilkinson, of the same county, in raising the well-known controversy associated with their names, which caused an extensive schism in the Quaker Church (*John S. Rowntree*, 1908).

The Memory of John Story Revived, 1683; Camm, *The Line of Truth*, 1684; Swarth. MSS.

44 2 Preston Patrick, a village near Kendal, is still a centre of Quaker activity. A lively account of Fox's visit is given in *F. P. T.*

45 1 Probably related to Widow Cock, who lived at "Birkhagge" (*Suff.* ii. 13), "about a mile from Kendal" (*Saul's Errand*, 1654, p. 20). The Burial Registers of Kendal contain the name of Agnes Cocke in the year 1663. "James Cocke" was an Alderman of Kendal in 1624—5. In 1653—4, he appears to have been Mayor, and is described as "late of Birckhagg."

45 2 There were two Friends bearing the name Miles Bateman living at Underbarrow, father and son apparently, but our knowledge of them is insufficient to distinguish them. In 1654, Miles Bateman visited Ireland, among the first Quaker preachers to that country (Rutty, *Hist. of Friends in Ireland*, 1751). In 1657 "litle M. Bateman" journeyed to Bristol (Swarth. MSS., among which is a letter endorsed "ffrom litle Miles Bateman to M. ff."). In 1658, Miles Bateman was "esteemed a good ffriend," but "afterwards, being but young in years...he Revoulted from truth...and became highly esteemed among unbelievers" (*Westmorland Quaker Records*, 1902). The name occurs in the Westmorland Burial Registers in 1685 and 1717. Besse (*Suff.*) records the name at various periods down to 1684.

Hist. MSS. Com., *Fleming MSS.*; *F. P. T.*

45 3 Edward Burrough (1634—1662) during the brief space of ten years rose to take a foremost place among early Friends. His labour was incessant by word and pen. In company with his elder friend, Francis Howgill, he visited various parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, and had great service in London for over eight years. From a meeting at the Bull and Mouth he was committed to Newgate Gaol, whence, after some eight months' endurance of the abominations of a seventeenth century prison, he was released by death. "His very strength was bended after God," said of him his friend Howgill (*Testimonies to Burrough*, 1662, p. 4).

His works were collected and published in 1672, under the title, *The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation.* For his controversy with John Bunyan see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1898, p. 167.

D. N. B.; lives by Tuke (1815), Evans (1851), Backhouse and Mounsey (1854), Budge (1877), Kite (1909); MSS. in D.

46 1 Miles Hubbersty (—1675) was a husbandman of Underbarrow, and brother of Stephen. He "was early called into the worke of the Ministry and travelled and laboured in many parts of this nation, espechally in the west" (*F. P. T.*). His first wife was Elizabeth Smith of Gloucestershire, his second Hannah Haley. He was drowned while crossing the Sands. One account states that he was "destroyed by a wilfull, wicked man, being y^e^ carter, who clap^d^ his hook in his cloak & drew him from the friends near 100 yards, so that he was strangled and drowned" (MS. in D.).

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46 2 Stephen Hubbersty (1632—1711) was of Underbarrow, brother of Miles. He travelled as a preacher, and wrote *A Warning from y^e^ Lord to all you Masters and Dames y^t^ Keepes Ale or Beare to sell* (Swarth. MSS. iv. 172), and other papers. He removed to Hendon in Middlesex, where he died.
F. P. T.

46 3 James Dickinson lived at Crosthwaite, Westmorland (*F. P. T.*).

46 4 Little is known of James Taylor (—1687). He appears to have undertaken some missionary journeys in the north of England with Robert Widders (*Life of Widders*, 1688, where there is a Testimony subscribed "This is written in much weakness of Body, by me James Taylor, who is since dead"). Some papers relating to him are still preserved in Cartmel Meeting House.
F. P. T.; Swarth. MSS.

46 5 Gabriel Camelford (—1676). The reading of the Ell. edd. gives colour to the statement that he lived at Newton in Cartmel, but the *Short Journal* is quite clear that his residence was Staveley. Margaret Fell, who resided in the same neighbourhood, wrote of him in 1655, to Francis Benson and his family, "If ever yee owne the liveinge God or his people, yee must deny Camellford...and if yee owne Camellford then yee deny God" (Spence MSS. iii. 33, see also 126, 127, 136). After his ejection he "was an instrument of converting many, particularly in Furness-fells" (*Noncon. Mem.*). He "was no Baptist" (*Transactions Bapt. Hist. Soc.* i.).
Fox and Hubberthorne, *Truth's Defence*, 1653; Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 123.

46 6 John Knype, of Woodbroughton, in the parish of Cartmel. Thomas Knype, gentleman, was one of the witnesses to the will of Judge Fell (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 144). There were Friends of this name living in Furness at this time.
Trans. Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc. 1910.

46 7 The Cartmel Parish Registers contain the record of the birth in 1633 of "John Braithwaite, son of James Braithwaite of Newton." This may refer to the reporter convinced by Fox. John Braithwaite's ministerial travels were frequently shared by Thomas Briggs (*Account of Thomas Briggs*, 1685, pp. 5, 9). Some record of these travels may be found in the Swarth. MSS. (i. 65, iii. 86, 128—130). His death took place before 1681 as he is included in Richard Richardson's MS. *List of Friends in y^e^ Ministry Deceased*, 1681. Joseph Smith states that he died at Chippenham, Wilts. (*Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1867, i. 313).
D. N. B.

47 1 Adam Sandys lived at Bouth, a village near Ulverston, of which town he was Chief Constable. The Sandys family was an old one in the district. The Ulverston Registers contain thirty-nine entries of the name "Adam Sandys," between 1608 and 1693. Sandys espoused the cause of the Parliament. On one occasion Miles Halhead attended a service at the house of "Captain Adam Sands," when Lampitt was preaching, with the result that Lampitt declined to continue and Camelford to take his place, till Sandys, taking Halhead by the hand, led him out of the house (Sewel, *Hist.* 1722).
Sathan Inthron'd, 1657, p. 34; Bardsley, *Chron. of the Town and Church of Ulverston*, 1885; Cowper, *Hawkshead*, 1899.

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47 2 "A ffamily walkeing in the feare of y^e^ Lord, conv^r^sing dayly w^th^ him, crucifyed to the world, & liveing onely to god" is the description of the Swarthmoor household from the pen of Justice Pearson (Swarth. MSS. i. 87). The influence of the Fell family on the early work of Friends was probably much beyond any estimate of it yet made. The hundreds of letters still extant would bear ample testimony to this if studied. Thomas Fell (1598—1658), the head of the house at the time, did not actually ally himself with the Quakers, but assisted them in many ways. He was a Magistrate, Judge, Vice-Chancellor and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and M.P. for Lancaster. By his wife, Margaret Askew, he had one son and seven daughters, all of whom married. Through the marriage of the youngest daughter there are many descendants of the family both in and out of the Society of Friends. Friends held Judge Fell in high esteem. In 1655, William Dewsbury wrote him a letter full of affectionate interest in his spiritual welfare (Swarth. MSS. iv. 136), and on the occasion of his death, his widow received letters from Henry Fell and Alexander Parker among others, referring to his "tender care over the Lord's lambs" (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 146). Swarthmoor Hall (which still stands) is in the Furness district of Lancashire, near the town of Ulverston. In 1759, the estate passed away from the family, but the Meeting House in the neighbourhood is still in use.

British Friend, 1845; Mounsey, *Brief Account of Thomas Fell*, 1846, and later ed.; Webb, *Fells*, 1865; Richardson, *Furness Past and Present*, 1880; Barber, *Furness and Cartmel Notes*, 1894; Swarth. MSS.

Croese's account of the Fell family is incorrect and misleading (*Hist.* 1696, i. 45—47).

47 3 William Lampitt (—1677) as Vicar of Ulverston in succession to "Priest" Bennett, came into close contact and conflict with the family at Swarthmoor Hall and visitors thereat. Fox and his friends were strong in their denunciation of Lampitt; even little eight year old Mary Fell addressed him in language unsuited to one of such tender years (see 231. 3). "After his ejectment he lived obscurely beyond the Sands" (*Noncon. Mem.*).

Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Webb, *Fells*, 1865; Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896.

48 1 Margaret Fell afterwards Fox (1614—1702) was a daughter of John Askew of Marsh Grange, Dalton-in-Furness. Her descent from Anne Askew, the martyr (1521—1546), traced by Maria Webb (*Fells*, 1865, chap. ii), is now considered to be incorrect. "There is no truth in this legend," writes the author of "The Askews of Marsh Grange," in *Transactions Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc.*, 1910. Margaret Askew married Thomas Fell in 1632. Twenty years later took place the visit, full of momentous issues, paid by Fox to Swarthmoor, of which M. Fell herself gives a touching account, preserved in the Spence MSS. (iii. 135). From this time to the end of her long life, that is for half a century, Mistress Fell acted as the nursing-mother of the Quaker Church, and her influence is beyond estimate. An active correspondence was carried on with Friends in all parts of the world. Though a woman of good birth and education, it is clear from the *Journal* and other sources that she encountered trial and suffering in common with others of like faith, particularly after the death of Judge Fell in 1658. Her first imprisonment in Lancaster Castle was of over four years' duration (1664—1668) and the second lasted two years. Her travels on Truth's account were frequent and far. She states that though living two hundred and fifty miles away she was nine times in

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London (Testimony to G. Fox, in Ell. edd.). It is probable that for some time prior to her decease she suffered from weakness of eyesight, which will probably explain why so many letters for her were addressed to one or other of her daughters. She was the author of a number of religious treatises, several having special reference to the Jews.

Cal. S. P. Dom. 1663—4, 1664—5, 1667—8; *A Brief Collection of Remarkable Passages Relating to the...Life...of Margaret Fell*, 1710; Webb, *Fells*, 1865; *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.; Taylor, *Cameos from the Life of George Fox*, 1907; *D. N. B.*; lives by Anon (Phila. 1859), Midgley (1908), Chambers (1909), and another in preparation. A standard biography of Margaret Fox is much to be desired. For latest references, see *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, pp. 134, 140.

48 2 Sawrey appears to have aroused considerable animosity in the minds of Friends. Richard Clayton calls him a "rotten hearted Hippocrite" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 38) and Margaret Fell, "A catterpiller, w^{ch} shall bee swept out of y^{e} way" (Spence MSS. iii. 144—146). The last named MSS. state that Sawrey was drowned "in a pudle" "upon y^{e} Rode Comeing from York." Sawrey was a member of the Nominated Parliament of 1653.

49 1 Thomas Lawson (1630—1691). "Younger son of Sir Thomas and Ruth Lawson, educated at Cambridge" (Smith, *Cata.* ii. 88), but there is some uncertainty respecting his parentage. After resigning his living, and in consequence becoming so impoverished that he had to borrow money to buy a Hebrew lexicon (Swarth. MSS. i. 141), he opened a school at Great Strickland. He was learned in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and was one of the most noted botanists of his day (Croese, *Hist.* 1696, i. 49; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722). His son, Jonah, a lad of great promise who died in 1683, finds a place in *Piety Promoted* and in his father's obituary *A Serious Remembrancer*, 1684. The marriage of his daughter, Ruth, brought him into trouble with some Friends (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 373—377). Lawson's death prevented the completion of arrangements for him to undertake the tutorship of the sons of William Meade and Thomas Lower (Gibson MSS. v. 155). He was buried at Newby Head (*The Friend* (London), 1893, p. 537). He was the author of a number of learned works, both printed and in MS. (in D.).

D. N. B.; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1878, p. 104; Locker-Lampson, *Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, p. 20; Swarth. MSS.; A. R. B. MSS.

49 2 The island of Walney is separated from the Furness district of Lancashire by a narrow strait. It is eight miles long and a mile wide.

49 3 James Lancaster (—1699) lived at North Scale, in the north part of Walney Island. Of the many companions of Fox, he was one of the most constant, travelling with him in Cumberland, Ireland and North America. He was one of the first band of Quaker missionaries to visit Ireland, 1654 (Rutty, *Hist.* 1751), and he paid other visits to Ireland than the two above mentioned. He laboured in Norfolk (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 34, 35, 38, 47, 49). Lancaster and his wife, Margaret, had two daughters, Deborah and Dinah, by whose marriages with John Marshall and John Nicholson, respectively, there are numerous descendants, many of them among Friends to-day. Many letters and other writings of Lancaster are still extant in print and MS.

Gibson MSS.; Swarth. MSS.

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50 1 Leonard Fell (1624—1699) of Baycliff in Furness, was not a son of Judge Fell, as stated by Croese (*Hist.* 1696, i. 46, cp. *Life of William Caton*, 1839, p. 120); it does not appear whether he was more than a valued and beloved retainer in the family. He travelled extensively in the service of Truth. For his encounter with a highwayman, see Barclay, *Anecdotes*, 1822, p. 48. His first wife was Agnes Chambers (d. 1662) and his second Mary —— (d. 1708). His death took place at Darlington, Co. Durham (*Benjamin Holme*, 1753, p. 3), and he was buried there.

Saul's Errand, 1654, pp. 2, 9; Webb, *Fells*, 1865, *Penns*, 1867; *D. N. B.*; MSS. in D.

51 1 John Bradshaw (1602—1659) was the President of the Court that tried and sentenced Charles I and also of the Council of State which followed. Through his friend, Judge Fell (who describes him in his will as "my very honorable and noble friend, the Lord Bradshaw"), Bradshaw seems to have entertained some sympathetic feeling towards Friends. Thomas Holme writes from Chester in 1654, "Judg broshaw quit hime selefe like aman at the sises, thee prestes was mightyly discoreged and weke frinds stringthened truly hee ded as much as a man in that natuer could" (Swarth. MSS. i. 195).

Pepys, *Diary*; Webb, *Fells*, 1865; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*; *D. N. B.*

52 1 This statement is interesting and has a bearing on the date of the MS. *Journal*. Ell. edd. have "which hath continued there near Forty Years, until the Year 1690, that a New Meeting-house was erected near it."

52 2 There are several references to Fox's leather breeches (pp. 52, 170), and in a MS. in D., copied from one in his own handwriting (printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* vii. 78), he writes, "He was made to get Lethern Breeches & Doublet & such he hath kept on Ever since Except a Little, one hot Sum̃er he had a pare of Stuff Breeches & Dubblet but he was made to Lay y^{m} away again." See note to Bicent. ed. of *The Journal*, 1891, i. 89, but there must have been something peculiar about this attire.

52 3 "John Lawson, a Shop-Keeper in Lancaster, known to be an Honest Man, and Sufficient Person" (Penn, *Serious Apology*, 1671, p. 168). Accusations against Lawson for his statements regarding "perfection" (see p. 72) are answered by Fox (*Saul's Errand*, 1654, pp. 34—38). Letters from Lawson to Margaret Fell are extant, referring to imprisonments at Chester and Derby, c. 1653 and 1654, and early work in Wales (Swarth. MSS. iv. 66—69).

53 1 Halton on the River Lune near Lancaster was the place visited (*Short Journal*), where Thomas Whitehead, M.A. (c. 1599—1672?) had been Rector since 1644. Whitehead signed "the Harmonious Consent" in 1648, and refused "the Engagement" in 1649. He appears to have removed to Dalton-in-Furness, whence he was ejected in 1662. In 1672, under the Declaration of Indulgence, he was licensed to preach at Lower Kellett, as a Presbyterian (Bate, *Declaration of Indulgence*, 1908).

Noncon. Mem.; *Annals of the Parish of Halton*, 3rd ed. 1900; news-cutting in D.

53 2 "I had Silver in my pockett and I was Moved to throw it out amongst y^{e} People as I was going up the street before I spoke... people runne into y^{e} shopps for fear...when I came to y^{e} townes end I gote upon a stumpp and spoke to y^{e} people" (*Short Journal*).

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54 1 Philip Bennett, M.A., sometime Vicar of Ulverston, at this time Vicar of Cartmel, from whence he was ejected (*Noncon. Mem.*). In the Commonwealth Survey of 1650, he is described as "a godly, zealous minister alwaies faithfull to ye Parliamt" (news-cutting in D.). "Priest Bennet of Cartmel came out of an ale-house being in drink, beat Richard Raper [Roper], and boasted that he beat him, and struck up his heels" (Billing, *Word of Reproof*, 1659, p. 95).

Burrough, *Answers to Severall Queries...by Philip Bennett*, 1654; Fox, *Great Mistery*, 1659, p. 187; Spence MSS. iii. 140, 141.

55 1 Thomas Taylor (c. 1617—1681/2) was born at Carleton near Skipton in Yorkshire and was a brother of Christopher Taylor. He received his education at Oxford University and prior to joining Friends he was minister to congregations of Seekers in North Yorkshire (*Jnl. F. H. S.* v.; *F. P. T.*). He was an inmate for various periods of the jails at Appleby, Lancaster, York, Derby, and elsewhere. In 1662, he was praemunired at Stafford assizes and lay in jail till the general release of Friends by Charles II in 1672. His death took place at Stafford, after he had again been imprisoned at that place. In 1697, his works were collected and published under the title, *Truth's Innocency and Simplicity.*

Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; *D. N. B.*; Swarth. MSS.; Swale MSS.

55 2 Christopher Taylor (c. 1620—1686), brother of Thomas Taylor, of Skipton, was "priest of a Chappell called Chappell in the Bryers, betwixt Brighouse and Hallifax" (*F. P. T.*). After his convincement he conducted schools at Waltham Abbey, Essex (*Testimony to the Lord's Power...amongst Children*, 1679 and later edd.) and Edmonton, Middlesex. He also bore his share in work and suffering (for details of sufferings in Appleby Jail see MSS. in D.). About 1682, leaving his school in the hands of George Keith, he, with his wife, Frances, emigrated to Pennsylvania, where he became a member of the first Provincial Council. Taylor was the author of several religious and learned works.

Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Bowden, *Hist.* 1854, ii. 109; *The Friend* (Phila.), 1854, pp. 124, 132, 140, 147; Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876, p. 424; *D. N. B.*; *Publications of the Genealogical Soc. of Pa.* 1900.

56 1 John Camm (1605—1656/7) of Camsgill, near Kendal, a farmhouse still standing. His son writes of him, "The World seemed to smile upon him, and the riches and glory of it had exceedingly encreased... yet he was made willing to part with all...and become a despised Follower of Christ" (Camm, *Memory of the Righteous Revived*, 1689). In company with Francis Howgill, Camm had an interview with Cromwell and afterwards addressed him by letter (*This was the Word of the Lord*, 1654; see *Collectitia*, 1824, p. 384). He had some service in London, but his principal work lay in Bristol with John Audland. This proved too much for him and brought his life to a somewhat early close. His widow, Mabel, became the wife of Gervase Benson.

Tuke, *Biog. Notices*, 1815; *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*; A. R. B. MSS.; Swarth. MSS.

56 2 Richard Hubberthorne (1628—1662) lived at Yealand, N. Lancashire, and was one of the foremost protagonists of early Quakerism, although he was of low stature, and had an infirm constitution and weak voice. He had been a captain in the Parliamentary army, was of good parentage and liberal education (Lucas, *Hist. Warton*, c. 1720, in MS.), and also a preacher. In 1655 there was a public dispute at Knutsford Heath, between Friends and others referred to

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by Adam Martindale in his *Life* (Chetham Society, 1845), "They had got to their champion the famous Richard Hubberthorne...the most rationall calme-spirited man of his judgement that I was ever publickly engaged against." Hubberthorne did much pioneer work in Norfolk and London. For his interviews with the King, see 384. 1. The Friends' Burial Register states that he "laid down the body in the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, and by the coroner's inquest was found to die naturally" (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 85).

A Collection of the... Writings...of...Richard Hubberthorn, 1663; lives by Tuke (1815), Backhouse (1842), Taylor (1910); *D. N. B.*

57 1 The Friends were careful to confine the word *Church* to a community of spiritual believers. They spoke and wrote of their own places for worship as "meeting-houses," and of other places as "steeple-houses" although this latter term did not originate with Friends. Replying to a question of Bishop Nicholson, "Do you go to Church?" John Roberts said, "Yes, and sometimes the Church comes to me" (*Life of John Roberts* [d. 1683], 1746, pp. 19 ff.).

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 218; Lawrence, *Quaker of Olden Time*, 1898, chap. vii.

58 1 This was George Fell (c. 1639—1670), only son of Judge Fell. He appears to have shared with others of the Swarthmoor household the impression made by the Quaker preachers, and he had for a companion in his early studies an earnest young Quaker, named William Caton (*Life of William Caton*, 1689). As time passed and he grew to manhood his feelings towards Quakerism changed (Gilpin, *Quakers Shaken*, 1655, p. 20), and he withdrew from religious association even with his own family. In 1660, when only lately of age, he "petitioned the King for pardon; his father was a grand malignant...but he had not acted in any way against his Majesty," which petition the King granted (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1660—1, p. 50).

The conduct of her son caused much grief to M. Fell; a letter from her full of loving warning is extant (Spence MSS. iii. 60). He appears to have lived mostly in London (Swarth. MSS. i. 145, iii. 11), but when his mother forfeited her life interest in Swarthmoor under the praemunire of 1664, he petitioned the King for it and received it (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664—5, p. 161). He was highly indignant at his mother's marriage (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 255 ff.). By his wife, Hannah, widow of —— Potter, and daughter of Edward Cooke, he had two children, Charles and Isabella. A letter from Elizabeth Hooton, addressed to his widow, is preserved in D.

60 1 Ell. edd. add "For the People had persuaded James Lancaster's Wife, that I had bewitched her husband; and had promised her, That if she would let them know, when I came thither, they would be my death," etc.

61 1 Thomas Hutton (—1695) was resident at Rampside (*Short Journal*). His only daughter, Dorothy, married Thomas Rawlinson in 1663, and became the mother of Lydia Lancaster (1684—1761) a well-known Minister (*Letters of Lydia Lancaster*, 1840).

Gilpin, *Quakers Shaken*, 1655, pp. 18, 19; *West Answering*, 1657, p. 166; Swarth. MSS. i. 233, 301, 312.

61 2 It is probable that this refers to George Toulnson (—1655) of Lancaster, an active J.P. for the County. "For many years he was a member of the Corporation of Lancaster and was four times Mayor. That he was suddenly stricken in some way may be inferred from the fact that he was actively engaged in his magisterial duties until

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within a month or two of his death" (MS. by W. Hewitson, of Bury, 1910). In Weld's *Perfect Pharise* (1654, p. 3), it is stated that Fox was apprehended by warrant from "M. Toluson and M. Sawry."

62 1 William West was a member of the Nominated Parliament (*Com. and Prot.* ii. 310). He rendered very valuable assistance to Friends —"William West is very Chearefull & loveing to all frends & wheare ever he sees any of us who ever be with him he is not Ashamed to speake to us" (Swarth. MSS. i. 310). Letters to Colonel West from Margaret Fell and her daughter Margaret are among the Spence MSS. Colonel West's attitude towards Friends was much that of Judge Fell; of both of these M. Fell writes, they "had some sight and Knowledge of the truth" (Testimony to George Fox, in Ell. edd.).

Webb, *Fells*, 1865; Shaw, *Church under Commonwealth*, 1900; Swarth. MSS.

62 2 Dr William Marshall. "After his ejectment [from Lancaster], he travelled abroad for some time and then settled at London, where he practised physic" (*Noncon. Mem.*).

Higginson, *Brief Relation*, 1653; Weld, *Perfect Pharise*, 1654, pp. 3, 8.

63 1 This valuable historical document is brown with age. It suffered mutilation at an early period (see 66 *a*) and was subjected to careful revision by Lower, who also added the headlines. Fox wrote the marginal note "tryall at lanksters the tryal 1652." In one corner can be read the words "My father."

64 1 Thomas Rawlinson (Rallison), gentleman (—1689), was the eldest son of Captain William Rawlinson of Graythwaite and Rusland, North Lancashire, perhaps the same Colonel Rawlinson who abused Miles Halhead (Sewel, *Hist.* 1722). Upon the convincement of Rawlinson he was banished his father's house. He married Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Hutton. Their eldest daughter, Sarah, married George, son of Thomas Bewley, and there were other children, among whom would appear to be a son of the same name (cp. Swarth. MSS. i. 147 "litle Thomas Rallson" with i. 292 "Tho. Rawlison the Elder"). Rawlinson's experiences in Devonshire are detailed in Swarth. MSS. (i. 40, iii. 12), and in *West Answering* (p. 87).

Letters of Lydia Lancaster (*née* Rawlinson), 1840; Cowper, *Hawkshead*, 1899; Swarth. MSS.

67 1 This fragment is in the same writing as the document described 63. 1, and appears to be an addition thereto. The inner edge bears evidence of some cutting instrument.

68 1 John Jaques, minister of Bolton-le-Sands, Lancashire, is doubtless intended. He was a Presbyterian. His name appears among those of Lancashire ministers appended to an address to Charles II (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1660—1, p. 422, quoted in Bate, *Declaration of Indulgence*, 1908, p. iv). Robert Widders had an interview with him on the high road (Swarth. MSS. vii. 19).

Weld, *Perfect Pharise*, 1654, p. 8; Shaw, *Church under Commonwealth*, 1900.

68 2 "In the year 1654, R. Widders was sued to an Outlawry by Priest Schoolcraft, of Caton in Lancashire, for Tythes....He was outlaw'd a second time, but the Priest died, so that came to nothing" (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; see *Robert Widders*, 1688).

Swarth. MSS.

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68 3 This sheet, containing the charges against Fox and his answers thereto, is the only MS. in the first volume written entirely by Fox. He has endorsed the paper thrice, the longest being "gff trjall" at "lankester wher ther was 40 prests 1652," and underneath, "ingrossed." Note the erratic spelling, especially of the Biblical references. At the foot of the page Lower has added the words, "And...followeth" (which appear on p. 72).

71 1 Thomas Rippon (Riparn) was Mayor of Lancaster in 1653; and in 1654 also, according to local records, in which case the parenthetic statement regarding his convincement must be received with reserve. The only reference to him in the Swarth. MSS. (iv. 41) also implies that his "convincement" was not more than nominal. In the State Papers, there is a reference to "Capt. Rippon, late governor of Lancaster" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1650, p. 271).

71 2 Ell. edd. include an account of the proceedings at Lancaster Sessions, written by James Nayler on the 30th of Eighth Month (October), 1652.

71 3 Thomas Briggs (c. 1610—1685) presumably of Bolton-le-Sands, where Jaques was "priest." During his religious journeys in England he was subjected to much ill-usage, a full account of which is given by Whiting, who states that he was "of Cheshire" (*Memoirs*, 1715). Of this ill-usage he himself wrote, "They did throw stones upon me that were so great, that I did admire they did not kill us; but so mighty was the power of the Lord, that they were as a Nut or a Bean to my thinking" (*Account*, 1685, p. 7).
Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715; Rutty, *Hist.* 1751.

72 1 This treatise "Concerning the Word" occupies two folio pages and is in a neat, clear hand. The insertion, "to evill," on p. 73, was made by Lower. The endorsement is on a separate half sheet, the date being in Fox's writing. A copy of this piece is in an ancient MS. book in D. entitled *Epistles & Queryes of G. Fs from y^e^ year* 1652 *to* 1659 *together with some of his Jornalls into Ireland & America.*

75 1 This piece is to be found among the MSS. copied by Samuel Watson, when in York Castle in 1654 (Watson MSS. in D. p. 125). The Watson MS. is about double the length of the one in the *Journal*, and it is attributed to Richard Farnsworth. The addition by Lower at the close of the piece as printed may be accounted for by a sudden termination of the MS. The endorsement is also by Lower, and under it Fox wrote "this must be ingrosed." Several other papers by Fox are addressed to those that profess the Scriptures to be their Rule.

76 1 The Westmorland petitions were addressed to the Justices for the County by divers Ministers and other inhabitants and directed against the preaching of Nayler and Fox, Howgill, John Ayrey and Alexander Dixon. They are quoted and replied to *seriatim* in *Several Petitions Answered*, 1653. *Truth's Defence*, 1653, by Fox and Hubberthorne, was a reply to "severall Queries made by men in the North."

76 2 The Lancashire Priests' Petition is dealt with in *Saul's Errand to Damascus with His Packet of Letters*, written by Fox and Nayler, printed in 1653 and later. According to the *Short Journal*, "Friends gote y^e^ petition and answered it, and sent it to y^e^ parliament, before theirs was sent up; and the Priests when they should have sent it upp, it would cost y^m^ so much money...they did not send it upp."

PAGE	NOTE	
76	3	Probably Hugh Wyndham (1603—1684). He went the Northern Circuit as temporary Judge in 1654, two years later than the date of reference here. Knighted 1670. Perhaps, though not so likely, his younger brother, Sir Wadham Wyndham (1610—1668). For Sir Hugh, see Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 180; Whitehead, *C. Progress*, 1725, pp. 526 ff.; *D. N. B.* For Sir Wadham, see *John Whitehead*, 1852, p. 154; Whitehead, *C. Progress*, 1725, pp. 247, 249; *D. N. B.* In 1655, Thomas Aldam appeals to "Judge Windham" for the restitution of his hat, which he avers Philip Prince, of Old Swine Gate, York, took from him (Swarth. MSS. i. 90). In Spence MSS. (iii. 131) there is a letter from Margaret Fell to "Judge Windham" endorsed "1653."
77	1	This is a copy of the original. It is in an unknown handwriting. The endorsement, here placed at the head of the letter, was added by Fox; other endorsements are "gff to frends," written by Fox, and "G. ff^{s} tryall at Lancast^{r} 1652," in another hand.
79	1	This is in a very small and clear hand. The endorsement is by Lower. Another copy is among the Swarth. MSS. (vii. 72), endorsed by Fox, simply, "to all magrastrats by gf." A third copy is among the Watson MSS. (p. 245).
86	1	The MSS. printed on pp. 86—99 are all in one handwriting, very small and indistinct, but it is not now possible to say whether the seven leaves were originally connected. These leaves have been creased but they do not bear evidence of having been folded together.
86	2	If this was Leonard Burton who was Vicar of Sedbergh from 1660 to 1682, it is curious that he should be styled "Priest of Sedbergh" (Ell. edd.) in 1652, unless he was an assistant to Thomas Briscoe, who had held the living from 1634. "Priest Burton of Sedburg, beat John Blackling, and pulled him by the hair of his head in his high place" (Billing, *Word of Reproof*, 1659, p. 95).
87	1	This paragraph is written on the same page as the previous one, being separated from it by a slight space only. See 86. 1.
87	2	This and the three following pieces are written on one sheet. The endorsement written by Lower on this sheet and printed on p. 86, appears to refer to the whole of the matter on pp. 86—91. See 86. 1.
88	1	Ell. edd. introduce this address by the words, "It was upon me to write to those more particularly that did most constantly follow W. Lampitt the priest there." See 86. 1.
90	1	See 86. 1. There is no intimation in the MS. of the persons addressed and referred to in these strong terms, but Ell. edd. have this introductory paragraph:—"Amongst those, who were the Chief Hearers and Followers of this Priest Lampitt of Ulverston, there was one Adam Sands, who was a very wicked, false Man, and would have destroyed Truth and its Followers, if he could: To him I was moved to write thus." Ell. edd. add, at the close of the paper, "This Adam Sands afterwards died miserably," but no confirmation of this statement has been found.
90	2	This paragraph follows closely upon the previous one, but it is not evident whether it also was addressed to Adam Sandys. See 86. 1.

PAGE	NOTE	
91	1	This occupies half a page of MS. See 86. 1.
91	2	Not identified. There does not appear to be any reference to Priest Tatham in *A Genealogical Chart of the Family of Tatham, of Tatham, Co. Lancaster*, by Richard E. Tatham, 1857.
92	1	The latter portion of the MS., commencing on p. 93, l. 3 from foot, is in another handwriting, equally small but less educated. The endorsement, written by Lower, "A paper of G ff^{s} to Preist Lampitt & Tutam & to Jo: Ottways brother about 1652," appears to refer to the whole of this set of MSS. See 86. 1.
95	1	There is not any intimation of the person to whom this is addressed. The last few words are curious. See 86. 1.
96 1; 98 1; 99 1		These three papers are written on one leaf. The endorsement by Lower printed on p. 96 does not appear to refer to more than the first. The fold marks make it appear as if the four papers printed on pp. 95—99 were written on one sheet. See 86. 1.
99	2	This MS. was written by several persons. Fox added the endorsement.
101	1	This copy of Fox's paper *To False Christs* was made by Richard Richardson, and was endorsed by Fox, who added "in grosed."
103	1	Thomas Leaper (—1680) lived at Capernwray, S.E. Lancashire (*Suff.* i. 323). References to his imprisonment at Lancaster, 1654—5, appear in the Swarth. MSS. (i. 380, iv. 29, 41). Other Friends of the same name lived in S.E. Yorkshire (*F. P. T.*).
104	1	Sir Robert Bindloss (Bindlas in Ell. edd.) (—1688) was a Justice, of Borwick Hall, near Carnforth. In 1684 he fined Robert Widders for attending a meeting in his own house (*Life... Widders*, 1688, p. 8). His chaplain, Richard Sherlock (1612—1689), wrote *The Quakers Wilde Questions*, 1656. In 1664 "Bindlos secured 20 Quakers at a meeting; he would have freed many of the poorest sort, but they would not promise not to meet again, nor to reform, nor would they take any oath, nor give security" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, p. 431). He was High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1672 and D.L. in 1673 (*ibid.* 1671—2, 1672—3). He was created a Baronet in 1641, but at his death the baronetcy became extinct. On a font in Warton Church, N. Lancashire, are cast the initials "R. B.," "G. M.," and "N. W." and the date 1661. All three sets of initials represent persons mentioned in the *Journal*, Sir Robert Bindloss, Sir George Middleton and Nathaniel West. Braithwaite, *Spiritual Guidance*, 1909, p. 38; *Transactions of Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc.* 1910; Taylor, *Hubberthorne*, 1910.
104	2	A brief letter to M. Fell in 1656 (Swarth. MSS. i. 64) is signed "ffra: ffleminge," in which the writer refers to his "sad condition... great heauenss and sorrow and woe and stronge temptations and paine in the body and mind daly." Francis Fleming, of Newton, died 1694, buried at Cartmel.
104	3	This was evidently an unusual route to take across the Sands. "The sands are left uncovered at low water to a great extent; and travellers between Lancaster and Furness had formerly to cross from Hest Bank to Ulverston by the route *brogged* out by the guides; the *brogs* being branches of trees stuck in the sand to mark where the treacherous way was safest; a dreary distance of about fourteen miles" (Richardson, *Furness*, 1880, i. 14).

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105 1 Alexander Dixon (—1658). There is a letter written by this Friend to M. Fell, c. 1656 (Swarth. MSS. i. 11), but the only biographical touch is the endorsement by G. Fox, "he died in the truth at grarig in westmerland." He is referred to in the "Petition of Divers Ministers" to the Justices of Westmorland, in 1653 (*Several Petitions Answered*, 1653, p. 2; Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 197).

105 2 The priest of Grayrigg at this time would be Richard Stookes (*Perfect Pharise*, 1654, p. 46). It is not evident what piece of adverse literature is referred to here. There is a long controversial letter from Fox to Stookes in Swarth. MSS. vii. 50.

107 1 Richard Roper (—1658). Save that he travelled in Ireland in 1657 (Rutty, *Hist.* 1751; *F. P. T.*; Swarth. MSS.; A. R. B. MSS.) little is known of this Friend.

107 2 James Milner (—1662) lived at Baycliff in Furness, Lancashire. His "imaginations" are referred to in several tracts adverse to Friends (Gilpin, *Quakers Shaken*, 1655, pp. 18—20, where he is described as "a Taylor"; *Quakery Slain*, 1657, p. 7; Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 119). See Fox, *Saul's Errand*, 1654, pp. 2, 9.

In *False Prophets*, by Margaret Fell, printed 1655, there is a paper of condemnation of their actions, signed by James and Elizabeth Milner.

107 3 Richard Myers (—1654) was a son of Richard and Margaret Myers, of Baycliff, Lancashire. In 1652, James Nayler wrote to Myers, "Rich Mires thou getts above thy Condition, mind y^e^ babe in y^e^ & it will tell y^e^ soe, thou y^t^ calls thy selfe a prophett, art run up into the ayre" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 3). Several of his brothers were well-known Friends. The Burial Registers confirm Fox's statement respecting the date of his death.

Bickley, *Fox*, 1884; MS. in D. by Joseph J. Green.

107 4 The Long Parliament which first met on 3rd November, 1640, was broken up on the 20th April, 1653 (Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896, p. 92).

108 1 All Ell. edd. except those of 1694, 1709, and 1827, omit the words "prophett Myer." See 107. 3.

108 2 Better, Miles *Wennington*, as Ell. edd. and Besse (*Suff.* i. 650). Besse's statement that this Friend was imprisoned at Stafford is the only reference to him at hand.

108 3 Joseph and Jane Nicholson of Bootle were convinced by James Nayler. They visited New England in 1659 (*John Taylor*, 1710, p. 4), and were in gaol in Boston at the time of the execution of Mary Dyer. They returned to England in 1660, but spent several subsequent years in America. Settle in Yorkshire was their home towards the close of life; here the widow died in 1712. Joseph Nicholson was living in 1704. About a dozen letters from him, mainly narrating his experiences in Massachusetts are in D. (Swarth. MSS.).

Backhouse, *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 203, 263, 268.

109 1 Ell. edd. give a fuller account of this.

109 2 In the southern extremity of Cumberland. Ell. edd. have "Millom-in-Bootle," but at that period there was probably no town of Millom, only the old house called Millom Castle.

111 1 George Larkham, M.A. (c. 1629—1700), son of Thomas Larkham, M.A. (Vicar of Tavistock and founder of Independency in Cumberland). "Soon after his ejectment he was forced to escape into Yorkshire

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with his numerous family. In 1668, after many troubles, he returned to his people in Cumberland, where he died, after having exercised his ministry in Cockermouth forty-eight years" (*Noncon. Mem.*).

John Banks, 1712, p. 10; *James Dickinson*, 1745, p. 11; Lewis, *Hist. of the Cong. Church, Cockermouth*, 1870; *F. P. T.*

111 2 This was John Wilkinson (—1675) of Cumberland, to be distinguished from John Wilkinson of Westmorland, the Separatist. George Larkham writes in his Church diary, "John Wilkinson, the Pastor of that Church [Brigham], departed with the most of his people to the Quakers, to his great shame and infamy. The Lord convince him of his error. Amen. Amen. Amen." (Lewis, *Hist. of the Cong. Church, Cockermouth*, 1870). *F. P. T.* states that "He had a Convinceing Testymony and travelled sevrall years on truths acco^{t} in England & Ireland, and finished in peace." The account of the gradual depletion of his congregations ("he had three or four steeple-houses besides Chappells"), and of his own convincement, is indicative of the force of the movement which filled up the ranks of the early Quakers (see p. 139). Fox's statement that Wilkinson "dyed in y^{e} truth" has its bearing on the date of the writing of his *Journal*.

112 1 This was at the town of Brigham, as Ell. edd.

113 1 This was Thomas Bewley (c. 1595—1680) of Haltcliffe Hall, in the parish of Caldbeck in Cumberland, which Hall was built by its owner in the year of Fox's visit. "He was formerly Dissatisfied with the Nationall ministrey that Plead for the Continuing of sinn and... ceaced to use their Ministrey" (*F. P. T.*). His wife, Dorothy, and his family generally, were convinced at the same time and there are many descendants among Friends to-day. The Bewley family was related by marriage to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, of Isell. It is possible that one or more of Fox's later visits to members of this family were to Woodhall, near Haltcliffe, the home of Thomas Bewley the younger (his father is referred to as "olde Tho: Bewley" on p. 135, ii. 36), and his wife Margaret, née Mark. The room occupied by Fox at Woodhall is still pointed out.

He "bought a house in the Abbey [in Carlisle] for a Meeting House for the furtherance of the work of truth," where Friends met until it was taken from them (*F. P. T.*; *Extracts from Register Books*, MS. in D.).

Mark, *Family of Mark*, 1898; Bewley, *The Bewleys of Cumberland*, 1902; Swarth. MSS.

114 1 A comparison with the *Short Journal* makes it appear probable that the "markett tounde" was Wigton, there written "wiggin." "The old and lofty wooden pillar which had long served as the Market Cross...was destroyed amidst the rejoicings after the Battle of Trafalgar" (Parson and White, *Hist. of Cumberland*, 1829).

114 2 That is, the district bordering on Scotland.

114 3 Ell. edd. add, "He also came afterwards to be Convinced."

115 1 This was the cathedral church of St Mary. There is an account of Friends' work in Carlisle in *F. P. T.* and *Extracts from Register Books* (MS. in D.).

116 1 The events in Carlisle which led up to Fox's imprisonment are given in some detail in the *Short Journal*:—"They asked mee if I were the sonne of God; I said yes: They asked mee if I had seen gods face I said yes..." after which examination Fox was "Committed to prison as a Blasphemer, an Heretick and a Seducer" (Ell. edd.). See 161. 1.

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116 2 This strongly worded document occupies one side of a quarto leaf. The handwriting is the same as that of 120. 1, and may therefore be that of John Stubbs. It is endorsed by Fox "gff to loson of Carly 1653 the hy sreave of Comberland 1653," and by another hand "done." Fox has written also on the back of the sheet "faro losen."

116 3 Sir Wilfrid Lawson (c. 1615—1688) of Isell, Knight, was created a Baronet by James II in 1688. He was active on Cromwell's behalf during the Civil War, and in 1652, with a party of Cromwell's men, plundered and stripped Rydal Hall, the seat of Daniel Fleming (Ferguson, *Cumb. and Westm. M.P.'s*, 1871, pp. 394 ff.). Lawson represented Cumberland in the Restoration Parliament.

Cal. S. P. Dom. 1654, 1658—9, 1675—6, etc.; Hist. MSS. Com., *Fleming MSS.* 1890; Bewley, *Bewleys of Cumberland*, 1902; Edna Lyall, *Hope the Hermit*, 1898.

116 4 This letter was addressed to Colonel West by Margaret Fell and is included in *A Collection of Passages...Margaret Fell*, 1710. The MS. is endorsed by Fox. There is another copy in the Spence MSS. (iii. 28).

120 1 This letter from John Stubbs to Margaret Fell is the first of the original letters included among the MSS. of the *Journal*. It was probably written by John Stubbs. It is addressed "For Margrett ffell att her house in Lancashire att Swathmoore This bee delivered wth speed," and underneath this are the words "Tho: Willan I desire thee send this letter as is directed Ger: Benson." Fox has endorsed it, as heading. The outside fold of the sheet is dirty. A portion of the seal is still on the letter. See 116. 2.

121 1 John Stubbs (c. 1618—1674). Fox writes of him, "He was a Schollar, and an excellant Writer, and a notable Minister of the Gospel of Christ" (Testimony, in *Several Living Testimonies...Robert Lodge*, 1691, p. 52). After quitting the army Stubbs was a schoolmaster at Lancaster, and also taught ancient languages to private pupils (*Biographical Memoirs*, 1854). His sufferings in Kent with William Caton on the charge of vagrancy, are given in detail in *True Declaration...Maidstone*, 1655; *William Caton*, 1839; *F. P. T.*). The hints given in Fox's letter to Justice Fleming, reproduced in Ell. edd. (see ii. 62. 1), as to Stubbs's low pecuniary condition are in agreement with statements elsewhere (see Swarth. MSS. i. 248, "a pair of Shows for John Stubes, 00. 03. 06," also iv. 27). There are numerous letters from Stubbs and several from his wife extant in D.

Elizabeth Stubbs was convinced at the same time as her husband. Two of their children were named Sarah and Lydia (Swarth. MSS. i. 93). Their home at one period was at Ulverston, but later there appears to have been a removal into the county of Durham. Stubbs died in London.

Testimony by George Fox, 1674 (MS. in D.).

121 2 The spelling of the names Craston and Studholm has been corrected by another hand, and the same hand has here and there made other slight alterations. The endorsement is by Lower.

121 3 Both Craister and Studholme are referred to in Ferguson's *Hist. of Cumberland* as taking part, in 1643, in an attempt to seize Carlisle. They are also named in *Municipal Records of Carlisle*, the former in 1638 and the latter in 1644. Both men sign a certificate in favour of their "well beloved Friend and Brother John Gilpin," of Kendal, in Feb. 1654 (Gilpin, *Quakers Shaken*, 1655, p. 16).

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Captain Cuthbert Studholme was a Parliament Justice of Carlisle and Mayor of the City in 1651—2. He was implicated in a proposed rising in 1663 and sent to gaol on a charge of treason (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1659—60, 1660—1, 1663—4; Ferguson, *Cumb. and Westm. M.P.'s*, 1871, p. 29). His will was registered in 1668.

Thomas Craister was Mayor of Carlisle in 1650—1, before which he is referred to as an Auditor, in a report on the City accounts, 1641—2 (*Royal Charters of Carlisle*, translated and published, 1894, under the editorship of Richard S. Ferguson).

125 1 Ell. edd. insert several other letters written at this period, including one by Anthony Pearson and another by Justices Pearson and Benson.

125 2 Dorothy, first wife of Gervase Benson. Her child was born in York Castle, 2. xii. 1653, and named Immanuel (*F. P. T.*; Swarth. MSS. iv. 33).

126 1 James Parnell (1636—1656) of Retford. His age at the time of his convincement is given in Ell. edd. "about Sixteen Years," which is more nearly accurate. The three years which remained to him were extraordinarily full of travelling, preaching, writing, and suffering. Accounts of the events which led up to his death may be found in various books (see biographies by Tuke (1815), Callaway (1846), Budge (1881), Smith (1906), Kite (1909). His enemies stated that he was the victim of a voluntary fast (Glisson, *Relation of the most desperate death of James Parnel*, 1656; *Quakers Fear*, 1656; Wade, *Quakery Slain*, 1657, pp. 37—55, where Parnell is called "the mighty writing quaker"; Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 111). The date of his death (frequently mis-stated) was 10th April (*Diary of Rev. Ralph Josselin, 1616—1683*, see *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi.).

Parnell's writings were published in 1675. Biographical details are given in *Fruits of a Fast*, 1655, and *Lamb's Defence*, 1656.

Waymarks, i. 1902; *D. N. B.*; Firth, *Last Years of Protectorate*, 1909; MSS. in D.

126 2 Ell. edd. insert a paper by Fox, written "as a Publick Challenge to all those, that did belie the Truth and me behind my Back, to come forth, and make good their Charge."

126 3 The Little or Barebones Parliament met on 4th July, 1653, and came to an end on the 12th December following.

Com. and Prot. chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.

127 1 The handwriting is not known. There are a number of interlineations and corrections, but all appear to have been made by the writer. The endorsement was probably added by Lower.

130 1 "To such as seeke for ye worldes honnor" occupies two and a half pages of quarto paper. The endorsement appears to have been added by Lower. The bottom edge of the first leaf is dirty and worn.

135 1 Henry Draper was resident at Headlam in South Durham, where he entertained travelling preachers and from whence some of them were taken to jail. He was the son of Timothy Draper, and was baptized 1611. He married Eleanor Birkbeck of Headlam in 1636. He compounded with the Commissioners for the estate he had acquired by his marriage. Henry Draper was disowned by Friends in 1672 (Longstaff, *Langstaffs of Teesdale and Weardale*, 1906).

His son, John, married Bridget Fell of Swarthmoor in 1662.

Steel, *Friendly Sketches*, 1876, *Early Friends in the North*, 1905, pp. 15, 27; Birkbeck, *Birkbecks of Westmorland*, 1900; Swarth. MSS.

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135 2 That is, Wigton. See 114. 1 and *F. P. T.*

135 3 John Slee (—1686) lived at "Grisdaile How in y^e^ baroney of Gray Stock" (*F. P. T.*), where he was convinced by Fox in 1653. We catch glimpses of this Friend on his travels in various parts of the country, and his name appears several times in accounts of the general stock managed from Swarthmoor. On one occasion he received seven shillings and sixpence for "a Bible & other nessessaries" (Swarth. MSS. i. 248). Slee's name does not appear in Ell. edd., a fact which should have been mentioned in a textual note to above page.

William Caton, 1839, p. 39 ; *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi.

135 4 Derwentwater (various forms of the word appear in Ell. edd. and *F. P. T.*). The upper portion of the river Derwent, where it forms the boundary between Northumberland and Durham, is still spoken of as "Darren." There were Friends living in the Derwent district for many years, and Friends have property still at Winnow's Hill, near Blanchland.

137 1 "Near Langlands" is added in Ell. edd. This was the residence of John Fell and his family (*F. P. T.*). See 291. 4.

137 2 Though a natural consequence of the absence of pre-arrangement in the gatherings of Friends and in itself of great value (see Keith, *The Benefit, Advantage and Glory of Silent Meetings*, 1670), Friends have always considered silence in worship as a means to an end rather than itself the end. Periods of silence were not, however, first introduced into public worship by Friends. "The public worship in More's ideal republic [*Utopia*, 1516] included a period of silence" (*John S. Rowntree*, 1908). Many of the gatherings of Seekers were held in silence (*Charles Marshall*, 1844, p. 4 ; *F. P. T.*). William Britten states in his *Silent Meeting, a Wonder to the World*, 1660, that silence was practised by the Apostles, although the passages quoted in support are, perhaps, inconclusive. See 292. 1, and ii. 28.

Barclay, *Apology*, 1678, prop. xi. sect. 7 ; Gurney, *Observations on Society of Friends*, 1824 ; Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876.

138 1 The MS. of the following one and a half pages is on a separate unnumbered leaf, but in the handwriting of Thomas Lower. There is no certain indication of its place of insertion. The devotional conclusion is common to many of these unnumbered sheets in Lower's handwriting. See 165. 3, 245. 1, 246. 5, 285. 2, 286. 3, 343. 1, 350. 1, 389. 1.

139 1 Thomas Stubbs (—1673) "of Dalston, in Cumberland, who had been a Soldier and had laid down Arms, & received Truth" (*F. P. T.*) among the first in that county, 1653. The following year he was imprisoned, in company with Peter and John Head, in Carlisle (*Suff.* i. 127 ; Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 206 ; Ferguson, *Cumb. and Westm. Friends*, 1871, p. 155), where he wrote *A Call into the Way to the Kingdom.* Other sufferings followed. In the record of his death, he is described "of Rodgerscale."

Biog. Memoirs, 1854 ; Swarth. MSS.

140 1 These very interesting paragraphs are omitted from Ell. edd. although other similar cases of remarkable cures are included (see index to Bi-cent. ed.). Fox states in connection with the distracted woman at Mansfield (Ell. edd. anno 1649), "Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly Power in those Days : For the Lord made bare his Omnipotent Arm...by the healing Vertue whereof many have been delivered from great Infirmities...let the Honour

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and Praise be ascribed to him alone." In connection with these last words, it is worth noting that in almost if not all the places where Fox mentions these cures, he is careful to acknowledge the accompanying Divine power.

On this subject, Rufus M. Jones writes, "Fox's commanding presence, his piercing eye, and the absolute assurance which his voice gave that he was equal to the occasion, were worth a thousand doctors. Those who understand the psychology of suggestion, and the effect of faith on certain diseases, will hardly question the simple accounts given here and elsewhere" (*George Fox*, 1903, i. 113). Francis Bugg has a good deal to say on this subject in his *Hidden Things brought to Light*, sect. vii., being part iii. of his *Finishing Stroke*, 1712, making much of his statement that these "pretended miracles" were not published till many years after they occurred and hence were incapable of proof. But what about the "Book of Miracles" (ii. 106. 4)?

Bickley, *Fox*, 1884, p. 103.

140 2 Margaret Fell, the younger (c. 1633—1706), eldest daughter of Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor. She appears to have accompanied her mother to London when the latter went to appeal to the King for the release of Friends in prison. Among Spence MSS. are several letters from Margaret, Junior, written at Wapping in 1659 and 1660, where she was staying for the benefit of her health. In 1661, she married John Rous and removed to Kingston on Thames. See ii. 162. 7.

140 3 William Caton (1636—1665) was, in early life, a schoolmate and companion of George Fell of Swarthmoor, and later Secretary to Margaret Fell. His convincement took place in 1652, and shortly afterwards he quitted Swarthmoor to undertake missionary work at home and abroad. His labours and sufferings in Kent are described in *A True Declaration...Maidstone*, 1655, and in *F. P. T.* In 1656 Caton visited Holland, and he made it his home in later years. In 1662 he married Annekin Dericks of Amsterdam. His decease took place at Amsterdam. Throughout his short and strenuous life, Caton was in constant communication with Margaret Fell. He wrote several learned treatises and religious papers.

Journal of William Caton, 1689, reprinted enlarged, 1839; lives by Tuke (1815), Budge (1877); Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; *British Friend*, 1847, p. 141; Smith, *Steven Crisp*, 1892; *D. N. B.*; Swarth. MSS. and many others in D.

141 1 George Whitehead (c. 1636—1723). His long life covers the whole of the first period of the history of Friends. Born in Westmorland and educated as a Presbyterian, he forsook his home and early religious associations, and while quite youthful travelled southward and spent some time in East Anglia in labours and sufferings. About 1670, he settled in London and was very successful in pleading in high places the cause of his imprisoned brethren. He appeared on their behalf before Charles II, James II, William III, Anne, George I, and George, Prince of Wales (Green, *Souvenir of Addresses to the Throne*, 1901). He married firstly Anne Greenwell, formerly Downer, and secondly Ann Goddard. There were no descendants.

Whitehead was a prolific writer and a doughty champion of Quaker Truth by pen and word. His life and some of his works were published in 1725, *The Christian Progress...of George Whitehead.*

Memoirs by Tuke (1830), Budge (1877), Beck (1901), Barlow (1908); *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*; MSS. in D.

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141 2 Thomas Holme (c. 1627—1666) was a weaver of Kendal. He laboured in Cheshire and afterwards for about twelve years in Wales, "meeting wth many hardships, as scoffing, scorneing, beatinge, and Imprisonm^{t}...particularly at Cardife in 1661" (*F. P. T.*). He married Elizabeth Leavens, who was also a preacher and sufferer. They had three children "two of w^{ch} atained years of discression but walked not in the steps of their honrable parents" (*ibid.*).

Smith, *Gag for the Quakers*, 1659, pt. ii. p. 21; *F. P. T.*; Norris, *John ap John*, 1907; Swarth. MSS.

141 3 Morgan Lloyd (c. 1619—1659). His parents lived at Cynfael, near Dolgelly. Prior to his appointment to Wrexham he acted as a Chaplain in the Parliamentary army. "He was an earnest and eloquent preacher, and in a considerable degree inclined towards Quakerism though remaining among the Independents" (Norris, *John ap John*, 1907).

Some correspondence between Lloyd and William Erbury is printed in *The Testimony of William Erbery*, 1658, pp. 103—115, 234—239.

Edwards, *Gangraena*, 1646, pt. iii. p. 62; Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657, p. 46; Palmer, *Hist. of Older Nonconformity of Wrexham*, 1888; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902.

141 4 John ap John (c. 1630—1697) was the constant companion of Fox in his journeys in Wales. His home was Trevor Issa, near Llangollen, and it is probable that he had been a Chaplain to the Parliamentary forces stationed at or near Beaumaris. The events which led to his convincement are narrated in the *Journal*. Twenty years later, in 1673, he wrote some beautifully expressed reminiscences of the time when he visited Fox at Swarthmoor, "Now in this 20 years i have Reseved muche & don but lityl" etc. (MS. in D.). In 1689, his daughter, Phoebe, married John Mellor, of Whitehough, Staffs., and there were numerous descendants. His death took place at Whitehough and his burial at Basford.

Norris, *John ap John*, 1907; news-cuttings in D.

141 5 This was John Gilpin, of Kendal, whose strange story is given in his *Quakers Shaken*, 1653, and by Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, pp. 71—87. Of him Fox writes, "He had been a grievous sinner, whom the Lord smote, that he came to be almost a distracted man... and presently turns a drunkard" (*Great Mistery*, 1659, pp. 297—299).

141 6 This was probably at the time of the establishment of the Protectorate of Cromwell.

142 1 Now, Cinder Hill, near Woodhouse, on the border of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. A Quaker burial ground still exists here, also portions of an ancient building where it is said Friends worshipped. The Green is not identified.

British Friend, 1897, p. 43; *Narrative of...Stacye Family*, 1910.

142 2 This valuable paper is in two unknown handwritings, one of which is very peculiar and difficult to read. Other transcripts of this document are in D. (see p. 146 *a*, *b*). There is no appearance in the MS. of the handwriting of Lower.

144 1 "The metaphor, seed, seems to show how Fox wished to express his consciousness that, whether in the individual soul or in the community, the Divine immanence involves a process of living and organic growth" (Harvey, *Rise of the Quakers*, 1905, p. 139).

147 1 Captain Thomas Taylor (c. 1621—1684) of Brighouse, was one of Cromwell's Ironsides, and retained his military title for some time

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after joining Friends, perhaps to distinguish him from Thomas Taylor of Skipton and Stafford. He married Judith, daughter of Arthur Hanson of Halifax. In the *Diary or Register of Oliver Heywood* (edited by J. Horsfall Turner, 1881), we read that "Capt. Tho Taylor of Brighouse died April 27, 1684, a Quaker but a rich man," and that his wife died next day. They were "buryed in their garden with their head upward, standing upright." Gravestones once covering their remains are now at Huddersfield Meeting House.
Jnl. F. H. S. vi.

147 2 No evidence is to hand of the existence of papers by Rice Jones, either in print or MS.

148 1 The Staceys were an influential and ancient family of Ballifield Hall and Cinder Hill (now called Handsworth Grange), on the borders of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. The Quaker members of the family intermarried with the Aldams of Warmsworth.
Thomas Stacey was one of the first publishers of Truth in Bedfordshire (*F. P. T.*; *Suff.* i. 3) and was active in his own district (A. R. B. MSS. 120, in which Stacey mentions his father's willingness to release him for religious service). Several members of the family emigrated to Pennsylvania (*Narrative of...Stacye Family*, 1910).

148 2 Probably "Cap^{t} W^{m} Bradford" mentioned in Swarth. MSS. iv. 237 "a man who, like so many Puritan soldiers, afterwards became a Quaker" (Firth, *Last Years of Protectorate*, 1909, where Bradford's appeal to Cromwell is quoted at length from Nickolls, *Original Letters and Papers of State*, 1743). His home must have been near Cinder Hill, as at a meeting there "Captaine bbradford & his wife & as I take it severall of his children" were present (Benson to M. Fell, 1654 [?], Swarth. MSS. iv. 35). The peaceable disposition of this man of arms is illustrated in a letter from Dewsbury to M. Fell, 1655 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 141). The Yorkshire Registers contain a record of the burial of a William Bradford of Holme upon Spalding Moor, E. Yorkshire, 23. x. 1657.

148 3 The Lady Montague has not yet been identified.

148 4 This insertion occupies a page and a half of the MS. It is in the same handwriting and was written at the same time as the numbered pages of the MS., except two interlineations which bring the subject matter down to a later period. Its place in the MS. is clearly marked by * ☞, and the date is given.

149 1 This was Robert Craven (—1670). He is styled here and in the corresponding place in Ell. edd. "The sheriff of Lincoln." In another reference, under the same year, Ell. edd. have "Robert Craven, who had been sheriff of Lincoln," and under date 1656, Ell. edd. have "Robert Craven (who had been sheriff of Lincoln)," while in the MS. *Journal*, he is in no case referred to by name in connection with his office. Swarth. MSS. contain a letter from Craven to Fox, endorsed by Fox "robard Craven of Lincolne sheriffe to gff 1654 he did in the trueth" (iv. 210). His wife and family are mentioned in this letter. His wife, Ann Craven, died in 1658. There is a curious letter, copied in the Markey MSS. in D., signed "Robert Craven, City of Lincolne," which commences "Love Oliver Love O Man here is Love," and contains the words, "O deare freind take heed of an old garment dipt in blood, & dryed on, w^{ch} once was moist & greene."

150 1 Sir Richard Wray is mentioned again on p. 261. Further information respecting him is not forthcoming. The brother mentioned

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was probably the Sir John Wray of 261. 1. The index to Dalton's *Wrays of Glentworth*, 1880, contains no entry of the name of Sir Richard Wray.

150 2 Thomas Hammersley (—1694) lived at Basford, near Leek, in the parish of Cheddleton, Staffordshire, and was convinced by Richard Hickock about 1654 shortly before George Fox's visit (*Jnl. F. H. S.* iv. v.). He was a man of some importance in his district, and the family is described as "of Botham Hall [now Ashcombe Hall] and Basford."

John Gratton, 1720, p. 107 ; Nickolls, *Original Letters and Papers of State*, 1743, p. 81 ; Sleigh, *Hist. of Leek*.

151 1 Edward Pyott (—1670). The striking letter from John Stubbs to Margaret Fell in 1662 (ii. 20—22) gives some details of the family of E. Pyott. His home was in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and he was of considerable standing in the world and a Captain. He does not appear to have travelled extensively, but we find glimpses of him in Dorsetshire and other counties in addition to the western journey he took in company with Fox and Salt. He was joint author of *The Cry of Blood*, 1656, an account of sufferings in Bristol. His death occurred in London, where he was taken ill (Swarth. MSS. i. 381).

Biog. Memoirs, iv. 479 (MS. in D.).

151 2 Jacob Bauthumley, author of *The Light and Dark Side of God*, 1650 (Barclay, *Inner Life of Religious Societies of Commonwealth*, 1876; Jones, *Mystical Religion*, 1909). Richard Farnsworth wrote to "Bottomley" (copy in Watson MSS. in D. p. 162), in reference to the latter's visit to Swannington "y^e^ 4^th^ day of y^e^ 11^th^ month [16]54," "Thou art out of y^e^ life of all truth : full of filthiness : and y^e^ Seat of lust, Blasphemye & wickedness & deceit." There is another mention of this Ranter among Quakeriana (Swarth. MSS. vii. 171), where Fox states that "iacob botemley did witnes that what I had spoken was the eternall truth."

152 1 Anthony Bickley (Brickley) resided at Baddesley Ensor, near Atherston, and became a prominent local Friend.

White, *Friends in Warwickshire*, 1894, pp. 19, 23, 60, 96, 97.

159 1 The home of Colonel Francis Hacker (—1660) was Withcote Hall, near Oakham, in Rutlandshire. He commanded the Guards at the execution of King Charles I, for which, at the Restoration, he was hanged (Pepys, *Diary* ; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1660—1, p. 316). His sister, Anne, married into the family of Marshall, and became connected with Friends (*Joseph Sturge*, 1864, p. 4). Colonel Hacker's wife, Isabel, was convinced in or before 1655 (see p. 194). G. Whitehead visited her in 1659 (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 232). Other Friends also called at Withcote (Swarth. MSS. i. 351). She was one of a company of men and women who, in 1664, "lay packed on shipboard in the Thames under sentence of banishment for seven years to Jamaica" (*Jnl. F. H. S.* vi.). Her death took place at Strathern, near Belvoir.

Cal. S. P. Dom. 1659—60, 1660—1 ; Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, 1869 ; Spence MSS. iii. 72, 171.

A brief account of Fox's arrest at Whetstone is given, in his own handwriting, in *Record of Sufferings...London and Middlesex, 1654 to 1753* (MS. in D.), and a longer account by Alexander Parker, who was present (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841).

159 2 Presumably Captain Clement Needham of Colonel Hacker's regiment of horse, although a confirmation of the relationship stated is

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not forthcoming. Needham was charged with various misdemeanours, but was cleared of most of them (*A Brief Narration of the Tryall of Captain Clement Nedham*, 1653; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1659—60, pp. 299, 300).

There was a Clement Needham of Saxelby in the Vale of Belvoir, Co. Leicester, who wrote on tithes, 1672 (Smith, *Adv. Cata.* p. 334).

160 1 "Drury was a Congregationalist and thought the Presbyterians would be hard on them if they had the power...Col. Hacker complained of him to his Highness and requests that he may be employed somewhere else" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1658—9, p. 392).

160 2, 3 In a postscript to a letter from Henry Fell to G. Fox, dated Gravesend, 27. i. 1655 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 167), the writer adds, "I sent those words taken out of y^e^ old bible to thee in a letter to Hump. Bache in Tower Street & likewise those few words to oliver w^ch^ I had in Caracters [short-hand] which I hope thou hast rec^d^; but least y^t^ miscarryed I have sent them here inclosed againe." The document here inserted in the MS. *Journal* is doubtless the one enclosed, as it is in the same handwriting as the above named letter. An authority on Biblical MSS. states that he does not know from what version of Isaiah the words are taken. In the centre fold of this slip of paper are the words, "Give this to G: F:." The endorsement, printed at the head, is by Fox.

161 1 The copyist of this historic document is not known.

In 1836, in connection with what was known among Friends as the Beaconite Controversy, permission was given for this leaf to be reproduced in facsimile as a frontispiece to Elisha Bates's *Appeal to the Society of Friends*, who writes of it, "This piece, altogether, shews a disordered imagination, which I conceive is the only apology that can be made for it." The principal difficulty in this letter is the expression (omitted from Ell. edd.) used by Fox of himself "who is the son of God." Probably more has been read into these words than they were ever intended to convey. It must be remembered that Fox's mind was not trained to accurate theological expression. As in the earlier and later use of the same words (116. 1, 381. 1), Fox may here also have had in mind the Scripture words "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God" (Rom. viii. 14 A.V., cp. John x. 34—36) (Farnsworth, *Saints Testimony*, 1655, p. 26; Wilkinson, *Quakerism Examined*, 1836; Barton, *The Heart of the Christian Message*, 1910, p. 71).

There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the document or of its Fox endorsement. Another copy of the Testimony, in the handwriting of Thomas Aldam, one of the witnesses to the Testimony, contains the same words, "who is y^e^ sonn of god," and is dated, 1654, by Fox (Swarth. MSS. ii. 2). Although both copies were originally together at Swarthmoor and are now at Devonshire House, they must have been in separate hands for about a century and a half. On neither MS. is there any sign of correction or erasure. This Testimony is given in part by that doughty opponent of Quakerism, Rev. Charles Leslie, M.A., in his *Snake in the Grass*, 1698, p. 113, and in full in his *Defence of the Snake*, 1700, pt. 3, p. 39. It is also referred to in Wyeth's *Switch for the Snake*, 1699, p. 175. It is significant in view of all this controversy that another copy of the Testimony, among a collection of Swarth. MSS. recently added to D. (vii. 95), in a different handwriting from the other two, lacks the upper half of the sheet. The separation, however, was not the result of a clean cut, but it occurs at one of the cross folds of the paper.

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163 1 Marmaduke Storr (d. 1678) was a farmer of Owstwick, Yorkshire (*Quakeriana*, 1895, ii. 184). There is a full account of the trial, at Northampton, in 1654—5, of William Dewsbury, M. Storr, his brother Joseph Storr, and others, given by Besse (*Suff.* i. 518—528); see also Dewsbury, *True Testimony*, 1655; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Poulson, *Holderness*, 1841, i. 79; Wilson-Barkworth, *Storr of Hilston and Owstwick*, 1890.

163 2 The endorsement of this letter to Cromwell is by Fox. The copyist is unknown.

165 1 Major William Packer is mentioned several times in the State Papers Domestic (*Cal.* 1651—2, pp. 209, 214, 218), in connection with Theobalds Park. In 1653 the Council of State expressed its satisfaction "concerning the gifts and abilities of Major William Packer [and others] to preach the Gospel...they being eminent for godliness..." (*ibid.* 1653—4, p. 13).
Firth, *Last Years of Protectorate*, 1909; Swarth. MSS. iii. 38.

165 2 "One Cobbe" is not yet identified.

165 3 This portion of the text was written by Lower on a separate leaf, and its place is indicated by a ☞ *. For the style of the conclusion, see 138. 1.

165 4 That is, *Theobalds*, near Waltham Abbey. Theobalds House was built by Lord Burleigh. It was a favourite residence of James I and was the house in which he died. In 1649 the House and Park were in the possession of the Commonwealth Government. In 1669, mention is made of frequent unlawful assemblies of great numbers of persons, both at Theobalds and at the house commonly called "The King's Stables," and in 1682, Presbyterians and Independents held meetings here. Hubberthorne and Burrough attended a meeting of Separatists here in 1654, where they "had pretty liberty to let forth themselves" (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 17).
Notes and Extracts from Hertfordshire Sessions Rolls, 1581—1698, compiled by W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., vol. i. 1910.

166 1 Waltham Abbey, in Essex, thirteen miles from London, noted in early Quaker annals for its boarding school for boys and girls, under the care of Christopher Taylor (from c. 1667 to c. 1680). A notable revival of religion took place in the school in 1679 (Taylor, *Testimony*, 1679; Routh, *Divine Visitation*, 1797; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1894, p. 428).

166 2 This was *John* Chandler of Southwark, and not *William* Chandler as given in the page-heading. This account of his early life may have been omitted out of respect to his memory. In 1659, he wrote *A Seasonable Word and Call to all those called Ranters or Libertines*, describing himself as one "who hath been taken in the same snare; but by great Judgment redeemed out of it."

167 1 Charles Harvey, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Protector. See 170. 1, 327. 1.
Cal. S. P. Dom. 1654, p. 33; Swarth. MSS. iii. 38.

167 2 Thomas Carlyle writes of the "third and last" interview between Fox and Cromwell (*Cromwell's Letters*, 1869, iii. 369). The first visit to Cromwell was in 1654/5 (here given), the second, 1½ years later (see p. 259), and the third and *fourth* in rapid succession in 1658 (see p. 327). Carlyle thinks that the last interview took place on Friday, 20th August, 1658.

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168 1 Ell. edd. state that Fox declined an invitation to dine with the Gentlemen of the Household, and that when Cromwell heard this, he said, "Now I see, there is a People risen and come up, that I cannot win either with Gifts, Honours, Offices or Places; but all other Sects and People I can." Of these sentences (for part see p. 342), Gardiner writes (*Com. and Prot.* iii. 262 n.) "This is merely hearsay and the latter part of the sentence is not only unlike any expression of Oliver's, but would be particularly absurd at the moment when he had failed to win over several persons of other sects and parties."

168 2 In his Preface to Ell. edd., William Penn wrote of Fox, "Above all, he excelled in Prayer....The most Awfull, Living, Reverent Frame I ever Felt or Beheld, I must say, was his in Prayer, [it] often struck, even Strangers, with Admiration."

168 3 The home of Alexander Parker (1628—1688/9) appears to have been in the Bowland district on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, his parents being well-to-do people. Croese states that he had been a butcher (*Hist.* 1696, i. 70). He undertook many missionary journeys, frequently with Fox. In 1669 he married Prudence Wager of Stepney, widow. Three of Parker's daughters married clergymen. On several occasions Parker united with others in personal interviews with Charles II and James II on behalf of his suffering brethren (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725 (MS. index in D.); Green, *Souvenir*, 1901).

Whiting writes of Parker, "He was well Educated, and had a Gentleman-like Carriage and Deportment, as well as Person" (*Memoirs*, 1715). He was a considerable writer. Many of his letters are preserved in D. and elsewhere.

D. N. B.

169 1 Cromwell's newsmonger-priest was Henry Walker, according to Gardiner (*Com. and Prot.* iii. 263 n.). Walker, with others, wrote *The Quakers Dream* (reprint in D.), *The Quakers terrible Vision*, etc. 1655 (see Smith, *Adv. Cata.* 1873, pp. 8, 357, 440). Friends replied to Walker in *A Declaration...against several false reports...in several News Books...put forth by Henry Walker, R[obert] Wood and George Horton*, etc., 1655, doubtless the "printed booke" referred to on this page.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1910, p. 518.

170 1 Investigation has so far discovered the names of a few only of the Friends who were of the household of Cromwell. Charles Harvey, who fell away, and Mary Saunders, are mentioned in the *Journal*; Lettice Shaine of Dublin was at one time in that position (*F. P. T.*; A. R. B. MSS.); and others, unnamed, are referred to in Spence MSS. (iii. 40).

170 2 This paper to Professors, which is printed in Ell. edd., is out of chronological order in the MS. consequent upon an error in binding. The handwriting is not known.

174 1 A comparison of the handwriting of these paragraphs with that of letters from Gervase Benson among Swarth. MSS., makes it appear likely that the worthy Justice wrote out this piece for Fox. The paper has been folded four times and is much discoloured. The endorsement is by Lower.

175 1 This is an interesting paper, if only on account of the references to dress and sports which it contains. The name at the close appears to have been erased. The endorsement is by Lower.

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178 1, 2 This paper occupies one page of neat writing. It is endorsed by Fox, on a separate wrapper. The date may have been added later. See 179. 2. The Triers of ministers began work in March, 1654.

179 1 Mentioned in authorities given in next note, but not further identified.

179 2 Or *Bromley* as in the Indexes of the earlier Ell. edd., Besse, *Suff.* i. 346, and *Memory Reviv'd* (MS. in D.). The latter authority gives 1654 as the date of Bromley's imprisonment in Lincoln Castle, the former has 1657. He died after four months' confinement, says Besse in both places; Fox says "38 weeks & still remaines," and dates his letter 1654. In the tract *A Declaration of Present Sufferings*, printed 1659, p. 9, we are told that Bromley "a poor old man, having a wife and many children" was committed to prison in Seventh Month (September), 1657, and had been, at the time of writing the account, prisoner for sixty-six weeks "and still remaines." The Lincolnshire Registers record the burial of Bromley—24. xi. 1658. Fox has either mis-dated his letter, or he refers to a prior imprisonment at the suit of the same Priest and for the same amount of tithe. See 178. 1.

180 1 John Crook, J.P. (1617—1699) was according to Croese "famous for all manner of Learning, an eloquent, neat, and accurate Man, both in his Discources and Writings" (*Hist.* 1696, i. 61). His seat was Beckerings Park, near Ridgmont, Beds., and he had also, apparently, a house in the town of Luton. The date of his convincement was 1654 (*F. P. T.*). Shortly before this he was a candidate for Parliament (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654). He suffered greatly in person and estate on account of his adoption of Quakerism (see the trial of John Crook, John Bolton and Dr Isaac Gray, at the Old Bailey, 1662, before the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Chief Justice Foster, and others, for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, *Cry of the Innocent*, 1662; *State Trials*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661—2; Bristol MSS. ii. 7, in D.). Crook wrote several religious essays, which were collected and published in 1701. One of his papers, *Truth's Principles*, has been frequently reprinted.

"He frequently continued his declarations in public meetings for upwards of three hours, during the whole of which such an encreasing degree of authority attended, as to convince many" (MS. in D. late 18th cent.), but discovering, as a result of a visit from some Friends, that he had exceeded his gift, he gave up preaching for some years. His death took place at Hertford, where he had for some time resided.

Short History (autobiographical), 1706; *William Crouch*, 1712, pp. 19, 141, 143; Gough, *Hist.* 1789; Budge, *Annals*, 1877; *D. N. B.*; Swarth. MSS.

For the General Meeting at his house in 1658, see 317. 1.

180 2 This is a striking instance among others of a too hasty assertion of the convincement of various persons mentioned, or at least of a statement which was not accurate at the time when the *Journal* was prepared for the printer, see the brackets used. Cp. pp. 107, 189, 194, 200, 201, 205.

180 3 Gritton, ex-Baptist, is not yet identified.

182 1 This was either (*a*) *A True Declaration of the bloody Proceedings of the Men of Maidstone*, 1655, the final paragraphs of which are subscribed "G. F.," or (*b*) *The Journal of the Life of Will. Caton*, 1689,

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with introduction by G. Fox, dated 1688, in which there is a much shorter account of the sufferings at Maidstone. Ell. edd. read, "in the Journal of William Caton's Life." It seems more probable however that the reference is to the special tract rather than to the general life. If the *Journal* of Caton is intended, the insertion into the MS. referring to it was made at a later date than any other addition yet noticed.

182 2 Thomas Howsigoe (—1660), of Staplehurst, Kent. He was a Teacher in a great congregation of Seekers, visited by Ambrose Rigge in 1655 (*Account of Ambrose Rigge*, 1710, p. 9), and with his wife and children and many of his congregation became convinced. William Caton visited him on his death-bed, and was present at the funeral, when there was "a very gallant and precious Meeting" (*Journal of Caton*, 1689, p. 61, see also Swarth. MSS. iv. 272).

182 3 Presumably John Dunk, of Romney (*F. P. T.*).

182 4 Samuel Fisher (1605—1665) was "the son of John Fisher, shopkeeper, of Northampton" (Smith, *Cata.* 1867, i. 613). Crosby (*Hist. English Baptists*, 1738, i. 359) states that "Samuel Fisher M.A. [Oxon.], laid down the vicarage of Lydd before 1649 to join the Baptist Church at Ashford" (quoted *Transactions Bapt. Hist. Soc.* 1908), but the *Journal* and *F. P. T.* both connect Fisher with Lydd in 1655, at the time of his convincement. In 1656, Fisher made an ineffectual attempt to address the new Parliament (*The Scorned Quaker's True and Honest Account*, in Fisher's works).

In 1658, 1659 and 1660, Fisher was busy travelling in France and the South of Europe. Several recently discovered MSS. in D. give some details of the visit of Fisher and Stubbs to Germany and Venice in 1658 (cp. Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 179; Fox, Testimony to Stubbs, MS. in D.). Fox appears to be incorrect in his chronology (ii. 334, 336) of these foreign journeys. Fisher's wife is spoken of disparagingly in Swarth. MSS. (iv. 14). Hallelujah Fisher wrote a Testimony to his father's worth. Croese states that Fisher was "never spoken of but with the greatest Panegyricks: a Man singularly learned, and wonderfully eloquent" (*Hist.* 1696, i. 63, ii. 26). Bugg puts him in his "cage of unclean birds," but assigns no reason therefor. He wrote several learned works. The collection of his writings published in 1676 under the title of *The Testimony of Truth Exalted*, makes a folio volume of over 800 pages. Fisher died of the Plague while a Southwark prisoner.

There is an admirable sketch of Fisher and his writings, by Emily J. Hart, in *The Young Friends' Review*, 1906. See also Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691; Tuke, *Biog. Notices*, 1815; Evans, *Friends' Library*, 1847; *D. N. B.*; Swarth. MSS.

183 1 Some fresh information regarding John Love (Luffe) (—1658) has recently come to light through the discovery at Devonshire House of some ancient MSS. containing records (mostly copies of letters) of the travels of several Friends on the Continent of Europe in 1657 and 1658. The MSS. state, incidentally, that Love had been in New England, and then refer to his visits to several places in Spain, to the Island of Zante, to Smyrna and elsewhere, and finally to Rome. Particulars of his trial in Rome are taken from a pamphlet, printed in London in 1661, entitled, *The Tryall of John Love, an English Quaker, before Pope Alexander and his Councell at Rome ...in the Presence of the great Cardinalls...with the ffatall and Bloudy Sentence of Death pronounced against him, and his Speech at the Place of Execution*, etc. News of Love's death reached England towards

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the close of 1658—"We have hard lately from Rome where John Perrott Remaines A prisoner, but his companion John Lofe is deceased" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 269). His home appears to have been in Limerick (Rutty, *Hist.*).

Croese, *Hist.* 1696, ii. 270; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722.

183 2 Various reports of Friends in prison having refused food and thus caused their own death were put into circulation. It was said of James Parnell (see 126. 1) and of some Friends prisoners in Ipswich (Evelyn, *Diary*, July 8, 1656). Several cases of voluntary fasting occur in the *Journal*, some of which were omitted from the Ell. edd., and it is evident that weakness of body frequently resulted (see pp. 51, 72, 105, 107, ii. 184). There is a curious letter from Swarthmoor in 1659, giving an account of "how the children fasted" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 267).

184 1 Luke Howard (c. 1621—1699) was a shoemaker in Dover and the first receiver of Friends in Kent, 1655. His religious service was mainly confined to his native town and county, but we also find traces of visits to London. A collection of his writings appeared in 1704, in which there are interesting autobiographical memoranda.

William Caton, 1839, pp. 19, 22, 26, 28; Tritton, *Tritton Family*, 1907; *F. P. T.*; Swarth. MSS.

184 2 This was Henry Clarke of Bankside, Southwark, who, according to Besse, suffered three months imprisonment for asking a question of the Priest of Cranbrook (*Suff.* i. 289). He wrote several tracts.

F. P. T.; *Biog. Memoirs*, ii. 523 (MS. in D.); Swarth. MSS.

184 3 This was Sidgwick Lodge, the residence of Bryan Wilkinson (*F. P. T.*).

184 4 That is, Steyning (pronounced Stenning). According to *F. P. T.* the market house was granted the preachers by John Blackfan, Constable of the town, at whose house they lodged.

184 5 Nicholas Beard (c. 1622—1702) was of Rottingdean on the coast of Sussex. His wife Susanna and he are frequently mentioned in the annals of sufferings in Sussex. He is also described as of Falmer, in the same district as Rottingdean. A letter written from Horsham Gaol, in 1664, to George Fox is extant, in which he states that he and twelve others, named, had been praemunired for declining the Oath of Allegiance (Swarth. MSS. iv. 179). The substitution in the MS. of *Nicholas* for *Major* is noticeable in view of the mention of *Major Beard* on p. 386 (Ell. edd. "a Friend"), but it is not likely that the two names refer to one Friend.

Piety Promoted; Berry, *Sussex Genealogies*, iii.

185 1 George Lamboll (c. 1602—1682) and his wife, Sarah, were prisoners at Reading at the time, 1664, when Thomas Curtis wrote that striking letter to George Fox in which he said, "Our Little Childred kept the metings up when we were all in prison, not withstanding this wicked Justis...would pull them out of the meteinge and punch them in the back..." (Swarth. MSS. iii. 88; England, *The Children's Meeting*, 1906).

It was observed by Simon Ford, in an Assize Sermon at Reading, Feb. 28, 1653, that "in the little town of Reading he was verily persuaded that if Augustin's and Epiphanius's Catalogues of Heresies were lost...yet it would be no hard matter to restore them, with considerable Enlargements, from that Place. That they have Anabaptism, Familism, Socinianism, Pelagianism, Ranting, and what not."

F. P. T.; MS. in D.

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185 2 George Bishop (—1668), of Bristol and London, was a Captain in the service of the Parliament. He was also "empowered to hold intelligence with persons fit for discovering conspiracies...which intelligence was to be communicated to the Committee of Examinations" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1651), of which he was Secretary (*ibid.* 1650, p. 400). Bishop was the probable author of several letters to Cromwell, printed by Nickolls in *Original Letters and Papers of State*, 1743.

The preaching of Audland and Camm at Bristol in 1654 changed the current of Bishop's life, though it is likely that in some measure he had been under preparation for this change (Sewel, *Hist.* 1722). Few facts relating to the remainder of his life are available, save from a study of his numerous writings. He wrote a long account to M. Fell of Nayler's doings in Bristol (Swarth. MSS. i. 188). His principal literary work, *New England Judged*, 1661, 1667, is of great historical value. A letter of the period describes his funeral (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1668—9, p. 59).

The Cry of Blood, 1656; *Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657; *Biog. Memoirs.*

185 3 This young minister has not been identified. The reference to him is, for some reason, omitted from Ell. edd.

185 4 Amor Stoddard (—1670), or, as he was frequently styled by Friends, Captain Stoddard, first met George Fox in Nottinghamshire in 1647 (Sewel, *Hist.* 1722), and was his companion during the years 1655 and 1656, after which he appears to have settled in London. He suffered imprisonment in Newgate. His wife died in 1665. There are numerous references to him in the Swarth. MSS. Though frequently called *Amos*, *Amor* appears to be the correct christian name.

William Crouch, 1712, pp. 12, 13, 89; *Biog. Memoirs*, 1854, i. 46; Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 19, 216, 266, 301, 332; Testimony, in Fox's writing, in D.

186 1 *The Lamb's Defence against Lyes...Testimony...Sufferings and Death of James Parnell*, 1656.

187 1 Robert Duncon and his wife were convinced by George Whitehead in 1654 (*Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 31, 33, 53, 94, 135, 139, 141, 207, 220). He appears to have been a member for Suffolk in the Nominated Parliament of 1653 (*Com. and Prot.* ii. 308 n.). He followed the occupation of a tanner (Alexander, *Collectitia*, 1824, p. 131).

Swarth. MSS.

187 2 John Lawrence of Wramplingham, Norfolk (—1685), was a military man of some importance. He and others of his family were convinced by George Whitehead (*Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 24—26, 29, 53—55, 244—247, 251—256). Several letters to G. Whitehead are preserved in D. (printed in *East Anglian*, *N. and Q.* x.). He is described as "an ancient man and able physician" (MS. in D.), though he had to bear opposition from other medical men (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663—4, p. 650). In 1669, with others, he petitioned the King to limit the time of "lotteries, puppet plays and shows" in Norwich, "by the frequent resort to which of the meaner sort of people, we have been much damnified in our manufactures" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1668—9, p. 627). Among his descendants were members of the Quaker families of Day, Gurney, Hoare and Bland.

F. P. T.; Swarth. MSS.

187 3 Christopher Atkinson was a Westmorland man (*F. P. T.*). He suffered imprisonment in Norfolk, in which county, in 1655, his act of immorality took place, described fully in Whitehead's *Christian*

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Progress, 1725, pp. 34, 35, 49, 50. According to Weld, *Perfect Pharise*, 1654, p. 49, his previous character had not been *sans reproche*. The opponents of Quakerism made the most of such a case of moral delinquency (Leslie, *Snake in the Grass*, 1696, p. 90, amplified in later edd.; *Satan Disrob'd*, 1698, pt. ii. p. 30; Bugg, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1698, p. 136; etc.). Atkinson is said to have repented of his actions (ii. 330), but according to Bugg he "was since hang'd for Felony." Atkinson's immoral conduct was in no wise condoned by his fellow-workers. George Taylor writes of him as "that Cursed Creature" (Swarth. MSS. i. 239); a letter which he wrote to M. Fell, after his fall (*ibid.* i. 354), has crossed lines through it.

Gilpin, *Quakers Shaken*, 1655, pp. 2, 3, 5, 15; Swarth. MSS.

187 4 Thomas Bond (—1678). There are few traces of this Friend save records of his sufferings (*Suff.* i. 303, 487, 667, 672; Swarth. MSS.). It is probable that his home was in Suffolk, he died at Felixstowe in that county.

189 1 Joseph Fuce (—1669). In the same year as his convincement, Joseph Fuce, "being on his Travels [in Sussex], occasionally preaching, was taken to be shipt for Jamaica" (*Suff.* i. 708), but, as in other cases, the edict of banishment was not carried out. In 1660, he was committed to Dover Castle and "caused to be dragged headlong on the Ground down many Stone-Stairs into a Dungeon-like Hole... over-run with Maggots..." (*ibid.* i. 291). His death took place in the White Lion prison in Southwark, to which he had been taken from his home at Kingston.

Danson, *Quakers Wisdom*, 1659; Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 137; *F. P. T.*; Swarth. MSS.; Crisp MSS.

190 1 This scene in Cambridge is the subject of an etching by Robert Spence.

191 1 The mayor of Cambridge in 1655 was Samuel Spalding. Fox calls him "a freinde," but his name has not yet been found among Quaker records. See ii. 2. 1.

192 1 The whole of this paper is written in a small hand on one page. Notice the curious transposition of Fox's initials. The words in the introductory paragraph of the Ell. edd. "about it, and other suffering Friends" are omitted from the edd. of 1765, 1836 and later. Before this paper, Ell. edd. insert one on Trembling and Quaking and also an Epistle to Gathered Churches. These edd. follow above paper by two others, one dealing with offers of Friends to take the places of their imprisoned brethren, and the other, a few lines of "Encouragement to Friends in their several Exercises."

194 1 Fox constantly urged the importance of a careful record of the sufferings inflicted upon his followers and himself (see pp. 388, 389), and the Church Meeting called (and still known as) the Meeting for Sufferings was principally occupied with cases which came before it. The result of Fox's action is seen in the immense collection at Devonshire House (in D.) of original documents, dating from the earliest days of Quakerism, which record cases of persecution for religion. Some of this material was published in *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, 1650—1689, prepared by Joseph Besse and printed in 1753 (earlier ed. 1733—8), a storehouse of information. See also under "Sufferings" in Smith's *Cata.* 1867.

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195 1 Peter Price (c. 1600—1690/1) resided at Presteign, Radnorshire. He wrote *The Unequal Unyoked*, 1683. The Registers state that he died at the house of George Barr, at Edmonton, Middlesex, and was buried at Bunhill Fields.
F. P. T.

195 2 Walter Jenkins (—1661), son of Thomas Jenkins, Rector of Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern, was convinced through the ministry of John ap John (*F. P. T.*). During his imprisonment in Monmouth Gaol in 1660, he wrote a small treatise, *The Law given forth out of Zion*, 1663. His only child, Elizabeth, married into the Beadles family of Bedfordshire and South Wales, *a quo* Hanbury of Monmouth and London, and Young of Leominster. See pedigree in Bradney's *Hist. of Mon.* 1904. Buried in Friends' Burial Ground at the Pant.
Norris, *John ap John*, 1907 ; Swarth. MSS.

195 3 William Smith of Sileby, in Leicestershire ; to be distinguished from William Smith of Besthorpe, Notts. C. Fell Smith identifies him with William Smith of Market Harborough, author of *The Wisdom of the Earthly Wise Confounded*, 1679 (*D. N. B.*).

195 4 On the subject of remarkable cures see 140. 1. The context here would rather imply action in the spiritual sphere. See the Scottish priest (23. 1), the case of John Chandler (166. 2), the condemned malefactor (*Jnl. F. H. S.* vi.).

196 1 Probably Anthony Cole who received George Fox "att Chadwitch" (*F. P. T.*), twelve miles from Worcester (Swarth. MSS. iii. 9).

196 2 Captain Edward Pittway (—1676) lived at Bengeworth. He was a magistrate for the borough of Evesham till removed, owing to his Quakerism, in 1655. He was Mayor in 1648. There were other Friends of the same surname in this district. Edward Pittway, Junior, emigrated to Pennsylvania, about 1700.
Brown, *Evesham Friends*, 1885, pp. 71, 85, 88, 104, 121, 186 ; *F. P. T.* ; Boyne, *Trade Tokens*, 1891, p. 1258.

196 3 Evesham is still occasionally pronounced *Esom* and also *Eversham*. Another form is *Havisham* (*F. P. T.*).

196 4 The boyhood home of Humphry Smith (c. 1624—1663) was Stoke Bliss, in Herefordshire ; when he married he settled at Little Cowarne in the same county, on the Court Farm, which is still in existence. He gives some reminiscences of the seriousness of his early years in his tract, *To All Parents of Children*, 1660 and 1667. As years passed he became a popular preacher, though he did not feel easy to take any pecuniary reward, but in 1654 he relinquished this service, stating on the last occasion "My mouth is stopt at this present, but if ever the Lord should open my mouth again, I shall preach indeed" (*Man Driven Out*, 1658, p. 10). This proved true, for after he became a Quaker in 1654, he also became, according to Fox, "an able Minister of Jesus Christ" (Testimony in Smith's works). In 1655, Smith suffered cruel imprisonment at Evesham (*Sufferings...of the Saints at Evesham*, in *Writings*), and in the following year at Exeter and Dorchester (Mellidge, *True Relation*, 1656 ; Swarth. MSS. i. 12). Not long after, he was thrown into Winchester Prison (*Extracts from State Papers*, 1910), and again in 1661 he was sent to Winchester from a meeting at Alton. After much suffering, he laid down his life within prison walls. His family consisted of three daughters and one son, Humphry. Further information respecting Humphry, the younger, may be found in the Row MSS. in D.

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Collection of Writings and Testimonies of...Humphry Smith, 1683 lives by Budge (1877), Newman (n. d.); Tuke, *Biog. Notices*, 1815; Brown, *Evesham Friends*, 1885; *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*; Braithwaite, *Spiritual Guidance*, 1909, p. 31. A volume of tracts with MS. additions is in the possession of Gilbert Gilkes, of Kendal.

197 1 These books of sufferings were *The Sufferings Tryals and Purgings of the Saints at Evesham*, by Humphry Smith; *The Cruelty of the Magistrates of Evesham*, by H. Smith and Thomas Woodrove; *Something Further laid open...Evesham*, by H. Smith; *A Representation of the Borough of Evesham*. See Brown, *Evesham Friends*, 1885, chap. iii.

198 1 Gerard Roberts (c. 1621—1703) was a wine-cooper, living at the Sign of the Fleur-de-Luce, in Little St Thomas Apostle, London, where he entertained many Friends, and where meetings were frequently held. After the Great Fire, Friends purchased a plot of land formerly occupied by the White Hart Inn, of which a portion was used for the erection of a meeting house, and, upon the remainder, several Friends, including Roberts, built dwelling houses (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 145). He lived later in Lombard Street. He was not, apparently, a preacher, but he was very active in many ways on behalf of Friends.

Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 314, 316, 594; *The Friend* (London), 1896, p. 545; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910; MSS. in D.

199 1 Ell. edd. insert "Here William Edmundson, a Friend that lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his Spirit to come over into England to see me, met with me," etc., also a short letter from Fox to Friends in the North of Ireland. This, the first meeting between these two Friends, is also mentioned in Edmondson's *Life*, 1715, p. 16, where we read that at the close of the meeting they went into the orchard and united in prayer.

199 2 John Rush (—1661), of Kempston Hardwick, Beds., one of the first receivers of Truth in his district (*F. P. T.*). He died in Warwick Gaol after about a twelvemonth's imprisonment. His wife Tabitha, and son John, also spent some time in Warwick Gaol, and were liberated by Charles II's "pardon" of 1672 (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 711; *Quakeriana*, 1895, p. 55).

Nickolls, *Original Letters and Papers of State*, 1743, p. 92; Swarth. MSS. iii. 144.

199 3 Thomas Baldock is referred to by Besse (*Suff.* i. 242), anno 1660, and his "wife and daughter" in *Notes and Extracts from the Hertfordshire Sessions Rolls*, anno 1675, all in connection with the town of Baldock. The name does not occur in the Registers till sixty years later. The inn at which Fox and Rush lodged was "in all probability the 'George' for that was always afterwards the Quakers' hostel" (news-cutting in D. "Olde Baldok").

Pepys says, anno 1661, "I find that both here [Baldock] and every where else that I come, the Quakers do still continue, and rather grow than lessen."

200 1 John Toldervy gives a very strange account of his religious experiences when first attracted to Quakerism in *The Foot out of the Snare, being a Brief Declaration of his entrance into that Sect Called Quakers*, etc., 1656. He here relates how he behaved towards his master William Webb, how he received visits from all kinds of spirits and apparitions, etc. In 1656, he wrote also *The Snare Broken*, and a recantation of his previous writings, entitled *The Naked Truth*.

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The insertion in the MS. that Toldervy "dyed in y^e^ Truth" is omitted from Ell. edd. The general truthfulness of Toldervy's narrative is attested by eight "priests."

Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, pp. 87 ff.; *Historia Fanaticorum*, 1701.

200 2 Thomas Moore, J.P., of Hartswood, near Reigate, Surrey. He is principally noted for his numerous audiences with royalty on behalf of his imprisoned friends. George Whitehead says, "He had an interest with King Charles and some of his Council more than many others had" (*Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 350—355; Green, *Souvenir of Addresses to the Throne*, 1901, pp. 23, 28, 29; Swarth. MSS. i. 48, 58, 103, 386, and especially iv. 196). He was in prison in Southwark in 1663 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 95) and in 1672 (*Christian Progress*, p. 710). The burial registers do not contain his name. The reference in the MS. to his convincement and faithful standing was omitted from Ell. edd., as also references to his name in other places (*e.g.* ii. 158). Did he forsake the faith? On the other hand, we find this testimony to his worth, written by John Abraham (1687—1771), grandson of Margaret Fell, on one of Moore's letters, "A Great & Brave man in those Early Days. J. A." (Dix MSS. z. 2).

Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651, 1660—1, 1663—4, and presumably the Thomas Moore mentioned in 1656—7; *F. P. T.*

200 3 Thomas Patching (—1660) "lived att Bonwicks Place, in Ifield" (*F. P. T.*), where G. Fox had a meeting in 1655. Later he removed to Binscombe near Godalming, Surrey. He "was Sick of a ffeaver at his own house in Surrey about 1661 & was haled out of his Bed by souldiers & brought to Prison to Southwark & there finished his Testimony" (MS. in D.; Swarth. MSS. iv. 216). The words "of Binscombe in Godalming" are added in all Ell. edd. save the first, 1694, and the one published 1827 which closely follows the first. They are inappropriate, however, as Fox clearly refers to a meeting at Bonwick's Place.

200 4 John Bolton has not yet been identified. There was a Friend of that name (c. 1599—1679), a goldsmith, Martin's-le-Grand, London.

201 1 William Bayly (—1675) of Poole was convinced in 1655, and soon became a noted preacher and writer. He married Mary Fisher. He was a sea-captain by profession (Swarth. MSS. i. 51, 52), but he appears to have spent more time in prisons ashore than following his profession afloat. His death took place at sea on a return voyage from Barbados. "The Plague of London was remarkably shadowed forth in the writings of William Bayly, the very titles of which, written previous to 1665, read like earth-shaking prophecies of woe" (*Quakeriana*, 1894, p. 124). For a notice of his descendants see *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi.

Collection of Wrightings of William Bayly, 1676; Gough, *Hist.* 1789, ii. 407; *F. P. T.*; MSS. in D.

203 1 Thomas Salthouse (1630—1690/1) was the third son of William Salthouse of Dragley Beck, near Ulverston. His parents had "a good Estate in the Outward" and from them "he had been supplied" (*Suff.* i. 579). He formed one of the Swarthmoor household at the time of Fox's first visit and was then convinced. There is much on record respecting the travel and suffering of Salthouse and Halhead in the South-West in 1655 and 1656 (*Wounds of an Enemie*, 1656; Wastfield, *True Testimony*, 1657). In 1670, Salthouse married Anne Upcott, of St Austell, daughter of the priest of the parish, and

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resided generally in Cornwall, near to Loveday Hambly, but frequently undertook preaching tours. "Being at a meeting in prayer, he was seized with Illnesse, whereof he dyed the 29th 11 mo, and was buryed the 1st day of ye 12 mo 1690" (*F. P. T.*).

Blome, *Fanatick Hist.* 1660, p. 212; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Gough, *Hist.* 1789; *The Friend* (London), 1844; *D. N. B.*; *F. P. T.*; MSS. in D.

204 1 Nicholas Tripe, of Kingsbridge, is mentioned several times by Besse (*Suff.*). He had a son of the same name. Nicholas the elder died in 1685, his wife Anne predeceased him (1668). Daughters married into the families of Hingston, Croker, and Phillips.

204 2 Besides references to Robert Carey in Besse's *Sufferings*, little appears respecting this Friend. It is evident from the inclusion of his name among signatories of epistles, etc., that he was occasionally in London (*Sundry Ancient Epistles* and *First Days Meetings*, MSS. in D.).

204 3 Elizabeth Trelawney was the eldest daughter of Sir John Trelawney (1592—1664), first Baronet, and sister of Sir Jonathan Trelawney, second Baronet (mentioned in Pepys, *Diary*, anno 1668—9; and in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, 1675—6). She had a brother, Colonel Trelawney, D.L. (Swarth. MSS. iii. 182, anno 1662), perhaps the future Sir Jonathan. Elizabeth Trelawney married Thomas Lower before Feb. 1658—9, at which date she is described as "now wife of Thomas Lower," in a portion of a Swarth. MS. which has been crossed through (iii. 142, see *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.). She was living in November 1662 (Swarth. MSS. iii. 182) but it is said that she died shortly after that date, without issue.

204 4 Edward Hancock (—1683) was one of the early receivers of Friends in Cornwall (*F. P. T.*). His wife Elizabeth and he were held in much esteem among their neighbours and friends. Elizabeth Hancock survived her husband five years, and was buried at Halbathick, 1689.

The Friend (London), 1844, p. 73.

204 5 Thomas Mounce died in 1679 at an advanced age. He was a substantial yeoman, farming his own land at Halbathick, near Liskeard (*F. P. T.*), part of which he gave to Friends for a burial ground. He was in prison altogether about seven years for his refusal to pay tithes.

The Friend (London), 1844, p. 97.

206 1 This MS. is written in a beautifully small and clear hand. The endorsement is by Fox.

206 2 There are interesting biographical notices of Major Peter Ceely in the State Papers (*e.g. Cal.* 1655—6, 1656—7) on his successful petitions for £1000 due to him for various services, as Captain and Major, Governor of Poltimore garrison, prisoner of the King, Justice, Commissioner for ejecting scandalous ministers, etc. Further particulars respecting the troubles at Launceston may be found in Swarth. MSS. i. 166.

West Answering North, 1657.

207 1 William Salt, of London, accompanied Fox through his journey in the West and imprisonment at Launceston (*West Answering*, 1657; Swarth. MSS. i. 166, 167). In 1659, Salt "suffered hard and grievous imprisonment at Morlaix in France, but through the Intercession of the English Ambassador, he was released by an order from the King, being so emaciated by hard Confinement and Want, that he was become like a skeleton of a man" (*Suff.* ii. 395; MS. in D.).

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It is evident from a collation of the Ell. edd. with the MS. that Salt lost repute with his previous associates. Instead of the name, which appears three times on this page and the next, Ell. edd. have "a Friend who was then with me," also "the other Friend" or "another Friend," etc. (See also 214. 1 and 383 *a*.) This estrangement appears to have arisen through Salt's sympathy with John Perrott and other Separatists. "Will Salte hath publisht in printe a Book [*Some Breathings of Life*] against first daye meetings, and y^t^ none should meet but as they are Imediatly moved" etc. (Swarth. MSS. iv. 95, anno 1663); "Will Salt A bad sperit and creeper in darkness...freinds denyed him" (*ibid.* iv. 128, anno 1664). See ii. 336.

209 1 Captain John Fox, Lieutenant Governor of Pendennis Castle from 1646 to 1658 and Governor from 1658 to 1659/60, when he was succeeded by Col. Anthony Rouse (Gay, *Old Falmouth*, 1903, where there is a view of Pendennis).

209 2 Captain John Keate. It appears from *West Answering*, 1657, that Captain Keate was the same person as the clerk of Major Ceely, mentioned on p. 207, to whom the paper was given that was the cause of much subsequent trouble, and who was ordered by his master "to get together a party of new raised Horse" and apprehend the Friends. The "breviate" of the *Journal* (see ii. 310. 3) agrees with this.

Captain Bradden's name also appears in *West Answering*, p. 39. He was more favourably disposed towards the prisoners than others around them, and encouraged the Justices to remove them out of Doomsdale.

210 1 John Desborough (Disbrowe) (1608—1680), second son of James Desborough of Eltisley, Cambridgeshire. He married Jane, sister of Oliver Cromwell, and was Cromwell's Major-General for the Western Counties. He is referred to in several Swarth. MSS., and he seems to have been, on the whole, favourably disposed towards Friends, "loveing and corteousse" (i. 166). In 1659, a meeting was held at "a place beyond Cambridge," attended by "one Disborrow an ancient professo^r^" who was uncle of the Major-General (*ibid.* iii. 144). His death took place at Hackney. His wife is referred to by Farmer (*Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657, pp. 12, 21).

There was a John Disborow among the Friends who offered to take the places of Friends in prison, 1659 (*Declaration of Sufferings*, 1659), and a Joan Disbrow in Essex (*F. P. T.*).

West Answering, 1657; Noble, *Cromwell*, 1784, ii. 243; Pepys, *Diary*, Wheatley edition, 1895; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902, and *Last Years of Proctectorate* 1909.

211 1 Sir John Glynn (formerly Serjeant Glynn) (1603—1666), Chief-Justice of the Upper Bench 1655—1659. Fox states that he died "not longe after," whereas his death took place ten years subsequently.

West Answering, 1657; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655, 1667—8; Campbell, *Lives of the Chief Justices*, 1858; *D. N. B.*

213 1 The text of this paper against swearing is given in Ell. edd.

214 1 The mittimus is given in full in Ell. edd. See 207. 1.

217 1 The endorsement by Lower is on a separate slip of paper. It is only slightly descriptive of the subject-matter of the address.

220 1 The separate wrapper to this paper, the outer fold of which is worn and dirty, has the further endorsement "G: F To Lampit & people at Ulverston & professers in fernas ffell in 52—53—56 un Compared." The date "1660" also appears on the wrapper.

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222 1 This fine piece is introduced in the Ell. edd. by the following paragraph:—"And inasmuch as about this Time many Mouths were opened in our Meetings, to declare the Goodness of the Lord, and some that were Young and Tender in the Truth, would sometimes utter a few Words in Thanksgiving and Praises to God; that no Disorder might arise from thence in our Meetings, I was moved to write an Epistle to Friends by way of Advice in that matter. And thus it was."

The postscript and its signature are in the same writing. Another ancient copy of this address, without introduction or postscript, preserved in D., is dated 1653.

225 1 Perhaps Henry Crosfield, of Lancaster, mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* i. 308, 309).

225 2 Humphrey Lower (—c. 1672) resided at Tremeere, in the parish of St Tudy, Cornwall, and was probably the only Friend in his family (*The Friend* (London), 1844, p. 73). He was an influential magistrate temp. Charles I.

Swarth. MSS. iv. 145.

226 1 Probably Anthony Rouse, Justice, mentioned in *West Answering*, 1657, p. 70. He succeeded Captain Fox as Governor of Pendennis Castle (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1659—60; Gay, *Old Falmouth*, 1903).

227 1 In addition to the Friends named on pp. 225, 229, 231, 237, 241, others "from y^e^ North & East part of y^e^ Kingdom Came to vissitt them" (*F. P. T.* p. 20).

227 2 "Launceston Castle and Doomsdale" is the title of an informing article in *The Friend* (London), 1846, p. 198. An account there given of the loathsome dungeon occupied by a Catholic prisoner about 1580 corresponds fully with that of Fox. A description of Doomsdale in Fox's day, unfit for publication, is given in *West Answering*, 1657, p. 37.

227 3 This forms the subject of an etching by Robert Spence.

228 1 Probably Robert Bennet (1605—1683), Colonel and Justice. He was M.P. for Launceston in 1653 and 1659.

The Launceston portion of *West Answering*, 1657, closes with a dirge over the condition of the owner of Launceston Castle—"How are all thy coverings ripped off? How is thy sepulchre opened! Thy profession is at an end." And much more, closing with "Constrained hast thou this Relation to end with thee, which began with P. Ceely" (p. 154, see also pp. 38, 64).

Cal. S. P. Dom.; Burton, *Diary*, 1828; *D. N. B.*

229 1 Hugh Peters (1599—1660) was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and ordained later. From London he went to Rotterdam, where he left the Church of England and became pastor of an Independent Church. In 1635, he emigrated to New England but returned to England in 1641, where he sided with the Parliamentarians and acted as Chaplain to the Cromwellian forces. He was appointed one of Cromwell's Triers of ministers. "At the Restoration he was executed as a Regicide. He was not directly implicated in the King's death, and all that he could be accused of was using words incentive to regicide" (Baring-Gould, *Cornish Characters*, 1909).

Historia Von Denen Wider Tauffern, 1702; *D. N. B.*; Horne, *Hist. Free Churches*, 1903; *Transactions Cong. Hist. Soc.* iv. 278.

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229 2 These Welsh Justices were probably Walter Jenkins and Peter Price, before mentioned, but there were other Welsh Justices convinced, as John Gawler (*F. P. T.*). Thomas Holme mentioned "to Justes of the peas convinced in munmuthshir" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 247).

231 1 Ell. edd. insert here a long letter from Edward Pyott to Judge Glynn dated the 14th of Fifth Month (July), 1656, and some explanatory words at the beginning and end of the letter. An ancient MS. is preserved in D. from which probably Pyott's letter in Ell. edd. was taken. On the first page is a brief statement of the circumstances in Fox's handwriting. Two days prior to this, Pyott wrote an account of sufferings at Launceston, addressed to the Justices at the Quarter Sessions at Truro (MS. in D.).

231 2 Colonel John Haggett of Bristol is frequently mentioned in the State Papers (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1649—50, 1651). In 1654, with "Capt. Geo. Bishop" he was a Parliamentary nominee for Bristol (*ibid.* 1654, p. 332); in 1659, he was appointed "Judge to go to circuit in Wales" (*ibid.* 1658—9, cp. 1654). The visit of Haggett's wife recorded here is also mentioned in the Swarth. MSS. (i. 81). It will be noticed that the last reference to her children was omitted by Thomas Ellwood. The date of her death does not appear on the Registers.

The Registers of Christchurch, Bristol, record a marriage between John Haggett and Elizabeth Yeamans, 1637. Are these the same persons as the above?

231 3 By a remarkable coincidence, within a few days of the transcription of this passage (not found in Ell. edd.), there was turned out from a bundle of ancient MSS. in D., a scrap of paper measuring 6½ inches by 2½ inches, brown with age, upon which was written, "Lampitt The plaiges of god shall fall upon thee, & the seuen viols shall bee powerd upon thee, & the milstone shall fall upon thee, & crush thee as dost under the lords feete how Can thou escape the damnation of hell, This did the lord give mee as I lay in bed Mary ffell." And in another hand "when she was 8 years old 1655." The scrap is endorsed by George Fox "mary ffell to a prest" (Swarth. MSS. vii. 24).

232 1 Ell. edd. insert here "An Exhoration and Warning to the Magistrates," by Fox, on the subject of these "watches," and a few pages later another paper as "An Awakening Warning to Priests and Professors." According to the title page of *West Answering* twenty-one were taken up in the highways of Devon within a month's time and sent to Exeter Gaol.

232 2 Ell. edd. introduce this document by the words "There coming to my Hand a Copy of a Warrant Issued out from the Sessions of Exon, in express terms, For the apprehending of all Quakers...I was moved to write an Answer thereto...." The document is the work of a comparatively uneducated writer. The text of the warrant is set out in *West Answering*, p. 76.

237 1 Henry Polixphen (—1662) lived at Woolston, in the parish of West Alvington. A dispute took place at Justice Polixphen's house in 1656, between the minister of the parish and Thomas Salthouse (Smith, *Cata.* ii. 528, *Adv. Cata.* p. 196).

Dymond, *Trust Property within the County of Devon*, 1899.

238 1 This copy of the letter to Desborough has the author's autograph attached to it. Fox has inserted his initials above the name of *Edw: Pyott*, probably at a later period, and the insertion "& gff" in the endorsement was also made by him. Ell. edd. omit all reference by Fox.

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239 1 This is in a different hand from the letter of Pyott. In addition to the endorsement by Fox given as the heading, there is another partly written by him—"y^e^ first to Gen^rll^ Disburrow from G: F: in lasonston gale in corwell 1656."

241 1 Ell. edd. insert here Fox's papers, *To those given to Pleasures and Wantonness*, and *To the Bowlers in the Green.*

241 2 Ell. edd. insert a paragraph on the prophecies of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men.

241 3 Thomas Lower (1633—1720) came of an ancient Cornish family "seated in S[aint] Winnow parish and at Clifton, in Landulph" (Baring-Gould, *Cornish Characters*, 1909). His first wife was Elizabeth Trelawney (see 204. 3), and his second, Mary, daughter of Judge Fell, whom he married in 1668, after which he took up his residence at a family mansion, called Pennance, in the parish of Creed in Cornwall (*The Friend* (London), 1844). The family also resided at Marsh Grange, Dalton-in-Furness. Thomas and Mary Lower had ten children, of whom five only were living in 1701. Several Quaker families are descended from the marriages of the Lower daughters. Lower was a doctor by profession (see ii. 308; Whitehead, *C. Prog.* 1725, pp. 195, 637). Despite his aristocratic connections he was a not infrequent sufferer for the Truth. His great work in connection with the publication of the writings of George Fox is alluded to elsewhere.
Webb, *Fells*, 1865; *D. N. B.*

242 1 Loveday Hambly (c. 1604—1682) lived at Tregangeeves Farm, near St Austell, Cornwall, where is still a Friends' Burial Ground. No information is forthcoming respecting her ancestry or marriage, but she had been a zealous professor of religion long before her convincement by means of Thomas Curtis. She bore patiently sufferings and indignities and she was several times imprisoned (*Extracts from State Papers*, 1910). Her house, which she enlarged about 1676, was frequently used for meetings (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 251). Several near relations also became Friends. Thomas Lower was her nephew. There was a John Hambly imprisoned in Bodmin in 1659. Benjamin Coale, of Reading, was for some time a household servant to her, and perhaps Thomas Salthouse was in her employ. Some difficulty in connection with the disposal of her estate "for the propagation of the Holy Truth" is detailed in the *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.
A Relation of the Last Words...of Loveday Hambly, 1683; *The Friend* (London), 1844, p. 1; Swarth. MSS. especially iv. 185, letter from L. H. to George Fox, without date, but probably written while G. F. was ill at Reading in the autumn of 1659.

242 2 Grace Billing, according to Ell. edd. In the mention of the visit to Fox in *West Answering*, 1657, p. 46, the name is not given. The Cornwall Registers record the death of Grace Billing in 1668, without further particulars save burial at Tregangeeves. The indexes to all the Ell. edd. prior to the Leeds edition of 1836 place the references to Grace Billing and Edward Billing's wife under one head. The Leeds ed. and all later separate them. No authority for this identification has been discovered, though there appears to have been a connection between the Billing and Hambly families (see 297. 1).

242 3 Ell. edd. insert here a "Paper to Friends in the Ministry" signed "G. F."

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242 4 Anne Downer (1624—1686), daughter of Thomas Downer, Vicar of Charlbury, Oxon. (Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxfordshire*, 1902; *F. P. T.*). She settled in London about 1654 and was one of the earliest Quaker preachers in the Metropolis. According to a Testimony in the handwriting of Fox, preserved in D., Anne Downer "came a foot above 200 miles to mee...& shee layed in the toune of lanston...& carred her selfe very wisly..." (quoted in Beck, *George Whitehead*, 1901, p. 49). Her first husband was Benjamin Greenwell and after his death, in Newgate, she married George Whitehead. Testimonies concerning her were written by many Friends and printed under the title, *Piety Promoted by Faithfulness*, 1686.

West Answering, 1657; *Piety Promoted.*

243 1 Thomas Curtis, woollen draper of Reading, was a Captain in the army of the Parliament (*Saints Testimony*, 1655, p. 38). He was convinced in Bristol (*F. P. T.*), and travelled in the service of Truth. He was several times imprisoned and was one of the Friends released by the "pardon" of Charles II in 1672 (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 708). About 1677 he joined the Separatist party under Wilkinson and Story, in Reading (*Jnl. F. H. S.* i.), for which reason, perhaps, his name was erased from several documents (*F. P. T.* pp. 218, 219 and notes). He wrote Testimonies respecting Loveday Hambly and John Story, 1683.

Pain, *Letter to Thomas Curtis*, 1697; *Observation on Thomas Curtis*, 1697; Ellwood, *Hist.* 1714; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910; MSS. in D.

Anne Curtis, wife of Thomas, was a daughter of Robert Yeamans, of Bristol (see 360. 3). She was baptized in 1631, and married in 1651. She united with her husband in suffering, and also joined him in opposition to George Fox, whom she had tenderly nursed in 1659.

244 1 This was probably *A True Narrative of the Examination, Tryall, and Sufferings of James Nayler*, etc., 1657. Other pamphlets concerning his fall and restoration, dated 1659, are named in Smith's *Cata.* 1867, ii. 227, 228.

245 1 The paragraphs from this break to that on p. 255, except the letter from Humphrey Norton, are not included in the numbered pages of the MS., but the place of their insertion is denoted by ☞*. This added matter occupies $10\frac{3}{4}$ pages. It has the same general characteristics as the numbered narrative portions. See 138. 1.

245 2 The time and circumstances of Humphrey Norton's convincement do not appear. He was preaching in Essex in 1655 (*F. P. T.*) and in London somewhat later (Swarth. MSS. i. 350). Then he visited Ireland and underwent severe ill-treatment there (Rutty, *Hist.* 1751; Swarth. MSS. i. 10, 392). In Fourth Month (June), 1657, Norton sailed for New England, with other Friends, on the *Woodhouse*, Robert Fowler master (*A Quaker's Sea-Journal*, 1659; etc.). His sufferings in New England and neighbouring Colonies were many and severe, including being branded in the right hand with the letter H, "burnt very deep with a red-hot iron" (Swarth. MSS. i. 82; *New England's Ensigne*, 1659, pp. 50 ff.). Norton was in Rhode Island in 1660 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 108). From this time no more is known of him save what we learn from Fox's statement of his defection, which statement is in agreement with that which is said respecting him in Swarth. MSS. iv. 108, and with the omission of his name from the narrative portion of the *Journal.*

Norton's letter is clearly the original, with portions of the sealing wax still adhering. The endorsement printed as heading is by Fox,

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and below by another hand is a paragraph to the same import as that preceding the letter. Norton has written on the back, "Lett this be deliverd to the hands of G: ff:" The sheet has been folded four times one way and twice the other.

Bowden, *Hist.* 1850, i. 62, 95, 99, 134 ; *D. N. B.*

245 3 The loving sympathy between early Friends is manifested in the willingness of those at liberty to take the places of those in prison, that the sufferers might have some time of respite. (So noticeable was this fellow-feeling that Fox had to write a paper to correct the statement of others that Friends loved none but themselves, see ii. 312. 5.) In 1659, 164 Friends (names given in *Declaration of Sufferings*, 1659) made an offer to Parliament "to go into the places" of their brethren in bonds (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 149 ; Burton, *Diary*, 1828, iv. 440), and a similar instance, which took place in 1662, is mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* i. 381). Margaret Sutton travelled from Westmorland in the hopes of permission to take the place of George Whitehead in Bury St Edmunds Jail, 1656 (*Suff.* i. 662).

Middleton MSS. in D. p. 153.

246 1 The several references to singing as a part of worship, now first printed with the *Journal*, are distinctly valuable (pp. 246, 329—331, ii. 326). An official pronouncement of 1675 states, "It hath been and is our living sence and Constant Testimony according to our Experience of the divers operations of the spirit and power of God in his Church that there hath been and is serious sighing, sencible groaning and reverent singing breathing forth an heavenly sound of joy with Grace with the spirit and with understanding" (Y. M. Minutes, in D.). Edward Burrough writes, "Singing which is with the spirit and with understanding of the Redeemed of the Lord, we owne and witnesse" (*Truth Defended*, c. 1656). But it is evident (ii. 326) that there were those who opposed the practice in early days, and from a somewhat later day to the present time there has been little singing by individuals in Friends' meetings for worship, and only on rare occasions has congregational singing been heard.

Cooke, *Some Considerations*, 1670 ; Barclay, *Apology*, 1678, prop. xi. sect. 26 ; Rutty, Appendix to *Second Dissertation*, 1739—"Why is there so little of this appearance among the Bulk of the present Generation of Quakers?" p. 63 ; Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876, p. 461 ; Wood, *Enquiry...Singing*, 1883 ; *American Friend*, 1907, p. 552.

246 2 Thomas Robertson (—1695) (also called Robinson, see *F. P. T.*), was a Westmorland man, living first at Grayrigg Foot, and in later life at Kendal (*F. P. T.*). Ambrose Rigge writes, "A Fellow-Traveller was prepared for me, which was Thomas Robertson of Westmorland, who was made willing to leave his dear Wife and tender Babes, to go with me into the Lord's Harvest" (*Account of Life...of Ambrose Rigge*, 1710, p. 7). Robertson and Rigge travelled much in company, and were imprisoned together (Swarth. MSS. i. 162, iv. 205). Letters from Robertson to M. Fell and others are preserved in D. (A. R. B. MSS. ; Spence MSS. etc.).

246 3 Bryan Wilkinson (—1679) "lived in a park at Sigwick Lodge, in Nutthurst parrish, about Two milles from Horsham," whither he had removed from the North of England (*F. P. T.*). Fox visited Wilkinson in 1655. One paper is attributed to him in Smith's *Catalogue*, and, with others, he signed, in 1666, a short article beginning "Friends and All People Consider." His widow, Margaret, died in 1680.

Extracts from State Papers, 1910 ; Swarth. MSS. iv. 20.

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246 4 Thomas Laycock (Leacock). In Swarth. MSS. (iv. 200) there is a letter from Thomas Robertson in Horsham Gaol to George Fox in Launceston Gaol, dated 9. iii. 1656, which refers to the imprisonment of himself, Laycock and B. Wilkinson. Laycock lived at Emneth, in Norfolk (*Suff.* i. 489; Bugg, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1698, p. 137). He had been in the service of the Commonwealth (*Extracts from State Papers*, 1910).

Francis Bugg, apostate from Quakerism, gives Laycock a very bad character (*op. cit.*). He puts him into his "cage of unclean birds," and calls him "a notorious drunkard," and worse. We know from the Swarth. MSS. (iv. 95) that Laycock was with Whitehead in Norfolk in 1663, but the latter does not mention him in his *Christian Progress*. The Norfolk Registers do not contain any record of death or burial.

246 5 This review of discourses on false prophets and antichrists may have formed part of Fox's collection of his addresses, referred to later (ii. 313. 1) and have been copied by Lower for insertion here. For the devotional ending see 138. 1.

252 1 Throughout its existence as a separate religious body, the Society of Friends has held to the belief that "The Lord Jesus Christ did not design that there should be any rite or outward observance of permanent obligation in His Church...His baptism is the baptism with 'the Holy Ghost and with fire.' He is Himself 'the bread of life.' The eating of His body and the drinking of His blood is not an outward act. It is this inward and spiritual partaking which is, as we believe, the true supper of the Lord" (*Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, 1906, i. 24).

Barclay, *Apology for the True Christian Divinity as held forth...by the People called Quakers*, 1678, propp. xii., xiii.; Gurney, *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends*, 1824 and later; Rowntree, *The Society of Friends: Its Faith and Practice*, 1901 and later.

255 1 William Beaton (—1681) of Podimore, was one of the earliest to entertain Friends who travelled in N. Somerset (*F. P. T.*). He was in prison with John Whiting at Ilchester, where he died after about twenty-seven months close confinement "for not receiving the Sacrament at Easter" (Besse, *Memory of the Faithful Revived*, MS. in D.; Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715). His second wife and widow, who was Grace Lawrence of Calne, Wilts., married Christopher Holder (*ibid.*), but there is not any reference to this marriage in *The Holders of Holderness*, 1902. A letter from William Beaton, dated from "Puddimore," 1680, is in Swarth. MSS. (vi. 65).

255 2 John Dandoe (—1699) of Hallatrow, N. Som., "had a Testimony ffor the truth, & haue Laboured in the same County, And some Times in other Countyes adiacent" (*F. P. T.*). A letter written by Dandoe from Ilchester Gaol, 1669, is in D. His first wife, Jane, died in 1659 and his second, Anne Raymond, in 1699.

255 3 The city of Bristol has been a stronghold of Quakerism from early days to the present time. Audland and Camm, Burrough and Howgill, were pioneers in this district in 1654 and great success with heavy persecution attended their efforts. Fox records nine visits to Bristol between 1656 and 1677. The years 1656, 1663, 1664, and 1681 were times of the hottest persecution (*Cry of Blood*, 1656; *Relation of Inhumane Sufferings*, 1665; *Distressed Case*, 1682; Camm, *Memory of Righteous*, 1689; *F. P. T.*).

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Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715; Underhill, *Broadmead Records*, 1847; Tanner, *Three Lectures on the Early History of Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire*, 1858; Dix MSS.

255 4 The details of the meeting between Fox and Paul Gwin in Barbados are omitted from their place in the first Ell. ed. and also in the edition published in 1827, which closely follows the first edition, but they find a place in all the other Ell. edd., although omitted from several early indexes. Their Bristol meeting place was the orchard belonging to Dennis Hollister, according to the "breviate" (see ii. 310. 3).

257 1 For Judge Frettwell, see ii. 192. 1.

258 1 Nathaniel Cripps (Crisp) lived at Tetbury. He was "an aged Man," when imprisoned in 1662 (*Suff.* i. 211, 215). He appears to have associated himself with the Separatists in the Wilkinson and Story Controversy (Rogers, *Christian Quaker*, 1680, pt. i. p. 31, pt. v. pp. 53—55; Whitehead, *Accuser*, 1681, pp. 163, 167). Another Friend of the same name, living at Cirencester, emigrated to America (*The Friend* (Philadelphia), 1857, p. 229).

F. P. T.

259 1 This was doubtless Edward Stokes of Tytherton Lucas (c. 1615—1667). The following reference to the Michaelmas Sessions, 1656, probably the one referred to in the *Journal*, sent by courtesy of the Clerk of the Peace, Marlborough, will be of interest, "The Generall Quarter Sessions of the publique peace of the foresayd county [Wilts.] holden att Marlborough in the same county the seaventh day of October in the yeare of our Lord god one thousand six hundred fifty and six Before Will^{m} Yorke Esq^{re}...Edward Stoaks Esq^{r}...Justices assigned to keepe the publique peace of the foresaid county & alsoe to heare & determine divers felonyes trespasses & other misdemeano^{rs} co̅mitted...."

There are other accounts of meetings at Stokes's house, in the Swarth. MSS. (i. 81, Justice Stoakes; iii. 143, Edward Stoakes). In a letter from John Audland to Fox, quoted by Leslie in *The Snake in the Grass*, 1698, we read, "I was at Justice Stoks house; and his famaley is all prety loveing and convinced, and he is a sober wise man, and there is honesty in him which will stand...the Place is ...one mile from Chipenam...." The will of Justice Stokes, proved Jan. 1667/8, is printed in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, vi. 4. Thomas Neate, of Chippenham, a Friend, was one of the "overseers" of the will.

259 2 Mary Saunders (c. 1627—1707) acted as "a waiting Gentlewoman in Cromwel's family...She was a sober Maid, and good Example in that Family" (Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 93, 94; *Suff.* i. 663). She was convinced by Francis Howgill, in 1654 (Bowden, *Hist.* i. 360), and was one of the "7,000 Handmaids," who petitioned against tithes in 1659. In 1664, Mary Saunders married Henry Stout, of Hertford. With her husband and other Friends, she carried on a wordy controversy with William Haworth of Hertford (*Quaker Converted to Christianity*, 1674; etc.; *Testimony of Hartford Quakers*, 1676).

Piety Promoted.

260 1 John Owen, D.D. (1616—1683). Several of his writings were replied to by Samuel Fisher (*The Rustick's Alarm*, 1660; and Whitehead, *Divinity of Christ*, 1669). He ordered two women Friends visiting Oxford to be "seuerly whipt, & sent out of town as Vagrants" and "had Thomas Taylor seised & Commited to y^{e} Castle" but

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"vnderstanding he had formerly been a schollar of ye vniversity, he Released him" and paid the gaoler's fees (*F. P. T.*). Owen was in frequent correspondence with William Penn, and it is said that there is a considerable resemblance in the style and character of their writings.

Memoirs, 1820; *D. N. B.*

260 2 This was Major-General William Butler (Botteler), who was in military charge of the counties of Northampton, Bedford, Rutland and Huntingdon. The nature of his "unchristian cariages" may be seen in *Suff.* i. 529; *F. P. T.*; *Extracts from State Papers*, 1910.

A somewhat similar case to that given here and that in Northamptonshire too, is given in Billing, *Word of Reproof*, 1659, p. 90, where the wife of a persecuting Justice "just forty weeks after" the time of his barbarous action, is stated to have "brought forth a man-child, so deformed in many parts of the body...as hardly ever any was seen to be the like."

260 3 Isaac Penington (1616—1679) was the eldest son of Sir Isaac Penington, who was Lord Mayor in London in 1642 and 1643, and a staunch Puritan (*D. N. B.*). In 1654 he married Mary, widow of Sir William Springett, and daughter of Sir John Proude. Both of them had been for some time among those described as Seekers, and were thus prepared, as so many besides, to embrace the teaching of Quakerism. Their convincement took place in 1658 in London, not in Bucks. as stated in the *Journal* (omitted from Ell. edd.), although they shortly afterwards removed into that county. Penington suffered six imprisonments, five at Aylesbury and one at Reading, and was, according to his young Friend, Thomas Ellwood, "cheerfully given up to suffer" (Ellwood, *Hist.* Graveson ed. 1906, p. 195), without making much effort to obtain release (see letter to his wife, quoted in *Penns and Peningtons*, 1867, p. 191). The difference in character between Fox and Penington is illustrated by the former in his *Journal* (ii. 163)—the one, active and alert in mind and body, passed through the danger to which the other, quiet and submissive, fell an easy prey.

Penington was a voluminous writer of mystical religious literature. Unlike the majority of the early Friends he was a writer of books before he became a follower of Fox. There have been several editions of his works, and some of his letters have been frequently reprinted.

Isaac and Mary Penington had five children; there are descendants living in America. His death took place at Goodneston in Kent. Bugg includes Penington in his "cage of unclean birds," but there could hardly have been a man of greater innocency of life.

Webb, *Penns and Peningtons*, 1867; Foster, *Penningtoniana*, 1878; *D. N. B.*; *Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington*, 1910; memoirs by Bevan (1807 and later), Budge (1878), Graham (1899), Newhall (1909); *Biog. Memoirs*, iv. 396.

There was another Isaac Penington (1670—1715), who lived at Hawkshead, Lancs.

261 1 This was probably Sir John Wray, Bart. (—1664), son of Sir John Wray (d. 1655), of Glentworth in Lincolnshire, and the same as "Justice Wray of Glentworth," referred to in a piece of ancient MS. in D. (Swarth. MSS. vii. 66, see also iv. 88) which records a dispute at his house between Nayler, Farnsworth and other Friends and some Manifestarians. The Justice said, "Hee would have the quakers to departe his house that they might go to Dinner & if they would not hee would use his Authority, it was his owne house he said, & so

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turned them forth." Among the Swarth. MSS. (ii. 109, iv. 236) there is a letter from "Justice Wray a Knight" to Fox and also a reply from Fox, endorsed by him "to sir john reay" (both dated 1654 when however Sir John, the elder, would be alive, but the paper may have been endorsed by Fox at a later date), in which Fox writes, "I find many high things spoken w^{ch} y^{u} knows nothing of & art not come into." Sir John, the younger, married, as his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, Bart., of Risley, widow of Sir Symonds d'Ewes, Bart. She died in childbirth, and was buried at Glentworth, 3 Nov. 1655. This lady was probably the wife who "was convinct & dyed in y^{e} truth." At first sight the date in the *Journal* would prevent this identification, but an examination of the MS. shews that the inserted portion in which the reference to the family of Wray occurs (see the parenthesis in lines 6–23) was written on a detached piece of paper, undated, which paper may have been bound up somewhat out of order. The Lincolnshire Registers contain no entry of Wray, and Dalton's *Wrays of Glentworth*, 1880, gives no hint of any member of the family having become Quaker.
D. N. B.

262 1 In *F. P. T.* an identification is suggested with "Mark Grimes, a Justice of the peace and a friend, who dwelt at Glocester shire" (p. 282). Friends' Registers contain the record of the burial at Corse, of Sarah Grimes, of Corse, wife of Mark Grimes, in 1660. This would point to the residence of Mark Grimes being at Corse, some six miles N.W. of Gloucester.

263 1 At this point Ell. edd. insert two epistles from Fox, one in relation to the results of Nayler's defection and the other an encouragement to keep up meetings in the Lord's power; and also an answer to some lines from "a high flown Professor."

263 2 In Swarth. MSS. (iv. 237) the names of several Friends are given, of whom it is said, "All these were turned out of y^{e} Army by Monke with many others w^{ch} were tender (in y^{e} army) of Gods truth" (see 308. 2). This subject is alluded to by Professor Firth in his *Cromwell's Army*, 1902, pp. 344, 345. Carlyle gives a list taken from the Squire Papers, of the "Names of those who joined us at Siege of Lynn, and came riding in full armed...and who left us, many of them, after Marston Fight, on fancies of conscience, and turned Quackers..." (*Cromwell's Letters*, 1869, i. 383). "From the heart of the Puritan sects sprang the religion of the Quakers, in which many a war-worn soldier of the Commonwealth closed his visionary eyes" (Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 231).
By January 1658 "Monck had thoroughly purged the army in Scotland of...Quakers" (Firth, *Last Years of Protectorate*, 1909, ii. 122).
Jnl. F. H. S. ii. 88.

263 3 This is written on two leaves, one side only, in an unknown but cultured handwriting. Some of the insertions are by another hand, not that of Lower. Fox has endorsed "gff to Olefer Crumvell & to his parlement 1656."

266 1 It is curious that three such important statements as those contained in the parenthesis should have been omitted from Ell. edd. An early Meeting for Discipline was established as a Monthly Meeting in Co. Durham in 1654, and others in the North of England soon followed. The main features of these meetings for the affairs of the Society have continued to the present day.

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[Bowden] *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting*, 1858, i. p. vi; *John Stephenson Rowntree*, 1908; MSS. in D.

266 2 See 356. 1.

266 3 This again is a valuable piece of information (cp. ii. 337). Great efforts were made by Friends in early times to spread their literature; "dispersers of Quakers' books" were appointed in all parts, the names and addresses of forty-four such appearing in the State Papers Domestic, 1664 (Chas. II, cix. 44). It has been stated (*Christian Examiner*, 1825, quoted by J[ohn] H[arrison], on *Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, 1835) that, previous to 1718, that is for a period of about seventy-five years, over four thousand different works were published, so that if, as is probable, about 1000 copies were printed, on an average, of each work, some four and a half million copies were distributed.

British Friend, 1846, p. 183.

270 1 John Ellis (—1703) was a well-to-do yeoman of Sennen and later of St Just, one of the first receivers of Truth in Cornwall (*F. P. T.*). In an account which appears in *The Friend* (London), 1847, pp. 61—63, Ellis writes, "Soon after my convincement the office of way-warden was set upon me out of envy." In connection with this office he committed what would now be termed an act of vandalism in pulling down two large granite crosses for the purpose of mending the roads, but during his absence from home the parishioners carried back one cross "where it is likely it doth remain to this day." His wife, Philippa, died in 1677, and was buried at Brea, where still exists a massive weather-beaten slab of granite with inscription:—"Here is buried that virtuous woman Phillipe, the wife of John Ellis" (photo in D.; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1871, p. 283, 1897, p. 207; *Quakeriana*, 1895, p. 45).

West Answering, 1657, pp. 59, 111.

270 2 John Blackmore, Major to General Desborough, and a Justice of the Peace, was the principal agent in setting up the watches on the highroads, mentioned on p. 231 (*West Answering*, 1657, pp. 66, 69 ff.).

270 3 This place appears as *Slone* in all Ell. edd. The correct name is *Slow* (Slowe, Slough). There is a farm of this name a few miles west of Chepstow and near Caerwent. It is mentioned in Gawler's *Record of Some Persecutions*, 1659.

There was a General Meeting at "the slow in munmuthsher" c. 1657 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 253).

Jnl. F. H. S. v.

272 1 Richard Hanbury (—1695/6) was of Pontymoile, near Pontypool, in Wales. "From his son, Charles, of Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern, is descended the well-known family of Hanbury of London, bankers and brewers" (Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, 1894; Norris, *John ap John*, 1907).

273 1 William Gandy (—1683) lived at Frandley. His first wife, Catharine, died in 1664, his second, Mary, survived him twenty years.

F. P. T.; Swarth. MSS.

273 2 This is probably the fast mentioned in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654, p. 50, to take place on Friday, April 7. See next note.

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273 3 Cromwell's proclamation was entitled *A Declaration of His Highness the Lord Protector, inviting the People of England and Wales to a Day of Solemn Fasting and Humiliation*, given at Whitehall, March 20, 1653/4 (*Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts*, 1908, ii. 61). Fox's answer was entitled *A Warning from the Lord to all such as hang down the head for a Day*, etc., 1654. Fox quotes the full title of the *Declaration* and then the various paragraphs, following each paragraph with his comments thereon. The first paragraph contains the words "the present rod of an exceeding and unusual drought, which hath layen upon us for some years."

Mention of the present drought here (1657) reminded Fox of what had happened three years before.

In 1659, the House of Commons proposed a fast "to declare against erronious opinions and practices" of Quakers amongst others. Burton gives an interesting account of the proceedings in his *Diary* (iv. 328).

274 1 Morgan Watkins (—1670) lived at Wigmore Grange and later at Eyton, near Leominster in Herefordshire (*F. P. T.*), where he received Friends about 1655. Thomas Ellwood gives some lively reminiscences of Watkins, as his "friend, prison-fellow and bed-fellow" in Buckinghamshire (*Hist.* Crump ed. 1900). Letters from this Friend are among Swarth. MSS. He was present at the marriage of George Fox with Margaret Fell, at Bristol, 1669.

Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 233, 430; *D. N. B.*

275 1 John Tombes, B.D. (1603—1676) was born at Bewdley. He passed through a distinguished university career and was presented with the living of Leominster. In 1653, Cromwell appointed him one of the Triers of ministers. Tombes held other livings, but his views on baptism frequently brought him into antagonism with his parishioners (*F. P. T.*). With others, he approved the writings of John Toldervy, 1656, see 200. 1. He was "far the most learned Baptist of the age, who had never fallen into line with the Baptist Churches and ministers, gave up his living, and ended his days as a lay-communicant of the Church of England, having married a rich widow at Salisbury" (*Transactions Bapt. Hist. Soc.* 1908, pp. 36, 41, 100). Tombes's works were controversial and several were replied to by Friends.

Farmer, *Sathan Inthron'd*, 1657, p. 49; Nickolls, *Original Letters*, 1743, pp. 122, 124; *D. N. B.*

275 2 The *Short Journal* gives an account of this dispute from memory at a later date, introduced by the words, "I had formerly a meetting in Wales." Of Tombes, Fox says, "I would make y^e^ Scriptures bend him though hee did not matter of y^e^ spirit."

280 1 Edward Edwards (—1706) was a native of Denbighshire, but in 1654 he was living at Gervase Benson's near Sedbergh, whence he accompanied George Whitehead when the latter began his missionary journeys (*Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 21, 22). Edwards lived in Gloucestershire for many years. A copy of Fox's *Journal* is in existence which was given to Edwards as a bequest from the author. In a Fox endorsement to a letter from Edwards (Swarth. MSS. iii. 13), the same form of the name occurs—"edward of edwardes."

Some Brief Epistles...by Mary Edwards, 1720; *Travels...Richard Davies*, 1710; Norris, *John ap John*, 1907; *F. P. T.*

281 1 The hill here referred to was probably Cader Idris. The expression "to sounde y^e^ day of y^e^ Lord" occurs on p. 40 (there omitted from Ell. edd.) under similar circumstances.

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282 1 The "Citty like a Castle" was, doubtless, Carnarvon. The *Short Journal* has "Kirnarvon," and adds that John ap John "was cast in to prison for bidding them repent & fear the Lord; And many came down to mee to y^e^ Inne."

284 1 This should be *Denbigh*, the Welsh county of that name.

285 1 West Chester is the old name for Chester, cp. Gratton, *Journal*, anno 1695. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, anno 894, there is a reference to "westre ceastre," that is, waste Chester. Plummer's ed., 1899, ii. 110, says, "From this epithet 'west'='waste' comes the name 'Westchester,' sometimes given to Deva. It has nothing to do with 'west' as a point of the compass." (Note by W. C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B.)

285 2 The portion of the narrative from this point to the break on the next page was written by Lower on a separate unnumbered leaf. For the character of the closing sentences see 138. 1. Its position in the narrative can only be decided by the date at the commencement.

286 1 For many years the Advice, "Be kind and liberal to the poor," has been read among Friends and has had good effect. Friends have also been specially careful for the poor of their own people: "It ought to be considered that the poor are of our family. When our poor are well provided for, and walk orderly, they are an ornament to our Society. The provision made for the poor is entirely a voluntary one, and its only ground is Christian charity" (*Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, 1906).

286 2 Compare the words of William Penn, "The very Trimming of the vain World would cloath all the naked one" (*Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims*, 1693, no. 67).

286 3 This portion was written by Lower on a separate unnumbered leaf. It bears no evidence, except the date, of the position it was intended to occupy. For the doxological ending see 138. 1.

286 4 That is, John Thurloe (1616—1668), Secretary of State. He had charge of intelligence and postal departments of Cromwell's Government and was a member of his Council. He was in favour of Cromwell's acceptance of the Crown. At the Restoration, he was accused of high treason, but liberated. Thurloe's *State Papers*, published in seven volumes in 1742, is an important contribution to the history of the Interregnum, and contains some valuable information respecting Friends.
D. N. B.

287 1 This was probably at the house of Stephen Hart, New Palace Yard. Nayler refers to a similar, if not the same, meeting "at a freinds house, where there was hundreds of vaine people throwing great stones in at y^e^ window, & broake all the windows" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 81; see Pepys, *Diary*, anno 1660; Beck, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 36, 240).

289 1 The home of Richard and Anne Cubham was Bickerstaffe, near Ormskirk, Lancs. Cubham is thus delineated by a descendant: "A man of weight and consequence in his neighbourhood...a man of a very strong will, and very intent on having his own way, though all the Friends, and all the world, were opposed to him" (Waterhouse, *Memorials of the Families of Cropper, Cubham, Wolsey, and Winstanley*, 1864, p. 10). There are numerous descendants of his five daughters. Anne Cubham died in 1703, and her husband in 1709.
Jnl. F. H. S. ii., v.; Swarth. MSS. iv. 42.

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289 2 The Instrument of Government was adopted 16 Dec. 1653. Under its provisions Cromwell became Lord Protector. Dissenters from the National form of worship "shall [according to the Articles of Government] not be restrained, but shall be protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not their liberty" etc. (quoted by Brown, *Commonwealth England*, 1904, p. 127).

Com. and Prot. chap. xxviii.

290 1 This General Meeting was probably held at Sturzaker Houses not far from, and to the E. of the main road through Lancashire, and situated two miles S. of Garstang. Thomas Story visited Friends here in 1715 (*Journal*, 1747, incorrectly called *Slaugaker*). The Meeting was known as Claughton.

MSS. in possession of Dilworth Abbatt, Preston.

290 2 The labours of the early Quaker preachers in Wales were remarkably fruitful of results. In addition to the comprehensive visits of Fox (which are given in very different order in his *Short Journal*), these results were due to the work of such Friends as Richard Davies, John ap John, and Thomas Holme. The force of persecution however, turned the thoughts of Welsh Friends to the land of freedom across the Atlantic and large tracts of country were taken up by Welsh settlers (Levick, *Emigration of Early Welsh Quakers to Pennsylvania*, 1894; Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, 1896; Jenkins, *Gwynedd*, 2nd ed. 1897). The Friends who remained in the Principality were the object of the Church's care, and many visits were paid to the scattered remnant. Special annual meetings were held in different places from 1682 to 1797.

Numerous authorities are given in *John ap John*, 1907.

The few days spent at Swarthmoor were fully occupied with writing as well as preaching. Ell. edd. preface several epistles with the words "Having gotten a little Respite from Travel, I was moved to write" etc.

291 1 This was George Otway. He was Sir John Otway's brother, and Sir John and his friend John Barwick had to get him out of many scrapes. His conduct, with that of his brother-in-law, Jackson, the headmaster of the Sedbergh Grammar School, was scandalous. George Fox, on hearing of his illness, sent John Blaykling to read a paper to him and Otway acknowledged something of his wickedness before he died (MS. in D. by John Handley of Sedbergh, 1910). The brother referred to on p. 86 was probably the same person.

291 2 This was Sir John Otway (—1693), K.C., J.P., of Ingmire Hall, near Sedbergh, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was educated at the famous Sedbergh School (*Westmorland Quaker Records*, p. 19, see also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655—6, p. 126), and was knighted in 1673. Sir John was favourably disposed towards Friends and had relatives among them (*F. P. T.*; *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.; Howgill, *A Copy of a Paper sent to John Otway, Justice of the Peace, concerning Swearing*, printed without date; MS. in D. by John Handley of Sedbergh, 1910).

Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s*, 1871, pp. 5, 7 n., 12.

291 3 According to Ell. edd. Fox passed from John Audland's to Kendal, where he narrowly escaped arrest.

291 4 "In the year 1653, John Fell of Langlands, with his wife & 4 sons, Received Truth...severel of y^e^ said Children Received gifts of the ministry & traveled in...Scotland..." (*F. P. T.*). Christopher Fell

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was probably one of the four sons. He travelled in Scotland in 1653 and 1655 (Barclay, *Jaffray Diary*, 1833, p. 230; Swarth. MSS. i. 265). Early in 1655, Christopher Fell while in prison "gave a paper to bee read publickly in meeteings...I bidd them bee spareing in Readeing of tho: true words" (G. Taylor to M. Fell, in Swarth. MSS. i. 253). In Spence MSS. iii. 35, there is a letter from M. Fell to C. Fell, "y^{t} sent a paper amongst Friends ag^{t} a paper of M. ffs," probably the abovementioned paper, in which exception is taken to C. Fell's writings. The omission of his name from Ell. edd. and of any record of his death in the Registers, taken with the above, *may* point to his having fallen away from Truth.

292 1 This "silent meetinge" may have been one in which no arrangements were made for preaching, or it may refer to the "retired meetings" held in private houses for personal spiritual help as contrasted with the "threshing meetings" in public places. For these two kinds of meetings see Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 24—32, 125, 226, 240, 272, 278; Barclay, *Inner Life*, 1876.

292 2 William Osburne. The earliest meeting place of Friends in Edinburgh, of which there is any record, was the house of Lieutenant-Colonel Osburne, c. 1653, who according to Sewel became "a zealous minister amongst the flock at Edinburgh" (*Hist.* 1722; *Jnl. F. H. S.* vi.). In 1657 Margaret Fell wrote Osburne a warm letter of encouragement and caution (Spence MSS. iii. 47). From this time he disappears from view, save for a reference in MS. in a volume of Humphry Smith's tracts of date 1658 (196. 4), where he is described as "my friend William Osborne, lately a Colonel."

William Caton, 1839, p. 39; Barclay, *Jaffray Diary*, 1833; Swarth. MSS. i. 301.

292 3 According to a letter among the Swarth. MSS. (i. 301), George Fox entered Scotland on "5th day being the 10th of this 7^{o} month, 1657" (*i.e.* Thursday, 10th September), accompanied by Widders, Lancaster and others (see 310. 1). Serious-minded people in different parts had arrived at the standpoint of Quakerism before any knowledge of Friends had reached them. There were several convincements, but Quakerism never took firm root in the soil of Scotland, despite much cultivation. "The chief of Fox's disciples in the Borders were John (otherwise Judge) Swinton of Swinton...Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester...Walter Scott of Raeburn, Sir Gideon's brother...Charles Ormiston, merchant, Kelso, Anthony Haig of Bemersyde and William his brother" (Russell, *Haigs of Bemersyde*).

Barclay, *Alexander Jaffray and Memoirs of the Rise...of Quakers in the North of Scotland*, 1833; artt. by William F. Miller in *Jnl. F. H. S.* i., ii., vi., vii.

292 4 Sir Herbert Maxwell thinks "there can be little doubt that the reference is to Robert, second Earl of Nithsdale, who was popularly called 'the Philosopher,' being fond of reading, astrology and other mental exercises. He succeeded in 1646, and died in 1667. His beautiful castle of Caerlaverock is still surrounded by a wide moat, and, albeit there is only one drawbridge in working order, there may have been three in Fox's day, for the plan of the castle is triangular" (Letter to the Editor, 1910). Dr Hodgkin suggests the same identification (*Fox*, 1896).

293 1 *The Doctrins & Principles of the Priests of Scotland, contrary to the Doctrine of Christ and the Apostles*, etc. by George Weare, *et al.*, 1657, enlarged 1659, reprinted in Fox's *Great Mistery*, in which the views of twelve Priests are traversed.

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293 2 Margaret Hamilton (Hambleton). Among Swarth. MSS. (iv. 217), there is a letter signed "margret hamilton," dated from "Eihr" in 1659, and addressed to George Fox, in which the writer asks for various "bewkes," and is evidently much interested in the distribution of literature. It appears from *A Testimony of the appearance of God*, signed A. P. and placed by Joseph Smith under "Parker, Alexander" that Margaret Hambleton was excommunicated "by two parish Masters in the west of Scotland, to wit, one called Lewes Simorell, and one Hugh Archbull," because, among other things, "she would not forsake the company of Seducers and Hereticks as they call them" (p. 3).

One of the four daughters of William, second Duke of Hamilton (1616—1651), was Margaret (see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1656—7, 1658—9, 1660—1), but there was at least one other Lady Margaret.

The Scottish Registers contain the entry, "Hameltoun, Margrat, d. 1696. iii. 22, of Breadinghill—died in the Conget—buried at Plesance [Edinburgh]."

293 3 Lieutenant-General Charles Fleetwood (—1692), Parliamentarian soldier. He married Bridget, Cromwell's eldest daughter and widow of General Ireton. Commander-in-chief and Lord Deputy in Ireland. After many years of retirement he died at Stoke Newington.

Pepys, *Diary*, Wheatley ed. 1893; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902; *D. N. B.*

296 1 Andrew Robinson (Robeson). In the postscript to an account of Simeon Harrison (MS. in D.), it is stated that Harrison "cam to Edinbrugh [1667] took bed at Andrew Robesons house...at last expyred & was buried at Edinbrugh, and after him followed severall of y^e^ familie who attended him in his sickness." Andrew Robeson wrote several tracts. In a list of names in a quarto volume in the Williamson Collection in the Public Record Office, London, occurs: "Robinson (Andrew) a Scots Quaker, dangerous young fellow carry^d^ l^res^ between London & Edinb comes frequently to Mr Lawrye." This was probably the Andrew Robeson who emigrated to New Jersey in connection with the ownership of that Colony.

297 1 Edward Byllinge (c. 1623—1686) of Westminster, brewer (Smith, *Cata.* 1867, i. 269), touched the life of his times at varied points. The circumstances of his youth and of his residence in Scotland are not forthcoming, but in 1659 he had removed to London, where he underwent abuse and suffering with other Friends—"many were the knocks, and blows, and kicks, myself and wife received" (Swarth. MSS. v. 93; see Pepys, *Diary*, Wheatley ed.). In 1675, Byllinge and John Fenwick purchased of Lord Berkeley his moiety of the Province of New Jersey. Having suffered pecuniary loss, Byllinge asked William Penn to become trustee with Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas for the benefit of his creditors. Penn's work in this connection was a prelude to his greater work of founding the Province of Pennsylvania. In 1681, Byllinge was appointed Governor of West New Jersey, and he appointed Samuel Jennings his deputy, and, later, the former became a partner with Penn and others in the Province of East New Jersey (*Case Put*, c. 1684; Jennings, *Truth Rescued*, 1699; Proud, *Hist. of Penna.*, 1797. i. 136 ff.; Winsor, *Hist. of America*, iii. 430; Clement, *First Settlers in Newton Township, N. J.*, 1877).

It is clear that there was some relationship between Edward Byllinge's family and that of Hambly, of Cornwall (see 242. 1, 2).

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A child of "Edward and Lillias Billing," born 1660, was named Loveday Billing (Cornwall Registers), and Edward Byllinge's "only heir and surviving child" was Gracia (Clement, *Settlers*, p. 223) The "breviate" of the *Journal* (see ii. 310. 3) states that Fox met Byllinge and others at the town of "Burfort," in Scotland.

Biog. Memoirs, ii. 459; Swarth. MSS. iii. 139, 143; Spence MSS. iii. 59.

297 2 This was Colonel Lidcott (as Ell. edd.) who was, apparently, Governor of Linlithgow Castle. John Hall had a meeting in the Castle in 1656, at the request of the wife of the Governor, "y^e^ governer was very much satisfied w^th^ w^t^ was declared and very loving...Collenell Lidcoate" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 64, 279).

297 3 The name of William Welch has not been found among Scottish Friends' records. A William Welch and Sarah his wife were living at a somewhat later date in London and in Holland (Swarth. MSS.; etc.) and their daughter, Sarah, married at Devonshire House, in 1674, John Swinton, Jun., of Edinburgh. There is a reference to "Sarah Walsh" in a letter from William Dewsbury from Scotland, 1658 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 146).

299 1 This document is written on one side of a sheet, lengthwise. Many of the insertions in it were made by Lower; the endorsement is by Fox. The place of the document is indicated by ☞ * ☜.

301 1 This document is endorsed by Fox, under which endorsement is written "this it [is] to be put in G Fs Travells in Scotland."

302 1 George Monck, first Duke of Albemarle (1608—1670), was son of Sir Thomas Monck, of Potheridge in Devon. After serving Charles I, he became assistant to Cromwell and Commander-in-chief in Scotland, numerous Quakers being among his soldiers (Swarth. MSS. iv. 237, 268). Fox addressed a long letter to Monck and the army in Scotland (Swarth. MSS. ii. 25). On the Restoration, this "adroit actor in the transformation scene from Republic to Monarchy" (Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896) again allied himself to the Stuart cause, as foreseen by Fox. Monck refused to release Fox from Lancaster Jail in 1660 (Spence MSS. iii. 56).

Gumble, *Life of General Monck*, 1671; Barclay, *Letters*, 1841; *D. N. B.*

303 1 Colonel Richard Ashfield was Governor of Glasgow (*William Caton*, 1689, p. 32). Attempts have been made to identify him with Richard Ashfield, of Staines, Middlesex, who died in Newgate in 1677, but proof of this is wanting.

For Colonel Ashfield, see Burton, *Diary*, 1828; Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 153; Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, 1895.

For Richard Ashfield of Staines, see *Suff.* i. 440; Beck, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 283.

304 1 Perhaps the same as "Captain Powel," belonging to Monck's regiment in Scotland, referred to in a letter, dated 1652, which also mentions "Bruntiland," printed in Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, 1895. Captain Poole's name has not yet been noted among Quaker records.

306 1 Monck writes to Secretary Thurloe, "You see by enclosed letters and books what pains those Q^s^ take to get Proselytes. Pearson is one that was formerly S^r^ Art Hazeling's man. Alex Parker is at Leith. I have ord^d^ the commanding officer there to secure him, likewise George Fox. have ord^d^ an officer to look at the books, so many that carriage from here to Newcastle came to 14/-. Hopes his Highnes will take steps to prevent the papers being printed—Dalkeith, 18 Feb. 165$\frac{7}{8}$" (*State Papers*, vi. 811).

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308 1 Captain Davenport's case is referred to in Prof. Firth's *Cromwell's Army*, 1902. Colonel Daniel, in a letter dated 16 July, 1657, complains to Monck of his Captain-Lieutenant Davenport, that he was "much confirmed in his principles of quakeing." Davenport was brought before Monck and ordered to be cashiered. There is a slight reference to this Friend in Swarth. MSS. (iv. 65, c. 1655). The omission from Ell. edd. of the closing words of this paragraph may imply that Davenport did not retain his "quakeing." There is not any record of his death in the Scottish Registers.

308 2 In the Swarth. MSS. (iv. 237) there is a paper entitled "A Testimony of some of y^e^ souldiers: y^t^ were turned out of y^e^ army whoe owned y^m^ selves to bee quakers, 1657." It is signed by Mathew ffoster, Will^m^ Millington, ffrancis Booth, Geo. (or Tho.) Watkinson, Tho: Parish, Jonas Langdall, ffrancis Rowntree and John Simpson. These signatories are stated in the paper to be "officers & souldiers in Cap^t^ W^m^ Bradford [see 148. 2] & Cap^t^ Geo: Watkinson their Troopes in Coll: Rob^t^ Kilburne his Reg^te^ of horse." See 263. 2.

310 1 In a letter to Robert Barclay, written at Swarthmoor in 1675, Fox recalls his feelings on first entering Scotland—"as soon as ever my Horse set his feet upon the land of the Scottish Nation, the Infinite Sparks of life sparkled about me...I saw...abundance of Clods foul & filthy earth was above it...& a great deall of dark airy Profession," etc. (*Reliquiae Barclaianae*, 1870, p. iii). This condition of things is strikingly presented by Gardiner (*Com. and Prot.* i. 341, quoted by Hodgkin, *Fox*).

310 2 Thomas Ledgerd (Ledgard) is frequently mentioned in the State Papers. Fox (*Great Mistery*, 1659, pp. 254—257) animadverts upon two pamphlets written by Thomas Leadger, presumably the Newcastle Alderman. He was treasurer to the Northern Committee for Compounding, and would thus have business connections with Anthony Pearson.

311 1 Among these books would be *The Perfect Pharise*, 1653, and *A Further Discovery*, 1654, written by Thomas Welde, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond, William Coale, and William Durant, ministers in Newcastle. See Fox, *Great Mistery*, 1659, pp. 74, 227.

312 1 Orders in Council, etc. respecting the new College at Durham may be found in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655—6, 1656—7. "It appears to have been soon suppressed on account of petitions against it from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge" (Sykes, *Local Records*, 1833, i. 108).

At this point in the *Journal* two numbered leaves are missing, which may have contained the statement of the Ell. edd. that the man declined to set up his College after further consideration of Fox's words, which statement however does not appear to correspond with the facts of the case as given above.

About the same time there appeared *Some Queries to be answered in Writing or Print by the Masters, Heads, Fellows and Tutors of the Collegde they are setting up at Durham*, which follows much the same line of argument as contained in the *Journal*. Dr Tongue, who had vacated the living of Pluckley in Kent owing to trouble with the Quakers, became a Fellow of this College (Evelyn, *Diary*, anno 1678).

312 2 Sir Henry Vane (1612—1662), son of Sir Henry Vane (1589—1655), married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Bart., of Ashby, Lincs. He was "a leading man in all affairs of the Commonwealth, home, colonial, military and naval, 1649—1653" (*D. N. B.*). In 1659

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he became President of the Council. At the Restoration he was imprisoned in the Tower of London and in the Scilly Islands. He was condemned to die and was executed on Tower Hill (*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, esp. Wheatley ed.; Spence MSS. iii. 71, 88). Of Vane, James Nayler writes, "He is very loving with Friends but drunk with imagination" (quoted in *Fells*, p. 121).

Raby Castle, Co. Durham, was presented to Sir Henry by his father in 1640. From early times there has been a Quaker settlement in the neighbourhood of the Castle, and George Dixon (1671—1752) was "Quaker butler" to the second Baron Barnard. Vane had also a residence at Belleau, Lincs.

The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, 1662; Penn, *No Cross No Crown*, 1682; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*; *D. N. B*; Huish, *American Pilgrim's Way in England*, 1907.

312 3 Justice Draper lived at Headlam, near Gainford, Co. Durham. See 135. 1.

314 1 These twenty Queries put to Sir Henry Vane are written on a large sheet of paper, which has at one time been much folded, and also repaired. The copyist is not known.

317 1 This report of George Fox's sermon at John Crook's occupies three very full pages of small, clear writing. Both paper and ink are brown with age. The last sentence is clearly a note by the reporter. There are evidences that Lower had gone over the MS. The endorsement is in his hand, and reads, "A paper of G. ffs what was spoken to ffreinds in y^e^ Ministry att Jo: Crookes 1657 w^ch^ must bee In grossed in y^e^ generall declaration in its place: & all y^e^ rest of these papers: & brought in there places." This paper may have formed part of the collection of Fox's addresses referred to later (ii. 313. 1). Owing to the loss of several leaves at this place in the narrative (see 312. 1, 326. 1), we have no account here of the General Meeting itself. The Ell. ed. of 1694 does not define more exactly the *locale* of this Meeting of 1658 than that it was held at "John Crook's house in Bedfordshire." A previous reference to "John Crook's house" (see 180 *b*) connects the event there mentioned with the town of Luton. We know, however, that Crook had a country-residence at Beckerings Park, near Ridgmont (*F. P. T.*), and in the absence of any known *early* statement to the contrary (*Yearly Meeting Epistles*, 1858, i. p. viii, "at Luton"), we may surmise that the General Meeting was held at Beckerings. A MS. in modern writing, preserved in D. (printed in *Jnl. F. H. S.* i.), gives a picturesque description of Beckerings and states that the General Meeting of 1658 was held there, but it is unsigned and no authorities for the description are given. The mention of a moat 260 yards in circumference, and of a wide staircase within the house, gives the impression of such space as would be required for the "many thousands" who were present.

323 1 This account of a dispute with a Jesuit, pp. 323—326, occupies four pages of manuscript, which are unnumbered. The contents of the two leaves have been printed in the position in which these leaves were bound, but their insertion in the midst of the account of the General Meeting is probably an error in binding.

323 2 Mountjoy Blount (1597?—1666), natural son of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, by Penelope, Lady Rich; created Earl of Newport, Isle of Wight, 1628. He attended a meeting at William Woodcock's, in the Savoy, in 1658, and was "truly loving" (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 59). Newport House was in Longacre.

D. N. B.; Smith, *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick*, 1901, pp. 53, 215.

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323 3 Nicholas Bond (—1672) was living at Worcester House, in the Strand, London; the origin of the Savoy Meeting may be traced to this house. Bond, "who had a place at Court," afterwards removed to Greenwich Palace, where he continued to supply Friends with a room in which to meet (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, pp. 36, 223, 240). What "place at Court" Nicholas Bond occupied is made evident by reference to the State Papers from 1651 to 1658. Prior to 1643, he was a "servant to the King, Queen, and Prince" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654, p. 127) and during the Interregnum he occupied the position of steward to attend various distinguished foreign visitors and to take care of their "diet," which was an important post when ambassadors were provided with "50 dishes, for first and second course and 30 dishes of fruit and sweatmeats for each meal, and a convenient allowance for other tables" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1651—2, p. 409).

326 1 An account of the notable General Meeting at John Crook's house was probably given in the missing portion of the numbered leaves of the MS. See 317. 1.

327 1 According to Carlyle (*Cromwell's Letters*, 1869), Harvey wrote a detailed account of the last days of his Master, *A Collection of Several Passages concerning his late Highness*...1659, but see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1910, p. 525.

327 2 Oliver Cromwell (1599—1658). The relations of Cromwell with Friends are referred to in several notes (see 149. 1, 168. 1, 170. 1, 328. 2). It has been asserted that Friends suffered little, if any, persecution in the days of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. That view was not held by Fox (pp. 341, 385, 389, ii. 1, 338, 339) though it is probable that he did not sufficiently appreciate the difficulties of Oliver's position. Oliver and his Council ordered the liberation of Friends on several occasions after searching enquiry had been made into the causes of their commitment.

In 1658 the following excellent advice was sent down—"Out of a tendernes towards such poore deluded persons you would as much as in you lyes endeauo^{r} to prevent their running into such Contempts for not giving that Civill respect w^{ch} they owe to you as Magistrates when they are brought before you, by Causing their hatts to be pulled off before hand, or that for such Contemptes such punishment may be inflicted as may rather discountenance their folly then endang^{r} their Liues. His Highnes & the Councell judging it safer, in dealing wth persons whose miscarriages arise rather from defects in their vnderstanding then from malice in their wills, to exercise too much lenity then too much severity" (*Extracts from State Papers*, 1910). Much of the suffering during this period was caused by those in local authority, and was not prompted by the central Government. "So far as the central authorities were concerned it was as persons causing disturbance that the Quakers suffered and not because of their religion" (Braithwaite, in *F. P. T.* "The Penal Laws affecting Early Friends in England—Commonwealth Period"; cp. Hodgkin, Introduction to *F. P. T.* p. xvi, and *George Fox*, 1896, p. 168).

In 1654, after much waiting, Anthony Pearson had an interview with Cromwell during which "in came his wife & about 20 proud women more, & after them at least 30 young fellowes his sonnes & attendants." Pearson adds, "There was not y^{e} least signe of any honesty left in him nor any tendernesse though I spoke enough to have broken his heart" (Swarth. MSS. iii. 34).

Hubberthorne, *Word of Wisdom and Counsel*, 1659, *Short Relation of the Twelve Changes of Government within Eight Years, in all of which we have suffered Persecution*; Weingarten, *Revolutionskirchen Englands*, 1868, p. 248; Tangye, *The Two Protectors*, 1899; *D. N. B.*

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327 3 Elizabeth Cromwell (1629—1658), second daughter of the Protector, married in 1646 John Claypoole, afterwards Lord Claypoole, brother of James, the Quaker. They lived at Northborough, in Northants., but Elizabeth's death took place at Hampton Court. In 1646 Cromwell wrote of this daughter, "Shee is exercised with some perplexed thoughts, and sees her owne vanitye...shee seekes after that w^ch^ will satisfie, and thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect, next finder" (quoted in *Catalogue of Autograph Letters*, by Sotheby, 1910). Hence it appears that her mental unrest had been of long standing.

Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, 1869; Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896; Firth, *Last Years of Protectorate*, 1909; *D. N. B.*; *Jnl. F. H. S.* v.

328 1 Fox's letter to Lady Claypoole is given in Ell. edd.

328 2 Richard Cromwell (1626—1712), son of Oliver Cromwell, was proclaimed Protector in his father's place, September, 1658. Friends were not slow to lay before the new Protector an account of their sufferings. He "carries himself fair; divers have been with him. A large letter I was moved to write to him" says Edward Burrough, 24. vii. (Sept.), 1658 (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841), a portion of which letter is given by Sewel (*Hist.* 1722). Whitehead, who was released from Ipswich prison on the death of Oliver, states that Friends "had some Respite and Ease from open Persecution, in the years 1658, and 1659, after Richard Cromwel was set up for Protector" though there was much "Pulpit-Noise against us" (*Christian Progress*, 1725, pp. 135, 144). Fox however couples the Protectorate of Richard with that of his father, as a time of persecution (pp. 385, ii. 338, 339; cp. *Short Journal*).

Tangye, *The Two Protectors*, 1899; *D. N. B.*

328 3 The Church Faith here referred to was called *A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England: Agreed upon and Consented unto by their Elders and Messengers in their Meeting at the Savoy, October 12^th^, 1658*, 1659. It was based on the Westminster Confession. "The preface breathes a noble spirit of charity and moderation" (Marsden, *Later Puritans*, 1854, p. 385). Thomason, the bookseller (c. 1602—1666), states that this *Declaration* was "By Philip Nie and his Confederat Crew of Independants" (*Cata. of Thomason Tracts*, 1908, ii. 217).

Bickley is incorrect in connecting Fox's reference with the Savoy Conference of 1661, and therefore charging Fox with a serious blunder as to date (*George Fox*, 1884, p. 170).

328 4 Fox's reply to the *Declaration* was *Something In Answer To that Book, Called the Church-Faith: Set Forth By Independants and others*, etc.

The copy of this in D. was printed in 1660, and Smith (*Cata.* 1867, i. 661) has no mention of an earlier edition, but there must have been an earlier one if Fox's statement as to his answer is correct. The same thing occurred in 1660 with regard to other Quaker literature —"some of them is given Abroad, in Whitehall & others of them is sould in divers shopps, & some of y^e^ women Cryes them about y^e^ streets" (Swarth. MSS. iv. 20). Baxter's *Sheet against the Quakers*, 1657, was "cryed up and down the streets in London" (Burrough, *Many Strong Reasons*, 1657).

329 1 This paper to Papists and Professors is in the handwriting of one who has written several other inserted documents. Several contracted words, and words represented by signs only, are very difficult to decipher. The transcription has been checked by another copy of the paper, in D.

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334 1 According to Ell. edd. Fox adds, "But they went not off without being forewarned," and writes a letter to the Parliament then in session.

334 2 Somerset House was the palace of the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, on the left bank of the Thames, in London, built 1547—53. During the Interregnum it was used in part as a preaching place (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1649—50, p. 401, 1652—53, pp. 138, 343; *Com. and Prot.*).

Needham and Webster, *Somerset House Past and Present*, 1905.

334 3 "The Committee of Safety for the Kingdom" was constituted in May, 1659, to "assume the present entire government [after the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell came to an end]...and to consider and determine what form of government was fit to be erected" (quoted in Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, 1807, iii. 1055). The Committee was composed of Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Vane and others (Pepys, *Diary*, Wheatley ed. 1893, i. 53, note 3).

Burrough wrote *A Message to the Present Rulers of England, Whether Committee of Safety (so called)*, etc., 1659, and Howgill wrote *An Information and also Advice to...this present Committee of Safety*, 1659. Thomas Briggs had a message for the Committee, "and when I came to the Door," he writes, "the Door-keeper said, I should not come in there; and there was an Embassador come from a far Country, and he was admitted, but the Lords Messenger they would not let come in" (*Account of Travels*, 1685, p. 8).

335 1, 2 This address to the Government was written by Margaret Fell. Her name is attached to it, as printed in her tract, *False Prophets*, 1655. Ell. edd. have "G. F." at the close of the piece. The day appointed for humiliation and fasting was Thursday, 14 June, 1655, and "ministers were to stir the people to a free and liberal collection for their relief" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655, 1655—6, see index under Protestants). This paper is dated two days later; the date of Fox's endorsement is incorrect. This address, referring to the fast-day of 1655, is out of place here; the present position is assigned to it by the preceding insertion, which, though ancient, is not in the handwriting of Thomas Lower.

The superscription follows closely the wording of the Declaration of the Protector, which however has the addition of a reference to the Duke of Savoy and of the word "Waldensian" before Ancestors. It is interesting to notice that although Friends objected to the day of fasting, they subscribed money for the benefit of the sufferers (ii. 326; Swarth. MSS. i. 263, 265). Ell. edd. insert this document at a time when it would refer also to a collection ordered later (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1657—8, 1658—9) towards the relief of Protestants driven out of Poland and Bohemia.

Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, 1869, iii. 103; *Com. and Prot.* iv. 177 ff.

340 1 Ell. edd. insert two paragraphs relating a discussion in London with "one Major Wiggan," presumably the same as the Major Wiggan referred to later in the *Journal*.

John Wigan's experiences in life were of a very varied character. He was at first a clergyman of the Established Church. In 1649, he took over the lease of the Manchester College, and fitted up the large barn close to the Gatehouse as a Baptist meeting place, the first in the North of England. In 1650, he became a Captain of cavalry in the New Model Army, and later a Colonel of the Life Guards, but he soon afterwards retired to Manchester. He again took up arms when Sir George Booth raised a rebellion in 1659. For his partici-

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pation in the abortive rebellion of 1663, Wigan was committed to Lancaster Gaol, where occurred the events referred to in ii. 63. 2.

No confirmation has been found of Fox's statement regarding the manner of Wigan's death, but he died before Ninth Month (Nov.), 1668 (Eccles, *Quakers Challeng*, p. 5).

Adam Martindale, 1845; Shaw, *English Church under the Commonwealth*, 1900; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*; Swarth. MSS. iii. 31, vii. 2.

340 2 Sergeant Birkhead lived at Twickenham (Ell. edd.) on the Thames, in Middlesex.

341 1 At the end of *A Word of Reproof, and Advice to my late Fellow-Souldiers*, etc., by Edward Byllinge, 1659, is "A Catalogue of some few of the fighting Priests," which may be part of the "booke" here referred to. The "Catalogue" contains the names of thirty Priests, and concludes with the words, "And no murtherer, nor striker shall inherit the Kingdom."

341 2 Ell. edd. contain a fuller statement of the "Confusion and Distraction amongst the People."

Fox's sufferings and trials at Reading probably prevented him from keeping an orderly record at the time and thus we have a confused and intermittent account of this period, see pp. 341, 342, 346, 347. Ell. edd. present events in re-arranged form.

341 3 Ell. edd. insert here a paper by Fox commencing "My dear Friends, every where abroad."

342 1 According to Richard Bury's *Collection of Sundry Messages and Warnings*, 1728, p. 26, this woman was Esther Biddle of London (c. 1629—1696), wife of Thomas Biddle. A note is added to the brief reference to this subject, "George Fox did not discourage her, nor enter her disorderly in the Mens Meeting Book. See George Fox's Journal." She issued several warnings—to Oxford, 1655, to London, 1660, to "these Three Nations," 1662, and to Cambridge, n.d. There are several letters from Esther Biddle among the papers in the Public Record Office—probably intercepted by the authorities in transit (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661—2, 1664—5), and there are others among MSS. in D.

342 2 The cap-rending scene is misplaced under this year; it actually occurred in 1655 (Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 28). This interview is pictured in *Martyr Scenes*, by Backhouse and Scott, 1888.

342 3 Although often accused by their opponents with neglect of the Scriptures, the early Friends were in reality great students of the Bible, and felt themselves called upon at times to repeat some of the symbolic actions of the Hebrew prophets. In addition to the "signs" recorded in the *Journal* (pp. 89, 355, ii. 1, 2, 90, 165) there is the case of Robert Barclay, a man of refinement and education, who believed it right "to pass through three of the principal streets of Aberdeen clothed in sack cloth" (*Truth Triumphant*, 1692, p. 105; *Jaffray Diary*, 1833, pt. ii. chap. v.), of Solomon Eccles passing through London with a pan of burning coals and brimstone on his head (see ii. 176. 5), and of Fox himself throwing silver out of his pocket in Kendal streets (*Short Journal*). For "going naked" as a sign, see 355. 2.

Braithwaite, *Spiritual Guidance*, 1909, p. 56.

343 1 These two paragraphs were written on a separate leaf, of which they occupy but one quarter. The date and eight words following were written by Fox, the remainder by a scribe whose writing is known, but whose personality has not yet been discovered. For the style of the concluding paragraph, see 138. 1. The position is clearly marked by ✱.

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343 2 This was probably Richard Davis, to whom with other "dear brethren of London" was committed in 1658 the care of money collected in the North for Friends' work abroad (MS. in D. printed in Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 286 n.); also probably Richard Davis, a shopkeeper, mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* i. 366, 392).

343 3 Presumably Henry Clarke, of Southwark, see 184. 2.

343 4 This collision of sects is mentioned previously and expanded in Ell. edd., see 341. 2.

343 5 Ell. edd. add "At which time some foolish rash Spirits...were ready to have taken up Arms," etc., followed by a paper by Fox, beginning "Take heed to keep out of the Powers of the Earth."

343 6 John Lambert (1619—1683) was born at Calton in Yorkshire. He acted as Major-General to Cromwell in 1650, but he refused to take the oath of allegiance to him. In 1660 he was committed to the Tower (Swarth. MSS. i. 320), but escaped (see 355. 1). The next year he was again in the Tower (Spence MSS. iii. 71, 88), and he was in prison from 1664 till his death. During the portion of his imprisonment passed on an Island in Plymouth Sound he was visited by Miles Halhead. He was sometimes styled Lord Lambert. "The Lady Lambert" visited by John Gratton (*Life*, 1720, p. 121) may have been his widow.

Pepys, *Diary*; *D. N. B.*

343 7 Sir George Booth, afterwards Baron Delamer (1622—1684). He commanded the King's forces in Cheshire etc. and seized Chester, but was defeated by Lambert at Nantwich in August, 1659 (Swarth. MSS. iii. 145).

"When Booth's Army was up, Robert Widders was made to ride among them with a Twig in his Hand, and told them, The Lord with his Rod of Iron would break them to pieces; and they took his horse from him; and in a few daies after they were all broken to pieces" (*Robert Widders*, 1688, p. 27); *D. N. B.*

343 8 Probably an error in writing for "G. monke." (302. 1.)

344 1 Sampson Townsend, of St Austin's and St Saviour's, Norwich, author of *The Scriptures proved to be the Word of God...or a clear conviction of the errours of those that are called Quakers*, 1654.

Whitehead, *Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 47; *Saul's Errand*, 1728, p. 7.

345 1 As early as 1655, a meeting was held at "Coll Denies housse neare Norwich Citie. There is A true love begott in him to the truth" (Swarth. MSS. i. 350). Further information does not appear.

346 1 This is followed, in Ell. edd., by the words, "Divers times had I both by Word and Writing, forewarned the several Powers...of the Day of Recompence," etc., followed by a paper, beginning "Now are the Prophecies fulfilled and fulfilling upon you," and containing the statement, "Was there not a Book of Examples set out unto you, of what sudden and strange Deaths happened upon the Persecutors of the Innocent."

347 1 This was Nicholas Jose (—1694/5) of Sennen, Land's End. He was of Spanish extraction, his ancestors having, it is said, come over with the Spanish Armada. He married twice; his first wife, Elizabeth, died in 1685/6; his second, Wilmett Richards, whom he married in 1688, died in 1727. Through the marriage of his daughter Honor with John Tregelles in 1676 (*F. P. T.*), he became the ancestor of several families of Friends, in some members of which

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evidences of Spanish blood are still noticeable. According to *F. P. T.*, Jose was convinced by Miles Bateman. His burial took place at Brea, Land's End.

The Friend (London), 1848, p. 77.

347 2 Fox's exercise of mind on the subject of wrecking, producing an address to those engaged in "taking peoples goods from them by force out of their ships," is recorded in Ell. edd. at this point.

348 1 These paragraphs with their heavy interlineations were written by Lower on a separate sheet, the bottom portion of which has become detached and has disappeared. There is a sign on the remaining piece to indicate its position in the text, but no corresponding sign on the numbered sheets.

349 1 Thomas Gouldney was a grocer, living in High Street, Bristol (Swarth. MSS. i. 142), and one of the earliest in that city to receive travelling Friends (*F. P. T.*). He was joint-author of *The Cry of Blood*, 1656, a tract of 143 pages, presenting the sufferings of Friends of Bristol.

349 2 Thomas Speed, of Bristol (—1703), "was a public teacher of religion amongst the Nonconformists and also concerned in merchandize" (*Biog. Memoirs*, v. 191). He wrote several controversial pamphlets dealing with the writings of William Thomas, a minister of Ubley, and others, concerning the ministry of the Gospel (Grigge, *Quaker's Jesus*, 1658, p. 60). He married the widow of Robert Yeamans and brought up her numerous family (360. 3). Thomas describes Speed thus :—"Formerly (but unsutably) Merchant in the City of Bristol, and Preacher; lately (but more sadly) Merchant and Quaker" (*Vindication*, 1657).

350 1 This address of Fox with the subsequent discussion on perfection fills both sides of a sheet, smaller in size than usual. It is not numbered, but was written by Lower, perhaps at a later period. Its position in relation to the narrative is defined by × ×. See 138. 1.

352 1 Ell. edd. here insert, with an introductory paragraph, General Monck's order, dated St James' the 9th of March, 1659, requiring officers and soldiers to forbear disturbing Friends' meetings. Among Swarth. MSS. (iii. 141) is a slip of paper measuring $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 2 inches, on which the words of the order are written, and which is endorsed by Fox "an order of g monk."

Barclay, *Letters*, 1841; Pepys, *Diary*, Wheatley ed. 1893.

352 2 This was the "free Parliament," which was "elected under Monk's protection in the turbulent spring [April] of 1660. It was by the letter of the law no true Parliament, because the King did not summon it; on the contrary it summoned the King. Hence, it is known as the Convention Parliament" (Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 332).

353 1 Justice Burton. The name of Justice Casse Burton appears as that of a persecutor among the records of sufferings in Leicestershire, in MS. in D.

353 2 This was Thomas Sharman, referred to without name on pp. 4, 9. Ell. edd. insert a letter from Sharman to Fox, dated "Derby, 22nd of 4th Month, 1662."

353 3 John Killam lived at Balby, two miles from Doncaster. He married Margaret, sister of Thomas Aldam, the elder. His wife was a great traveller and sufferer; her sister Joan married Thomas Killam,

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of Balby. John Killam was a prisoner in York Castle in 1654—5 (Swarth. MSS. iv. 88). Several letters from different members of the Killam family are in D.

355 1 Lambert, having escaped from the Tower, collected about six troops of horse, but his soldiers declined to fight when opposed by the Royalists. Lambert was overtaken in flight, and carried prisoner to London. The date of his defeat was 22nd April, 1660, and the place near Daventry, Northants.

355 2 The general subject of "signs" has been briefly dealt with in 342. 3. "Going naked" was by far the most frequent of these sermons-in-action. The subject has been fully treated by the present editor in an addendum to *F. P. T.*, with bibliography. There is no condemnation by Fox of any of the instances of nudity, partial or absolute, mentioned in the *Journal* (pp. 89, 355, ii. 1, 2, 90), nor by other early Friends who mention this subject (Nayler, *Woe against... Kendall*, 1654, *Discovery of Man of Sin*, 1655, p. 48; Eccles, *Signs are from the Lord*, 1663; Farnsworth, *Spirituall Man*, 1655, p. 25; Ellwood, *Hist.*, see notes in Crump ed. p. 27 and Graveson ed. p. 38).

George Whitehead refers to this matter at a later date than the above, "As to going Naked, it has been no general practice among the People called Quakers; 'twas but very few, who many years since were concerned therein....Although I cannot excuse every one in that case, to have a Divine Call...yet I believe some were called to be such Signs and Wonders to the world" (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 226).

In addition to authorities referred to in *F. P. T.* may be mentioned, Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 1660, p. 8; Story, *Babilon's Defence*, 1660, p. 16; Penn, *Reply...to...Answer...to Key*, 1695, p. 144, "we are not against all Signs"; Sewel, *Hist.* 1722; Story, *Journal*, 1747, p. 655; Barclay, *Jaffray Diary*, 1833, p. 400; Bax, *Anabaptists*, 1903, p. 378.

356 1 Gatherings of Friends of more than local character, and with some legislative functions, took place in various parts of the country from 1654 to 1661. Such "General" or "Yearly" meetings were convened at or near Skipton in 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659 (twice) and 1660. "From thence" [Skipton, 1660], wrote Fox, "it was removed to London the next year, where it hath been kept ever since, as being looked upon a more convenient place" (*Concerning...Yearly Meetings*, 1689, quoted in *Jnl. F. H. S.* ii.). The Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends has met *without a break* from 1668 to the present year, a record probably unequalled by any other religious organization. Only twice during this long period of years has it been held out of London—1905 in Leeds and 1908 in Birmingham. The minutes recording the decisions of this Meeting are extant from 1672.

Barclay, *Letters*, 1841; [Bowden] *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting*, 1858, i. pp. viii—xii, xxix—xxxvi; MSS. in D.

357 1 Sir George Middleton (c. 1600—1673/4), of Leighton Hall, was lord of the manor of Yealand, and a zealous cavalier. Fox's statement that Middleton was a Papist has been questioned (*The Friend* (London), 1901, p. 269, see *Transactions Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc.* 1910). He was knighted in 1642 and created a Baronet on the next day. His first wife was Frances Rigg, of Little Strickland, and his second, Anne, daughter of George Preston, of Holker.

357 2 This sheet is written in a large and untidy hand; most of the additions and corrections are by Lower. The shorthand is of the same character as appears elsewhere. See 160. 2, 3.

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357 3 Perhaps, John Bisbrown and Richard Burrough, the latter belonging to Arnside, both mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* ii. 18).

357 4 This is presumably George Bewley (—1691) son of Thomas Bewley of Haltcliffe Hall, Caldbeck, who is said to have continued to live with his father after his marriage with Elizabeth Stordy. The George Bewley mentioned ii. 26 was presumably the same, in both places there is an association with Joseph Helling and we know from various sources (*Suff.*; *F. P. T.*) that George Bewley of Haltcliffe visited Cornwall. He was imprisoned in Dorset, and also for eight years in Cumberland, at the suit of the priest of Caldbeck.

357 5 Joseph Helling. In two places where this Friend is mentioned he is associated with George Bewley. He was probably also of Cumberland. His renunciation of Quakerism is doubtless the reason for the erasure of his name from the MS. Bugg places him in his "cage of unclean birds." See Smith, *Cata.* 1867, i. 390; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663–4

358 1 This may have been Richard Richardson, who with a number of Cumberland Friends signs a Testimony to John Wilkinson. There were also Friends of this name living in London, Uxbridge and Nottingham (*Jnl. F. H. S.* i.). Margaret Fell had a brother named Richardson (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 256, 257).

359 1 George Mount is referred to as a "petty constable" later in the *Journal* (ii. 105). His christian name is omitted from Ell. edd. and should have been so noted here.

The statement respecting the death of Mount must be received with some reserve. It can hardly be correct if the "George Mount of Ulverstone, Skinner" and "warden," who distrained Quakers' goods in 1683 be the same man (*Sufferings*, iii., MS. in D.).

359 2 John Ashburnham (Ashburner). Several Friends of the name Ashburner lived in the Furness district, but the name John is not found among them (*Suff.*; Swarth. MSS.). The name of "John Ashburner of Gleaston" appears in a list of persecutors, under date 1684 (*Sufferings*, MS. in D.).

359 3 "I think the Carter was the guide across the Sands and the Carterford the way across the Sands" (William C. Braithwaite).

359 4 Henry Porter (1613—1666) was the son of James Porter, gent., of Lancaster. He was Mayor of Lancaster in 1659 and 1661. In 1660 he was appointed Constable of Lancaster Castle; he was also M.P. for the borough for a few years from 1654. It appears to have been of Porter that William Blundell, "The Cavilier" of Crosby Hall, Lancs., wrote, "Major Porter, of Lancaster, is supposed to have died of grief, having lost his children in the great plague of London, and being bound for much of their debts." This affords some confirmation of Fox's statement on p. 384.

Shaw, *Church under Commonwealth*, 1900; MS. account by William Hewitson, of Bury, 1910.

359 5 Ell. edd. insert "Then the Justice asked the Constables where my Horse was? For I hear said he, that he hath a good horse; have ye brought his Horse? I told him where my Horse was; but he did not meddle with him."

360 1 Miles Dodding (Dolding) (—1683) was an active Justice of the Peace living in the Cartmel district of Lancashire. He was brother-in-law to Thomas Preston, the elder, of Holker (Atkinson, *Christian Testimony against Tythes*, 1678, p. 7), and also related to Sir Daniel Fleming, and Colonel Richard Kirkby.

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William and Isobel Doddinge, of Kendal, are mentioned in Gilpin's *Quakers Shaken*, 1653, pp. 5—7, and "Mary Dodinge" in Swarth. MSS. i. 208.

Besse, *Suff.* i. 322; Hist. MSS. Com., *Fleming MSS.*

360 2 Thomas Preston (—1678) of Holker Hall, in the parish of Cartmel, Lancs., Deputy-Lieutenant for the County, and High Sheriff, 1664. Sewel records an encounter between Miles Halhead and the Justice's wife, c. 1652, and repeats the statement in the *Journal*, "Some time after, the Lord cut her off, and she died, as it was reported, in a miserable condition" (*Hist.* 1722; see also *Sufferings of Myles Halhead*, 1690, where there is not any hint of her sudden or untimely decease).

Cal. S. P. Dom. 1661—2, 1663—4.

360 3 This was Robert Yeamans, "Sheriff of Bristol in 1641—2, who in 1643 was hung opposite to his house in Wine Street for conspiring to deliver up the city to Prince Rupert" (Hodgkin, *Fox*, 1896, p. 179 n.; see Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 407). He married Anne Yeamans in 1627 (Parish Register of Christchurch, Bristol). The widow of Yeamans married Thomas Speed (349. 2) "who generously undertook to bring up her numerous offspring, some of whom like their step-father became prominent Quakers" (Latimer, *Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 175).

Cal. S. P. Dom. 1660—1; *D. N. B.*

361 1 During his Lancaster imprisonment Fox gave forth several papers which may be found in Ell. edd.

361 2 This was, no doubt, John Otway, see 291. 2.

361 3 This is very neatly and clearly written, probably by Mark Swanner. The word "Kinge" and the initials at the close are by another hand. The endorsement is by Fox.

The prevailing sentiment of Friends was in agreement with Fox's words, "thou came into this Nation by the power of the Lord." Hubberthorne writes, "We do accept and own the King and his Government, as he and it is according to God" (*Answer to the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy*, 1660). The hope, raised by the King's promises, that a day of better things had come with the Restoration, was soon to be dispelled. In 1661, Friends printed a broadside which stated that "in the days of the Commonwealth and of Oliver and Richard Cromwell 3179 had suffered Imprisonment and other Abuses" and that 32 had died in prison, and that "since the King came in" 5000 had suffered and 22 had died in gaol (*For the King and both Houses of Parliament*, signed by Thomas Moore, and twenty-nine others).

362 1 In Lunesdale, about nine miles N.E. of Lancaster. Hornby Castle was garrisoned by the Royalists when the Civil War broke out, but was captured for the Parliament in 1643. During some years after the War, Porter was one of the lessees. It is not improbable that some "spoils of war" were taken from the castle, subsequent to the House of Commons ordering, in 1643, that "the Castle of Hornby be forthwith so defaced or demolished that the enemy may be prevented from making any further use thereof." The castle hill is still crowned by a great keep, 90 feet high.

MS. account by William Hewitson, of Bury, 1910.

363 1 This is the original letter. It is directed "For the hands off Gerard Robarts Wine Cooper at the signe of the fflower de luce in Thomas Apostles in London." It has been misplaced in the binding of the MSS.

PAGE	NOTE	
364	1	Perhaps the father of Richard Myers mentioned 107. 3.
365	1	Sir Thomas Mallett (1582—1665). He was knighted in 1641, and he supported the King's party through the Civil War. In 1663, he retired on a pension of £1,000 per ann. Fox says, "hee dyed not longe after" (p. 384, not in Ell. edd.), as though he connected his death with his action towards Friends, but Mallett died five years later, aged eighty-three. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1660—61, 1661—2, 1663—4; *D. N. B.*
365	2	Sir Robert Foster (1589—1663), Lord Chief Justice from 1660. In 1662 occurred the trial of John Crook and other Friends before Foster (*The Cry of the Innocent for Justice*, 1662; *State Trials*). Fox states that "y^{e} Lord cutt him of" (p. 384, not in Ell. edd.), but there does not appear to have been anything sudden about his death, at the age of seventy-four. The Chief Justice who followed (p. 384) was Sir Robert Hyde (1595—1665). His persecution of Friends is noted in Swarth. MSS. iv. 61, 113. Fox's statement respecting his death is corroborated by Whitehead, who records that "Judge Hyde, tis said, was seen well at Westminster in the Morning, and dyed in his Closet about noon" (*Christian Progress*, 1725, p. 300). Campbell states that he dropped down dead on the Bench (*Lives of the Chief Justices*, 1858, i. 503). *D. N. B.*
365	3	Richard Marche (Marsh) (c. 1589—1671/2) was Gentleman Usher to both Charles I and Charles II and also in both reigns he held the office of "Keeper General of His Majesty's Stores in the Tower of London." In 1621, he married Sarah Adee, late of Stepney. His son, George Marche, appears in Besse (*Suff.* i. 394, 399) as a persecutor of Friends, 1664. Pepys, *Diary*; Green, "Esquire Marsh," in *Jnl. F. H. S.* iii.
366	1	Sir Thomas Twisden (1602—1683). Though a staunch royalist he became Serjeant-at-law under the Commonwealth. At the Restoration he was made a Judge and knighted; in 1666 he was created Baronet. He was a native of Kent (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 334, 1673—5, p. 153). Portrait in D. *D. N. B.*
367	1	These "passages" are written by a neat and careful scribe and completely cover two large pages. The interlineations are mostly made by Lower. Much the same account is to be found among Swarth. MSS. (iv. 39). See *Suff.* i. 305.
371	1	George Chetham (1593—1664) was a nephew of Humphrey Chetham (1580—1653), founder of the Chetham Hospital and Library, Manchester. For some time he resided in London with his uncle, George, a merchant, and was an Alderman in 1656. He was a connexion by marriage of the Abraham family, of Manchester. His death took place at Turton Hall, S.E. Lancs. Axon, *Chetham Genealogies*, 1903, p. 49.
372	1	Sir Edward Nicholas (1593—1669) was a Secretary of State to Charles I and Charles II. *D. N. B.*; *Diary of Pepys*, Wheatley ed., 1893.
372	2	Sir John Lenthall (—1668), brother of the Speaker, William Lenthall, was knighted in 1616. In 1663, he "apprehended in Southwark about one hundred Quakers, and other such people" (Pepys, *Diary*).

PAGE	NOTE	
372	3	This letter from Margaret Fell was probably written by her daughter Margaret, who sends her love. It is addressed simply "For G. F.," and endorsed by Fox. It has been misplaced in the binding of the MSS.
373	1	This is James Nayler. After his fall and recovery he appears to have again occupied a prominent position (see Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 61, anno 1658).
373	2	That is, Elizabeth Trott (c. 1628—1668), "a well-to-do woman, a widow, living in Pall Mall, near 'James's house'" (Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, pp. 36, 240, 241, 251, 343). Meetings were continued at her house till her death, the date of which is given by Gilbert Latey as 1666, while the Burial Registers place it in 1668. The latter style her "widow, late wife of Thomas." See ii. 194. 2. *Life of Latey*, 1707, pp. 59—61, 65.
373	3	T. S., that is presumably Thomas Salthouse, see 203. 1.
373	4	This letter, written a week later than the one on the previous page (372. 3), is in another handwriting, addressed "ffor G. ff. this" and endorsed by Fox. It also is misplaced.
374	1	John Swinton (1621?—1679) was eldest son of Sir Alexander Swinton, of Swinton. He espoused the cause of the Parliament and was in consequence excommunicated by the Scottish Kirk. He was a member of the Nominated Parliament (*Com. and Prot.* ii. 309 n.). Whilst sharing imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle in 1666 with Col. David Barclay, Swinton was the means of the Colonel's convincement. After the Restoration Swinton was arrested and "appeared as a Quaker before the Parliament of Scotland. He was dismissed, but after a long imprisonment and much dilapidation of his estates" (quoted in *Friends' Magazine*, 1831, i. 413). Swinton married firstly Margaret, daughter of William Stewart, Lord Blantyre, and secondly in 1672, Frances White, widow, née Hancock. In addition to the "running out" and return, referred to by Fox (ii. 111, 133, 315), Swinton appears to have had a moral fall; Barclay refers to such an event (*Jaffray Diary*, 1833, p. 566) and Bugg includes him in his "cage of unclean birds" (*Picture of Quakerism* and *Pilgrim's Progress*). It is noteworthy also that not one of the four references to Swinton which appear in the MS. *Journal* has been included in Ell. edd. He wrote several religious pieces; he died at Borthwick. Barclay, *Jaffray Diary*, 1833, pp. 122, 208, 217, 219, 266, 270, 297, 311—315, 317, 430, 565—568; *D. N. B.*; MS. in the possession of R. B. Swinton of Shooters Hill, London; MSS. in D.
375	1	The whole of this piece (pp. 375—378) is written on one page in a fine, clear hand. Lower has made several insertions and corrections. Fox has added to Lower's endorsement "to the King gff was taken the 3 mo: 1660." A portion of this is given also in a later MS. See 381. 1.
375	2	Thomas Cummings (—1664) was a dyester (or dyer) of Lancaster. His name occurs among Swarth. MSS. as that of a Friend to whom letters were frequently consigned for delivery at Swarthmoor Hall as opportunity arose.
375	3	Thomas Green (c. 1628—1703) was a shopkeeper of Lancaster, styled also "grocer" and "mercer." He acted as general forwarding agent for letters and parcels (Webb, *Fells*, 1865; Swarth. MSS.). There were other Friends of the same name. *Autobiography of William Stout* [1665—1753], 1851, pp. 36, 64—66.

PAGE NOTE

378 1 These answers to false statements made by Major Porter occupy one full page of MS. The copyist is not known.

381 1 This is the central portion only of the MS. The remainder, beginning "A coppey of the mittimus I cannot get" to "since I came into the countrie" has already appeared. See 375. 1. The above portion was perhaps omitted because of the expression it contains—"y^e^ son of god." See 161. 1.

381 2 For this expression see 161. 1.

381 3 These paragraphs are written on a detached slip of paper. The writing is familiar, but the writer is unknown.

381 4 Ell. edd. state that this imprisonment lasted "somewhat more than Twenty Weeks."

381 5 A comparison of the handwriting of this MS. with letters written by Bridget Fell (Spence MSS. iii.; etc.) makes it clear that the MS. is the work of Margaret Fell's second daughter. The style of writing is bold and heavy, quite unlike that of Sarah Fell. Thomas Lower has gone through the MS. inserting the following words at the head "this must come in after G: ff: was first sett a liberty at Lancaster 1660," and has added the paragraph printed after the date. The endorsement is headed "The Sufferings of G: ff:" and then, in Fox's hand, "1660 16 day the 8 mo: to the people at ulferston in lanksher." Written across the back of the sheet in large well-formed letters are the words "For Bridget Fell at Swarthmore Lancashire."

382 1 Bridget Fell was the second daughter of Judge and Margaret Fell. Eight of her letters to her mother when the latter was in London in 1660 and 1661 are among the Spence MSS. in D., and there are others among the Swarth. MSS. They refer to various family matters in a business-like way. In 1662, Bridget Fell married John Draper, of Headlam, Co. Durham, son of Henry Draper of the same. It has generally been supposed that Bridget Draper died within a few years of her marriage, as her name does not appear on wedding certificates of members of her family, including that of her mother in 1669 (Webb, *Fells*, 1865, p. 254; Steel, *Early Friends in the North*, 1905, pp. 15, 16). No mention of either John or Bridget Draper has been found, subsequent to the time of their marriage, except a document, dated 1678 (copy in D.), which refers to the granting of letters of administration to her sisters, Sarah Fell and Mary Lower, "of all and singular the goods chattels and credits of Bridgett Draper als. Fell late deceased."

384 1 Among the numerous writings of Richard Hubberthorne, collected and published in 1663, appeared a pamphlet, *Something that lately passed in Discourse between the King and R. H. Published to prevent the mistakes and Errors in a copy lately printed*, etc., 1660 (several edd. in same year).

This was cast into dialogue form, and it concluded, "So the King promised that we should not any wayes suffer for our opinion or Religion, and so in love passed away." The copy "lately printed" is entitled *An Account of Several Things that passed between his Sacred Majesty and Richard Hubberthorne Quaker on the fourth of June 1660*, etc. In place of the above final paragraph this copy has "Some other things would have been spoken but the King passed away." A comparison of the two tracts does not reveal any striking disagreement. In 1661 Hubberthorne sent to the King and Council

PAGE NOTE

"An account of 588 persons at present prisoners in England for worshipping God" (MS. in D.). His letters to M. Fell betoken great interest in the public questions of the day.

Swarth. MSS.; Gibson MSS.

385 1 These testimonies were printed the year of presentation under the title *These several Papers was sent to the Parliament the twentieth day of the fifth Moneth, 1659, being above seven thousand of the Names of the Handmaids and Daughters of the Lord.* The preface is signed by Mary Forster. The names of the signatories are given under different districts, the first named being Margaret Fell.

This paper against tithes was apparently suggested by Fox. He writes, under date 1657, "For all women friends to sett their hands against tythes they may freely as they are moved...for y^e^ women in y^e^ truth feeles y^e^ weight as well as y^e^ men...And soe if all y^e^ women friends in England, send up their hands against Tythes, I shall send them by women to y^e^ parliament, for many women have sent up their names and some have not, but have been stopped...G: ff:" (MS. copy in D.).

385 2 A vivid representation of this scene, based upon these paragraphs, which do not appear in Ell. edd., is among the etchings by Robert Spence. Sir Richard Tangye quotes from the newspapers of the day: "January 30th, 1660. o.s. The odious carcasses of O. Cromwell, H. Ireton, and J. Bradshaw drawn upon sledges to Tyburn, and being pulled out of their coffins there hanged at the several angles of that triple tree till sunset. Then taken down, beheaded, and their loathsome trunks thrown into a deep hole under the gallowes. Their heads were afterwards set upon poles on the top of Westminster Hall" (*The Two Protectors*, 1899, p. 212). Dr Hodgkin states that Fox was probably mistaken in connecting this in any way with the abolition of tithes (*Fox*, 1896, p. 168). The expression "rolled into my grave and buried with infamy" occurs in the speech of Cromwell to his first Parliament, 12 Sept. 1654. (*Cromwell's Letters*, 1869, iii. 57.)

Pepys, *Diary*.

385 3 "The 'Fifth-monarchy Men' were the literal interpreters of Scripture, and had discovered grounds for believing in the near approach of the millennium. By some system of calculation they had concluded that the last of the four world monarchies—the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman—was tottering towards its fall, and the Fifth universal monarchy—Christ's—was about to be set up. The saints were to reign" (Jones, *George Fox*, 1903, i. 23). Gardiner says, "In their declamation against tithes and in their desire for a simplification of the lives of Christians, there is much to remind us of Fox's teaching, but they had nothing of the sobriety and submissiveness of the founder of the Society of Friends" (*Com. and Prot.* ii. 315). The uprising of these religious enthusiasts under Thomas Venner on 6 January, 1661, "caused a furious persecution of the pacific Quakers" (Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 336).

Christopher Feake, a Fifth Monarchy Man, wrote against Friends in *A Faithful Discovery*, 1653, and was answered by Farnsworth, *Light out of Darkness*, 1653.

Historia von Wider Tauffern, 1702; Firth, *Last Years*, 1909.

386 1 At this point there are several signs in the margin, which were probably intended to mark the place for insertions, but no MSS. with corresponding signs appear among the Spence MSS.

PAGE NOTE

386 2 Henry Fell, though living not far from the family of Judge Fell and much attached to its members, does not appear to have been related to the Swarthmoor household. The glimpses of this Friend, obtained here and there, shew him at work in various parts of England till 1656 when he visited the West Indies (Swarth. MSS. i. 80), whence he wrote a number of letters to Margaret Fell, dated from the 3rd of Ninth Month, 1656, to his return to London, after having been captured by the Spaniards, in Eighth Month, 1658 (Swarth. MSS. i. 66—72, 79). Fell's visit to the continent of Europe is referred to in the *Journal* (ii. 8). Of the visit to Alexandria the English Consul wrote to an English merchant at Leghorn, "The Quakers did throw Pamphlets about the Streets in Hebrew, Arabick, and Latin, and if they had staid a little longer, it might have set them a burning" (quoted by Besse, *Suff.* ii. 420). His letter to M. Fox from Barbados, 1674 (see ii. 256), seems to be the last known record of him. It is probable that he died in America.

Barclay, *Letters*, 1841; Bowden, *Hist.* 1850—4; *D. N. B.*; *Biog. Memoirs*, iii. 243.

386 3 James, Duke of York, afterwards James II (1633—1701). He was generally favourable to Friends.

386 4 This was presumably Thomas Patching, before mentioned (200. 3), "a man of considerable estate, who was hurried away twenty-five miles to prison, to the White Lion in Southwark" (*Suff.* i. 690, where it is stated that his death resulted from "the Fatigue of his Journey, and the cruel Usage he met with in the goal").

387 1 Charles, Lord Gerard (—1694), had recently returned with Charles II as head of the Life Guards, and was Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber. In 1679 he was created Earl of Macclesfield.

Pepys, *Diary*; *D. N. B.*

387 2 When committed, Friends generally demanded a free prison—they could not see their way to pay towards the cost of what they believed to be illegal and unjust imprisonment, but they occasionally of their own free will presented money to those in whose custody they had been. On this subject see ii. 330, 331; *F. P. T.*

The words "neverthelesse...fees" were omitted from the Ell. ed. of 1765, and all subsequent editions except that of 1827.

388 1, 4 This was intituled *A Declaration from the Harmles and Innocent People of God, called Quakers, against all Plotters and Fighters in the World.* It was signed by Fox, Hubberthorne and ten other Friends, and "given unto the King, upon the 21. day of the 11th. Month, 1660." Copies of various editions of this tract, printed in 1660, and reprinted with addition in 1684, are in D., including one, which the Librarian believes to be a copy of the seized and suppressed first edition.

The text of the 1684 edition appears in Ell. edd.

388 2 A large amount of private correspondence, the result of this searching of letters, is to be found in the Public Record Office. Many letters are endorsed "intercepted at the P. O. by Govt order." The Quaker portion of this correspondence will shortly be printed by the Friends' Historical Society in *Extracts from State Papers.*

The interception and searching of letters and the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy Men are also associated by Thomas Ellwood in his *History*, anno 1661.

PAGE	NOTE	
388	3	Ell. edd. insert here a letter from Fox, dated in London, 28th of the Eleventh Month, 1660, "as a Word of Consolation, and to put them upon sending up their Sufferings.
389	1	The matter on the last page and a half of this volume is written by Lower on a separate unnumbered sheet. The place for insertion is clearly marked. For the style of the concluding words see 138. 1.
389	2	It is not evident to which paper reference is here made. For the recording of sufferings, see 194. 1, 388. 3.
390	1	Thus concludes the first volume of the MS. except for two connecting paragraphs printed in vol. ii. (p. 3).

ADDENDA.

PAGE	LINE	
108	20	Anthony Pearson (c. 1628—1665) resided at Rampshaw Hall, Co. Durham. He was convinced while on the Bench at Appleby during the trial of Nayler and Howgill in 1652/3 (*Saul's Errand*, 1654, pp. 29 ff.; Swarth. MSS. iii. 29). His wife, a Cumberland lady, was also convinced. There is still extant in D. a striking letter written by Pearson on May 9, 1653, in which he gives a full account of his spiritual condition at that time (Swarth. MSS. i. 87, see Barclay, *Letters*, 1841, p. 10). His services on behalf of Friends, both in the North and in London, were great, but shortly after the Restoration he relinquished his Quakerism, and "dyed a true son of the Church of England" (*London Gazette*, quoted *Surtees Society*, lv.). His *Great Case of Tythes*, first published in 1657, has been many times reprinted. His widow, Grace, née Lamplough, married, in 1673, James Hall of Monk Hesledon, Co. Durham, father of John Hall (c. 1662—1736), the celebrated Quaker minister. *Quakers Shaken*, 1655, p. 15; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1658—9, 1661—2; *D. N. B.*; Steel, *Early Friends in the North*, 1905; Swarth. MSS. (especially i. 216, iii. 33—35; Spence MSS. iii. 28, 55).
261	36	"The drunken priest of Crowland would appear to have been Richard Lee, presented to the Rectory in 1654 and again in the following year, who remained till 1671" (Charles E. Dawes in *Fenland Notes and Queries*, 1891, i.).

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